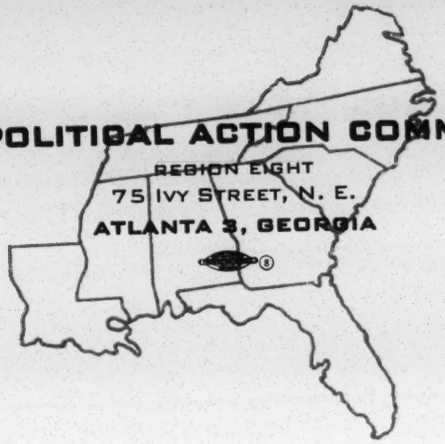
GSM
General



CIO POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE
REGION EIGHT
75 IVY STREET, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL
REGIONAL DIRECTOR

June 21, 1944

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Guy:

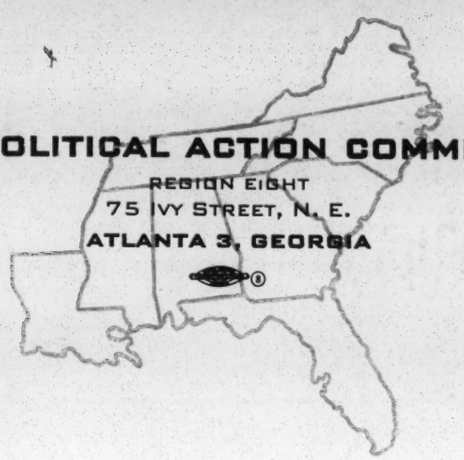
I have asked the office which gets this out to put you on the mailing list.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

Enclosures

Mitchell
General



CIO POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE
REGION EIGHT
75 IVY STREET, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL
REGIONAL DIRECTOR

November 11, 1944

Dr. Ira De A. Reid
Associate Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ira:

Thank you for your letter of November 4 about the exhibit at Atlanta University.

I have office space in the CIO headquarters building. The building is operated by the Atlanta Industrial Union Council.

I do not believe the Council would wish to make use of the exhibit.

I had the pleasure of going out and seeing the exhibit the other day, and thought it highly instructive.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell

Jan

January 5, 1945

Registrar
Johns Hopkins University
Charles and 34th Streets
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Ryland (or whoever 'tis):

I need some professional information from a former student at the now defunct School of Social Work. She was a student in the Graduate School in 1925-26. She was then a Miss Moyer of Tampa, Florida. She has since married and last heard of lived in Tampa.

Do your records give any late information, such as her married name and presumed street address?

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

gen

January 5, 1945

Mr. R. W. Hudgens
160 Quincy Street
Chevy Chase 15, Md.

Dear Pete:

I expect to be in Washington Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, January 9, 10, 11. Hope one of these days will catch you there.

Mighty sorry I missed you on your visit here.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

Miscel.

July 10, 1945

Mr. W. Glenn Roberts
Religious Consultant
The National Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations
347 Madison Avenue
New York, 17, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Roberts:

I am very sorry that I am so late in answering your letter of June 20th, but I have been out of the city and am behind on my mail.

Attached is a list of films which were produced by the Office of Education, and it may be of some help to you in developing your outline. I realize that these films do not depict the growth of labor unions and labor-management relationships, but they are concerned with industrial problems, and are the nearest thing we could find to what you want.

If I can help you further, please let me know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w
Encl.

Doris Weinkle referred me to

Geo. McCurdey of Baord of Education.

McCurdey referred me to

Strickland Film Co.

(I Haven't been able to contact Mr. Strick-
land, he stays out of the office a lot.)

Mr. Strickland referred me to

THE DISTRIBUTOR'S GROUP, INC.

Mr. Maybriar of Distributor's Group is sending us literature on Supervisory Training Films, produced by the Office ~~TRAINING~~ of Education, which he ~~IN~~ says is the nearest thing he has to what we want.

HOWARD A. COFFIN
PRESIDENT

HARPER SIBLEY
CHAIRMAN INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE

ELLIOTT H. LEE
TREASURER

EUGENE E. BARNETT
GENERAL SECRETARY

RALPH W. HARBISON
CHAIRMAN NATIONAL BOARD

WM. E. SPEERS
CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

CLEVELAND E. DODGE
CHAIRMAN INTERNATIONAL BOARD

Doris Wesable

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS

OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

CORPORATE BODY
INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS

347 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

MURRAY HILL 6-1200

Jack 0576
YMCA W 2/8/2
ex 1/2 ex
Co 5-7 1-2
8

June 20, 1945

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Our staff is developing a suggestive outline for a series of film forums depicting the results of the industrialization of society. Of course, an important part of these series would have to do with the growth of labor unions and management-labor relationships.

I am looking for suggestions on films which have been produced in this area. Could you offer suggestions or sources of information? Your help will be greatly appreciated.

Cordially yours,

W. Glenn Roberts

W. Glenn Roberts
Religious Consultant

WGR:lp

Strickland Film Co
Walton
Ga 2747

Mr. Geo McCurdy
8/9
2629
Wu 3381

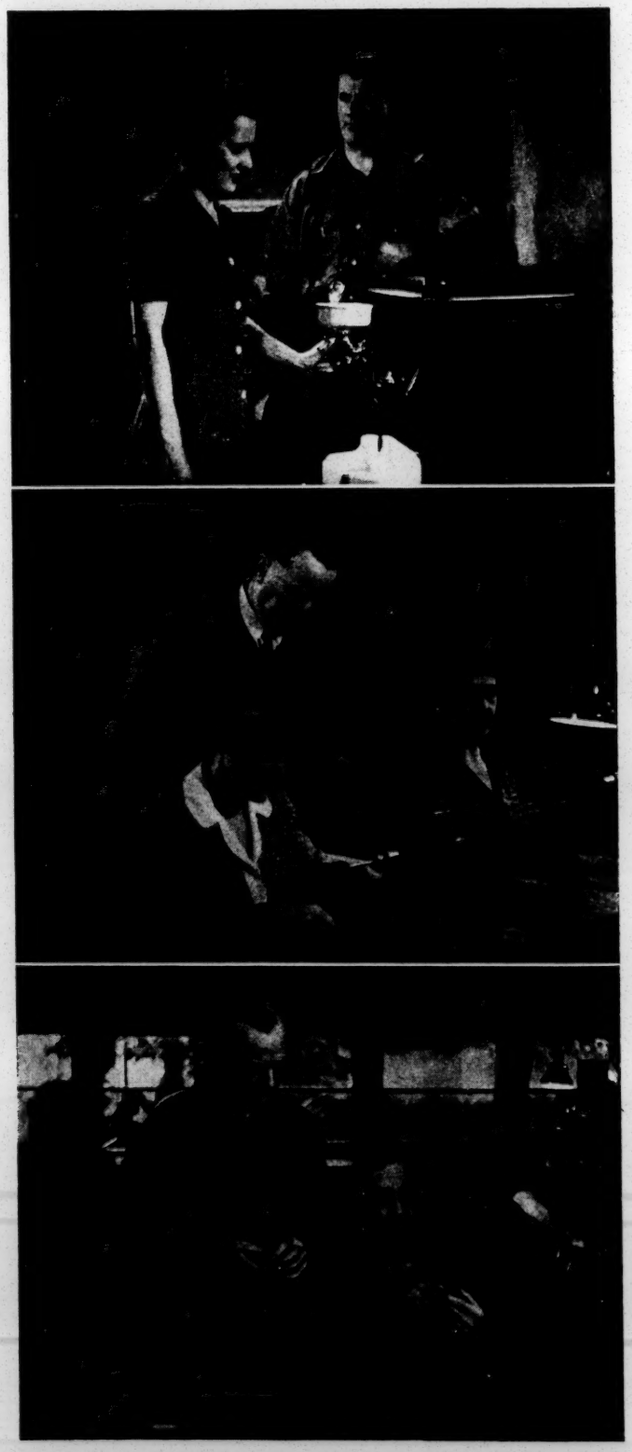
Univ. of Ga.

New U. S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION

16 M.M. SOUND MOTION PICTURES ON

PROBLEMS OF SUPERVISION

SCENES FROM NEW FILMS



This is a series of sixteen sound motion pictures to aid in the training of foremen and other supervisors. Each picture attacks a common problem . . . introducing a new worker to his job, supervising women workers, combatting lateness, loafing and absenteeism.

These problems are problems of human relationships which through motion pictures are taken out of statistical tables and put into the feelings and actions of people . . . of Joe and Jeff, Hattie and Francine.

The films do not give "final answers" to the many perplexing problems of supervision. But they do suggest practical ways of meeting these problems, they give common-sense rules, and dramatically presented, they provoke thought and discussion.

RENTAL RATES

$3.00 per subject for each two days of use (consecutive). If entire series is booked in advance, each subject $2.50. Total cost for series—$40.00.

CANCELLATIONS

No cancellations accepted after complete series is booked.

Cancellations on single subjects accepted only if received ten days before show date.

"THE SOUTH'S FINEST 16MM FILM SERVICE"

The Distributor's Group, Inc.

756 W. PEACHTREE ST. ATLANTA, GA.

THE SIXTEEN U. S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION SUPERVISION TRAINING FILMS

150. A NEW SUPERVISOR TAKES A LOOK AT HIS JOB

A young workman has just been made a line supervisor. In an interview with the superintendent, he is shown that in his new job, he must learn to get results by working with people instead of machines. The importance of the human element in supervision is brought out.

LENGTH 475 FEET, 13 MINUTES

151. PLANNING AND LAYING OUT WORK

A number of dramatized incidents point up the importance of careful planning before starting a job. The serious results of poor planning or no planning at all are demonstrated.

LENGTH 375 FEET, 10 MINUTES

152. MAINTAINING GOOD WORKING CONDITIONS

Several cases where improvement in working conditions resulted in increased production and better satisfied workers are enacted. The importance of the part played by supervisors in maintaining good working conditions is emphasized.

LENGTH 325 FEET, 9 MINUTES

153. WORKING WITH OTHER SUPERVISORS

Several supervisors discuss Larry, one of their colleagues, who has been unable to work harmoniously with them. The question is raised —What can be done about Larry?

LENGTH 275 FEET, 8 MINUTES

154. INTRODUCING THE NEW WORKER TO HIS JOB

A new worker is being started on his job. First, the induction is done very poorly. This becomes apparent as the new worker shows considerable dissatisfaction with his treatment. Then, the same job is done over again, but this time it is done as it should be. The difference between the first and second ways of inducting the worker is obvious.

LENGTH 575 FEET, 16 MINUTES

155. INSTRUCTING THE WORKER ON THE JOB

A new girl worker is told how to do a job on the drill press. She fails to master the job and is then shown how to do it. This does not work and in distress she leaves the machine. The supervisor then does a careful job of instructing the next girl who becomes a competent operator. Thus the difference between telling, showing, and instructing is made clear.

LENGTH 500 FEET, 14 MINUTES

156. PLACING THE RIGHT MAN ON THE JOB

Several workers who are misfits on the jobs they are doing are reassigned to different jobs resulting in happier workers and increased production. The necessity for taking into account individual differences is clearly indicated.

LENGTH 475 FEET, 13 MINUTES

157. SUPERVISING WORKERS ON THE JOB

Various kinds of poor supervision practices are shown, among them, nagging, snooping, etc. By dramatized incidents, the poor results of these methods are made apparent and the better ways indicated.

LENGTH 375 FEET, 10 MINUTES

158. SUPERVISING WOMEN WORKERS

A line supervisor discusses with a foreman, his problem in supervising the women in his department. The fact is brought out that the same rules apply in supervising both men and women. Women, however, haven't the same background of industrial experience and very often have more home responsibilities than men. These facts must be taken into account by the supervisor.

LENGTH 400 FEET, 11 MINUTES

159. MAINTAINING WORKERS' INTEREST

Various workers are shown doing poor work because their jobs hold no interest for them. The point is made that the supervisor should be alert to detect and remedy these situations whenever possible.

LENGTH 475 FEET, 13 MINUTES

161. EVERY MINUTE COUNTS (Lateness, Loafing, and Absenteeism)

A supervisor becomes worried because of absenteeism and tardiness in his department. His superintendent points out many of the causes, and the supervisor takes steps to remedy them.

LENGTH 375 FEET, 10 MINUTES

163. IMPROVING THE JOB

A supervisor asks one of his workmen for suggestions for preventing waste. The workman explains the situation to members of his family at home and methods of improving the job so as to prevent waste are brought out.

LENGTH 300 FEET, 9 MINUTES

164. MAINTAINING QUALITY STANDARDS

Various scenes emphasize the nature of quality standards. The role of the supervisor in maintaining quality as well as quantity is made clear by incidents involving poor instructions, carelessness, and lack of pride in good workmanship.

LENGTH 375 FEET, 10 MINUTES

167. USING VISUAL AIDS IN TRAINING

An instructor, teaching his class the use of the micrometer, follows a carefully planned procedure involving the use of a visual aids unit: that is, a training motion picture, a coordinated filmstrip, and an instructor's manual.

LENGTH 500 FEET, 14 MINUTES

168. THE SUPERVISOR AS A LEADER. PART I

Several workmen are asked what they consider to be the qualifications of a good supervisor. To them, the four most important are: Always keep promises. Never take credit for someone else's work. Don't pass the buck. Don't play favorites.

LENGTH 500 FEET, 14 MINUTES

169. THE SUPERVISOR AS A LEADER. PART II

Four supervisors discuss the qualities of leadership. Dramatized incidents make clear what they mean. One man lets his job go to his head. Another goes to pieces under pressure, he can't control himself. In other incidents, it is pointed out that the good supervisor is not afraid to praise his men for work well done and that he is loyal to them.

LENGTH 475 FEET, 13 MINUTES

The DISTRIBUTOR'S Group, Inc.

756 West Peachtree Street

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

July 10, 1945

Mr. Roscoe E. Lewis
5207-21st Street, SE
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Lewis:

Many thanks for your letter of June 29th.

I shall be coming to Washington within the next ten days and shall try to get in touch with you through Howard. I am pretty strong that the man for the job should be a veteran, but I certainly want to meet everyone who is interested in being helpful in the whole problem.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

Miscel

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

3207-21st Street, S. E.
Washington, D. C.
June 29, 1945

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I have today talked with Mr. Donald P. Stephens, Chief, Operations Control Division, Foreign Economic Administration, concerning a position that I am told is open for a young Negro to serve as field agent for the Southern Regional Council.

If such a position is open, I should appreciate your furnishing me the details. I understand that a veteran is preferred; Mr. Stephens suggested that it was likely that a civilian would be considered if no suitable veteran were found available at the present time.

Although no veteran, I am very much interested in the type of work as outlined by Mr. Stephens. You may be interested in a few details concerning my background. Born in 1904, I am married and father of three children. I obtained my undergraduate degree from Brown University, Masters from Howard University, and I hope to complete work for a doctorate in Social Economy from the American University within a year. Since 1927 I have taught at Hampton Institute, where I now am Associate Professor of Social Sciences. From 1937 to 1940 I was director of Negro Research for the Virginia Writers' Project and was responsible for the preparation of The Negro in Virginia (Hastings House, 1940) and A Classified Catalog of the Negro Collection in the Hampton Institute Library (Hampton Institute, 1940)

I was Fellow of the Julius Rosenwald Found during the years 1941-42 and 1943-44, during which time I traveled extensively thr ough the South interviewing ex-slaves. I am attempting to complete the manuscript of a book about these aged persons over the summer.

I have been rather active in educational, religious and labor groups, particularly in Virginia, during the past ten years. In 1944 I accepted membership as an Honorary Fellow of the Southern Regional Council.

I should be interested in details. I am sure that the following are familiar with my work: Dr. Ira DeA Reid, Mr. Frank Pinder, Senior Production Specialist, Foreign Economic Administration; Professor Sterling Brown, Howard University; Dr. Allison Davis, Department of Education, Uncversity of Chicago; and Dr. L. F. Palmer, Hampton Institute, Va.

Very truly yours,
Roscoe E. Lewis
Roscoe E. Lewis

Misc

August 1, 1945

Mr. Lewis Baldwin
Civilian Public Service Unit #82
Newton, Conn.

Dear Mr. Baldwin:

My apologies for keeping your letter of July 12th so long unanswered.

I am sorry to say the Council has no information on the matter you inquired about. The only place I can think of to go for even fragmentary information would be USES in Washington.

We have made one or two inquiries to friends in Atlanta, but have not been to track down the facts you require.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

C.P.S. Unit #82
Newtown, Conn.
July 12, 1945

Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sir:

Among other things the Mental Hygiene Program of Civilian Public Service seeks to develop the nature and quantity of manpower resources for attendants in public institutions. Among others we should like to know more about what the negro group has done and may do in these last months of war and in the peace. To what extent have they been used in Southern instations and with what results.

Our attempt to develop attendant training resources will be based in part on any information you can give us. Thank you in advance for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely
Lewis Baldwin

Asked Wm Shell - WMC 7-1-41

Couldn't help us

the Mental Hygiene Program

OF CIVILIAN PUBLIC SERVICE

- As volunteers under Selective Service to work in hospitals for the mentally ill and training schools for the mentally deficient, we wish to serve constructively.

- We seek to improve the quality of our own work.

- We seek to help public institutions to fulfill more adequately their essential purpose in the structure of present day society.

- We seek to promote a deeper public understanding of institutional needs and problems.

- In an attempt to make a contribution which will be concrete and enduring, we have united our efforts in The Mental Hygiene Program of Civilian Public Service.

Projects

THE ATTENDANT

VOL. I, No. 3
AUGUST, 1944

THIS ISSUE:
Symposium — Patients' Leisure Time Activities
Mansfield in Review
Viewpoint

OPPORTUNITY AND THE ATTENDANT
By Earl D. Bond, M. D.

Medical director of the research institute at Philadelphia's Pennsylvania Hospital and professor of psychiatry at the University of Pennsylvania, Dr. Bond is a past president and secretary of the American Psychiatric Association. He is psychiatric adviser to The Mental Hygiene Program of Civilian Public Service.

•

If I were an attendant I would try to learn psychology first-hand from the patients with an occasional glance at fellow-attendants, the physicians and

...ions in action and ...ifered from ...udy

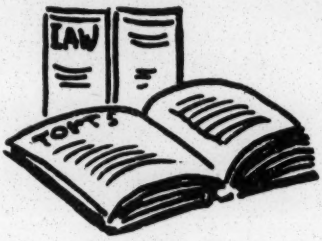
ents a closed-in space, a locked small room, an abrupt order which admits no argument, a hand on the arm, brings violence and continuing struggle. Undoubtedly many would lose the drive to struggle for freedom if they could be set free and yet freedom for them is clearly impossible in our present society, as an attendant can see. Here is where the attendant can see the good results of compromise: the greatest immediate freedom for the patient, as large as possible a space which symbolizes freedom, a request instead of a command, the restraining from laying on of hands.

A patient said of an attendant, "When he says 'come' he is gentlemanly and quiet ...show or other you know you might ... Inasmuch as a patient ...per restraint it is ...f-discipline

THE ATTENDANT

A monthly publication concerned with ideas, attitudes and methods which are directly related to work in mental hospitals and training schools. It strives to relate the knowledge and experience of professionals to concrete problems of institutional work, to serve as a medium through which attendants may share with one another the results of their experiences, and thus to encourage and serve all attendants.

LEGAL RESEARCH



A review of all state and federal laws which govern the commitment and care of individuals held in custody because of mental illness or deficiency, together with the preparation of a brief of the laws of each state, and the preparation of model statutes which might serve as reference for future legislative action. Further research and study will be directed toward formulating a body of principles underlying commitment, custody and treatment. The needs and responsibilities of society will be considered, parallel with the need for protecting the rights and dignity of the individual.

EXCHANGE SERVICE

An inter-unit exchange of materials which will be helpful to C.P.S. men in their work in mental institutions; for example: suggestions for recreational programs, methods of handling overactive patients, research results, resource bibliographies, and articles on attitudes and perspectives. We hope in this manner to accumulate material which will be useful in the preparation of orientation handbooks.

SUMMARY STATEMENT

A statement of conditions, based upon the experiences of C.P.S. men working in mental institutions, prepared in cooperation with and under the guidance of superintendents and other professional persons in the field. "Fact-finder" forms will be used, in part, to collect material for the statement. It is felt that discussion centered around the "fact-finders" will prove helpful in an understanding of institutional procedures.

PUBLIC EDUCATION

The preparation of ourselves and others with such a knowledge of the problems and scope of institutional service that we will be qualified to act as an intelligently vocal citizenry in helping to foster institutional development. The general results of all our efforts will later be made available to responsible agencies for further research and study.

ADVISERS

EARL D. BOND, M.D., Administrative Director of Philadelphia's Pennsylvania Hospital.

SAMUEL W. HAMILTON, M.D., President-elect of The American Psychiatric Association, and Mental Hospital Advisor of the U. S. Public Health Service.

JAMES LEWALD, M.D., Superintendent of the District Training School, Laurel, Maryland.

GEORGE S. STEVENSON, M.D., Medical Director of The National Committee for Mental Hygiene.

CHARLES A. ZELLER, M.D., Superintendent of the Philadelphia State Hospital.

LEGAL ADVISER

WILLIAM DRAPER LEWIS, Director of The American Law Institute.

AFFILIATION

The Mental Hygiene Program of Civilian Public Service is officially sponsored by The National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 1790 Broadway, New York 19, New York.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT

Funds are obtained primarily from Brethren, Friends and Mennonite agencies concerned with the administration of Civilian Public Service; from individual donations; and from subscription proceeds.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

LEONARD EDELSTEIN	*Program Coordinator*
PHIL STEER	*Editor of* THE ATTENDANT
WILLARD HETZEL	*Legal Research Chairman*
HAROLD BARTON	*Education Chairman*
HERBERT STODDARD	*Treasurer*

ADDRESS

The Program's mail address is P. O. Box 6000, Torresdale, Philadelphia 14, Pennsylvania. Its telephone number is SOMerton 0534. Its offices are located near Roosevelt Boulevard and Southampton Road, between buildings 9 and 10.

Misc.

August 3, 1945

Staff Sergeant Claude Pierce, Jr.
308 South 5th Street
Easton, Pennsylvania

Dear Staff Sergeant Pierce:

This organization, as you may know, is interested in the improvement in the economy and culture of the South in order to make it a better home for its citizens.

Eastland's speech was, of course, a cause for sorrow and concern.

In making some small answer, we drew upon War Department press releases. Among these we found your citation, and took the liberty of reproducing it in the memorandum.

It occurred to us that you might be interested in knowing that in this additional small instance, your personal achievement served to honor Negroes everywhere.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

Miscl.

August 3, 1945

Pfc. Peter Dodson
81 Orchard
Roslyn Heights
Long Island, New York

Dear Private Dodson:

This organization, as you may know, is interested in the improvement in the economy and culture of the South in order to make it a better home for its citizens.

Eastland's speech was, of course, a cause for sorrow and concern.

In making some small answer, we drew upon War Department press releases. Among these we found your citation, and took the liberty of reproducing it in the memorandum.

It occurred to us that you might be interested in knowing that in this additional small instance, your personal achievement served to honor Negroes everywhere.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

Gen

WAR PRODUCTION BOARD
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

IN REPLY REFER TO:

August 16, 1945

TO CHAIRMEN OF LABOR-MANAGEMENT
PRODUCTION COMMITTEES

As this letter is being prepared the country is waiting to learn what the results of the atomic bombing will mean in shortening the war period. Whether V-J Day is almost at hand or whether there is still the need for a high level for war production, your committee will probably wish to have the enclosed guide, Ways of Operating a Labor-Management Production Committee. This is a revision of the guide issued nearly two years ago and provides you with the experience of other committees in this period.

In a recent survey made by War Production Drive Headquarters, 66 percent of the active Labor-Management Production Committees responding stated that they planned to continue after the war. Only 7 percent said they would not continue, the others not yet having decided. As yours is one of the committees that may wish to have assistance during the difficult transition period ahead we suggest that you check the enclosed guide for new ideas and to evaluate the effectiveness of your own committee.

Additional copies for committee members and other interested persons can be secured through War Production Drive Headquarters in Washington or through the regional offices of the War Production Board.

Sincerely yours,

Wm. F. Todd

William F. Todd
Acting Director
War Production Drive Headquarters

Enclosure

Mscl

August 24, 1945

Gunnery Sergeant Harry L. Wright, USMCR
GAS Battery
51st Defense Battalion
c/o Fleet Post Office
San Francisco, California

Dear Wright:

I was delighted to have your letter of August 8th.

I haven't engaged anyone yet to do the job. I will hold a place open for you for just as long as I can. I shall probably have to pick up somebody soon to help, but by the time you are available the work ought to be big enough to need two people. So you can count on a place with me if you get out within the next couple of months - maybe longer.

Now that the point system has been extended to the Marine Corps, it occurred to me that you might possibly have 85 points, but my own (civilian) calculation tots up to sixty odd.

I do hope all of this works out. I want you very badly.

I am honored that you were willing to request your discharge, for the job.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

Gunnery Sergeant Harry L. Wright, USMCR
H&S Battery
51st Defense Battalion
c/o Fleet Post Office
San Francisco, Calif.

6 August, 1945.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I suppose that you think the Japs have me by now. No, not exactly. We've just been getting around and usually I find myself in the middle of things. Thanks for all of the reading matter you've sent me. About half of my outfit has read Joseph Gear's "The First Round". I wish that every American could read this book; it would cure a lot of ills.

You're right, this offer to work with you in helping veterans in the South, really does tempt me. In fact, I am making every effort to accept this opportunity. I am enclosing a copy of my letter to the Commandant of the Marine Corps, requesting an Honorable Discharge, in order to do this work.

My letter to the Commandant explains how I feel about this type of work. I don't feel that any other type of work would receive my most sincere efforts as this work with Veterans.

In a few weeks, I should receive some information of the action taken on this matter and when I do I'll notify you immediately. If you would say a good word to the "big boss man" for me, I feel sure this request will be granted, and perhaps you'd know what action has been taken before I get the information out here.

Thanks from me and a lot of other fellows like me for the work you are doing for us. My best personal wishes for the health of you and family.

Your Friend
Harry L. Wright
Wright

- -

411637
HLW/lfh

HEADQUARTERS AND SERVICE BATTERY
Fifty-First Defense Battalion, FMF.
c/o FPO, San Francisco, California.

31 July, 1945.

From: Gunnery Sergeant Harry L. WRIGHT (411637), U. S. Marine Corps Reserve.
To: Commandant of the Marine Corps.
Via: (1) Commanding Officer, Headquarters and Service Battery.
(2) Commanding Officer, Fifty-First Defense Battalion.
(3) Commanding General, Fleet Marine Force, Pacific.

Subject: Honorable Discharge, request for.

Reference: (a) MCM 3-16.

Enclosure:

1. In 1942 the Marine Corps began accepting Negroes for enlistment; I volunteered my service. I felt that here was a need for Negroes with specialized training and a real opportunity for service.

2. Prior to my entry into the Corps, I was employed by the Farm Security Administration, U. S. Department of Agriculture, for a period of three years; most of this time, I worked with low-income farm families in the rural sections of the South. During my employment with the Farm Security Administration, Dr. George S. Mitchell was Assistant Administrator, and as Administrator, Dr. Mitchell was acquainted with my work in the South and later with my work in the Special Reports (Statistical) Section of the Farm Security Administration in the Washington Office.

3. A few days ago, Dr. Mitchell, who is now in charge of Veterans Affairs for the Southern Regional Council, Inc., offered me a position as his assistant if there were a possibility of my getting a discharge from the Corps. It would be a job of traveling in the South and discussing the needs of the veterans with church groups, Legion Posts, unions, business men, NAACP Chapters, and similar groups.

Subject: Honorable Discharge, request for.

4. With my experience of working in rural Southern Areas, of knowing the administrative setup of Government Relief Agencies, together with my training and work in the Marine Corps, I could make a special contribution to Negro Veterans in the South, in helping them to get their GI rights and jobs.

5. I have served three years in the Corps; eighteen months of this time have been spent on foreign duty. During my service in the Corps I have been assigned a varied number of duties; as payroll clerk for a large Recruit Camp; as Battalion Change Sheet Clerk; as Insurance and Allotment Clerk; as Battalion Deck Court Reporter; as Acting Sergeant Major of a Heavy Antiaircraft Group, and as Battalion Shipping and Receiving Non-Commissioned Officer for the Quartermaster.

6. During my tour of duty in the Corps I have maintained a good record and I have given my service and devotion to the Corps, my fellow-marines, and to my country whole heartedly. This opportunity to work with Negro Veterans in the South would be an opportunity for me to serve the interest of my county in a fuller measure. In view of these facts, I respectfully request an Honorable Discharge from the United States Marine Corps Reserve.

HARRY L. WRIGHT

General

August 24, 1945

Mr. John A. Davis
Director
Division of Review and Analysis
President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice
Office for Emergency Management
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Davis:

Thank you for your letter of August 20th.

The job is really to be useful in any way that I can.

I am trying to find out all about the benefits available to veterans — Federal, State, and local. In addition, I want to make a careful but not prolonged survey in each southern state of the administrative machinery for making the benefits available as the machinery works. The notion is that I can light upon weaknesses and also spread knowledge of advances.

My procedure is flexible, and I would welcome any advice that you can give me.

The Southern Regional Council is of course frequently in touch with Witherspoon Dodge. He has already been helpful many times.

Next time I am in Washington I should like to come in for a conversation about things we might do together.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

CC: Witherspoon Dodge

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE FOR EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT
PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

August 20, 1945

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I learned from the Clearing House release of the American Council on Race Relations that you are directing a special program for Negro veterans in the South. I am quite anxious to know of the nature and extent of your program and activities. Since you are the first person in the field, I assume that your activities will serve as a model for others.

If you have any report which you have made, or if you have time to describe your program and your methods of operation, I shall be greatly appreciative. Of course, in FEPC we are interested largely in the program related to training, educations and employment opportunities for the veteran.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

John A. Davis

John A. Davis
Director
Division of Review and Analysis

I shall be glad to exchange information with you

Gen

August 29, 1945

Veterans Administration
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

I shall be grateful for information on the following situation - an actual case.

A Negro veteran with five months and nineteen days service in the Army, honorably discharged CDD, has been accepted for admission to a western graduate school. As the veteran's present age is twenty-three, he is entitled under the GI Bill of Rights to payment of tuition and subsistence for thirteen months, and he proposes to take advantage of this beginning in mid-September, 1945.

Meanwhile, he had applied to the Department of Education of the State of Tennessee for coverage of his tuition for graduate study not available to him in Tennessee as a Negro. The State of Tennessee has now replied that they will gladly pay his tuition for the period of his graduate study at the western university, plus railway fareafrom a point in Tennessee to the selected university.

The veteran does not know whether to accept payment of tuition from the State of Tennessee or to claim payment of tuition from the Veterans Administration and omit to claim it from the State of Tennessee.

Of course, a possible compromise would be to claim payment from the Veterans Administration for the first thirteen months during which he is entitled to GI assistance in his education, and thereafter to claim it from the State of Tennessee.

Undoubtedly, cases of this kind have been presented to you in the past. I should appreciate advice as to the proper course for the veteran to follow.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

gm

August 29, 1945

Colonel Campbell C. Johnson
Executive Assistant to the Director
Selective Service Administration
21 and C Streets
Washington, D. C.

Dear Colonel Johnson:

You were kind enough to talk with me a few days ago in Washington about the work of the Southern Regional Council with veterans.

What I intend to do is to survey rather carefully the administrative organizations in each southern state for assistance to returning veterans.

This would include a quick look at the personnel and work of each Governor's Committee, the organization of the work of the Selective Service Boards, the Veterans Administration, the State Department of Education, the vocational education services, and other related State, Federal and local agencies.

The idea is not another Research Report, but rather a quick survey of the work as it proceeds with a view to discovering the weak spots and new devices. Efforts will then be made to pass on to officials in charge whatever critical or commending conclusions result.

I shall be most grateful for assistance from you and your office from time to time, and shall be at pains to keep you informed of progress.

If there are special inquiries that could be made at your suggestion, please let me know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS
WASHINGTON, D.C.

RECEIVED
SEP 4 1945
Southern Regional Council
VETERANS

September 1, 1945

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I am enclosing two copies of how to maintain full employment and one copy of postwar agriculture and employment. The former is the bulletin which I mentioned at Fiske and which you requested. Since, however, the latter is the first in the series it may also be of value to you. Best regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Jim

James G. Maddox
Special Assistant
to the Chief

Enclosures - 3

Gen

September 11, 1945

Cpl. Robert A. Thompson, Jr. 34 755 480
Personnel Center
Counseling Branch
Hq. Co., 3rd Bn.
Ft. George G. Meade, Maryland

Dear Corporal Thompson:

Since receiving your letter of September 5th, I have talked to Dr. Reid about you, and he has spoken in glowing terms of your personality and particular experience.

It so happens that just a few days ago I undertook to employ a young man down at Fort Benning. He has to get out, but thinks there will be no difficulty about it. I am also dickering with a man whom I have known for a good many years and would like to have, if he can get back from the Pacific. If both of these go through, that will be all the Negro staff I can take on (I want to get a white man, too).

I shall keep your letter, and in case things change around, I might be needing to write you again.

Meanwhile, I don't think that you will have any difficulty at all in finding a peach of a job. A man of your experience can get lined up quickly and well.

I am grateful for what you had to say about the labor movement. I know it is a tough job. One of the things the Council would like to do is to get more information available to veterans about things the unions can do for them. I am trying now to publish a list of all unions which have waived initiation fees for veterans. Primarily, returns show that unions covering by far the greatest part of the membership in the American labor movement have waived initiation fees entirely.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

RECEIVED
SEP 7 1945
Southern Regional Council
VETERANS SERVICES

Personnel Center
Counseling Branch
Hq. Co., 3rd Bn.
Ft. Geo. G. Meade, Md.
September 5, 1945

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Dr. Ira De A. Reid suggested that I write to you concerning my interest in working with returning soldiers. This interest was created and stimulated as a result of my training in the field of economics at Atlanta University and experience as vocational guidance secretary of the Atlanta Urban League. For the past two years since I have been in the Army I have worked as Personnel Technician and at present I am an occupational counselor to men who are being discharged. Since I am thirty-five years of age and have served more than two years in the Army, I am expecting to be released within the next sixty or ninty days.

The average soldier who comes to Separation Centers is interested in nothing more than "when will I get my discharge." Consequently, the effectiveness of the limited counseling in Separation Centers amounts to very little. The rather abrupt ending of the war has to a great extent nullified the counseling plans for discharging enlisted personnel. Hence many soldiers leave the Army without fully realizing the acuteness of the problems which they will face because the Counselor does not have adequate time to counsel separatees effectively.

There are a large number of soldiers who do not understand and have been misinformed about the contributions of organized labor to the war effort. Many of them say that "labor unions are rackets and that they let us down during the war." They speak very violently against organized labor, and their opinions may have a profound effect upon the way in which we live in America. I strongly suggest that organized labor make known its great contribution toward wining the war and the part it intends to play in wining the peace.

Very truly yours,

Robert A. Thompson, Jr.

Robert A. Thompson, Jr.
Cpl. 34 753 480

Gen

September 11, 1945

Senator Allen J. Ellender
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator Ellender:

I shall be grateful for your kindness in sending me five copies of the Senate Bill 1342, the General Housing Act of 1945, which you introduced.

From what I can learn of this bill, it should be just what is needed in the South.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

Gen

September 11, 1945

Mr. Homer G. Bradney, Administrator
Illinois Veterans' Commission
223 East Monroe Street
Springfield, Illinois

Dear Mr. Bradney:

I greatly appreciate your kindness in sending me the leaflet material and your letter of September 7th about the veterans work in Illinois.

I have read in the last few weeks a score or more of veterans' guides.

The one you sent entitled "It's All Yours, Veteran" is written with more wisdom, understandableness, and interest than any of the others I have seen.

I could do something to cause its good example to spread if you could spare me fifteen copies, for which I enclose postage.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

JAMES P. RINGLEY
Chairman
TELFER MACARTHUR
JOHN A. STELLE

HOMER G. BRADNEY
Administrator
LEONARD W. ESPER
RALPH S. GRIDER
Assistant Administrators

STATE OF ILLINOIS
DWIGHT H. GREEN, GOVERNOR

ILLINOIS VETERANS' COMMISSION

223 EAST MONROE STREET
SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS
TELEPHONE 5781

RECEIVED
SEP 10
Southern Regional Council
VETERANS SERVICES

September 7, 1945

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, 3 Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your letter of August 31 addressed to the Secretary of State has been referred to this office for our attention and reply. I am pleased to comply with your request for information regarding Illinois plans for discharged World War II veterans.

To aid all returned veterans in restoration to health, education, employment, loans assistance and a general claims service, the Illinois Veterans' Commission has been established. The administrative office is located at 223 East Monroe, Springfield, with a branch office at 128 North Wells, Chicago, Illinois. Field offices have been established in each down-State county and in 15 Cook County locations. Trained service officers have been assigned. Veterans may apply to any of these offices, be advised of all the benefits to which they are entitled, and receive assistance in obtaining such of them as they may need.

A long range program for employment, medical services and education is being developed by advisory committees in cooperation with State departments affiliated with the Commission.

That you may acquaint yourself with the details, I am enclosing copies of "It's All Yours, Veteran", "Illinois Mobilizes" and "Illinois Meets Its Veteran Responsibility". Additional copies are available upon request.

Sincerely yours,

Homer G. Bradney

Homer G. Bradney
Administrator

HGB:ii

ELMER THOMAS, OKLA., CHAIRMAN
BURTON K. WHEELER, MONT.
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GUY CORDON, OREG.

M. E. POOL, CLERK
JOYCETTE JONES, ASST. CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY

September 13, 1945

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your letter of September 11th has just reached my office.

In accordance with your request, I am gladly sending you five copies of S. 1342, a bill to establish a national housing policy and provide for its execution. In view of your interest in this bill and postwar housing, I am also sending a copy of the Report to the Special Committee on Postwar Economic Policy and Planning, and also reprints of remarks made by Senator Wagner and me regarding postwar housing.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Allen J. Ellender

AJE:T
enclosures

Personnel Center
Separation Branch
Hq. Co., 3rd Bn.
Ft. Geo. G. Meade, Md.
17 September 1945.

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Director
Veterans Service
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

May I thank you for your letter of 11 September which expressed your desire to get to veterans more information relative to labor unions. It was gratifying to learn that a large number of labor unions have waived initiation fees. I will pass this information on to my co-workers.

Several months ago I wrote Dr. Reid of an idea concerning the "education" of veterans. The brief outline which he has struck me as being one way in which veterans might informed of union activities from 1941 through 1945. In the main I proposed that a work shop be held in Atlanta, primarily for the benefit of veterans in colleges throughtout the United States. I would be pleased to learn your opinions regarding the possibility of having such a work shop.

Thanking you again for the information, I am

Respectfully yours,

Robert A. Thompson, Jr.

Robert A. Thompson, Jr.

Gen

September 19, 1945

Mr. Sidney R. Williams, Executive Secretary
The Urban League of Cleveland
8311 Quincy Avenue
Cleveland 4, Ohio

Dear Mr. Williams:

Many thanks for your kind letter of the 15th. I remember that Cayton and I had a great deal of help from the Urban League in St. Louis.

Yes, I do know the people with the Lighthouse & Informer. I have talked to both of them at some length (last year I was with CIO-PAC), and I still get their good paper. They are doing a courageous and intelligent job.

I have not been to Orangeburg for years, but hope I will get there on this new job. It will be a pleasure to look up your brother.

If you ever come to Atlanta, please let me know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

RECEIVED
SEP 18 1945
Southern Regional Council
VETERANS SERVICES

THE URBAN LEAGUE OF CLEVELAND
AN INTER-RACIAL SOCIAL WORK AGENCY
8311 QUINCY AVENUE, CLEVELAND 4, OHIO
TELEPHONE: GARFIELD 0814

William O. Walker, *Chairman*
Edw. L. Worthington, *President*
Mrs. Lethia Fleming, *Secretary*
Clarence L. Sharpe, *Treasurer*

Sidney R. Williams, *Executive Sec'y.*
Howard M. Nash, *Industrial Sec'y.*
Alvin C. Boyd, *Vocational Counselor*
Mrs. Alice G. Collum, *Office Mgr.*

September 15, 1945

Dr. George S. Mitchell
The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Hello George:

This is Sidney Williams who was with the St. Louis Urban League when you and Cayton gathered material for your book. I am here in Cleveland now where I've been since 1941, except for a stretch of two years overseas in Europe and Africa with the Red Cross.

Now here are some resource people, if you don't already know them: -

1. Messrs. McCray & McCarn of The Lighthouse & Informer, Columbia, South Carolina

2. E. N. Williams, State College, Orangeburg, South Carolina - my brother incidently

Write at your convenience.

Very sincerely,

Sidney Williams
Sidney R. Williams
Executive Secretary

SRW:t

Gen

September 19, 1945

Mrs. Billie Davis Nelson
808 Northwest Street
Indianapolis 2, Indiana

Dear Mrs. Nelson:

Many thanks for your letter of September 15th. Maybe with change of editor, honorable Quarterly will no longer desire article.

The item for correction is quite right, and I have written the new editor about it. Thanks.

The FSA has a regional office at Indianapolis. If you ever have occasion to be with the people there, you will find a good many of them to be friends of mine. We are sorry you are leaving Atlanta.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

806 Northwest St.
Indianapolis 2, Ind.
Sept. 15, 1945

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

RECEIVED
SEP 19
Southern Regional Council
VETERANS SERVICES

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

You are wondering, no doubt, why in the world you have not heard from me in regard to your thrilling and enlightening article - intelligible even to me who never studied any economics and sociology - mailed on August 30.

I have left The Agnes Scott Alumnae Quarterly for a work of religious-social character which the American Friends Service Committee has intrusted to my husband and me for a temporary period. We will be in Indianapolis working in connection with Flanner House.

Your article really "hits the spot" and I am delighted to find such challenging and thought-provoking ideas in such readable form. My only criticism is in regard to a sentence on page 5 - "when mortgage companies face bankruptcy, we made etc." If you would like a sentence changed, you might drop a line to the editor, whose identity I still do not know.

I do appreciate your willing cooperation and I am proud for the Quarterly to carry such an article.

Sincerely yours, Billie Davis Nelson.

6a

September 19, 1945

Editor
The Alumnae Quarterly
Agnes Scott College
Decatur, Georgia

Dear Madam:

The lady editor of the Quarterly, Mrs. Nelson, wrote me the other day about an article that I submitted a couple of weeks ago for some forthcoming issue of the Quarterly. She had found a typing error at the top of page 5 - "When the mortgage companies face bankruptcy....." The word should be faced. If you can still make the change, it would be proper.

If you, as new editor, have other wishes or suggestions about the article, please let me know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

September 21, 1945

Senator Elbert D. Thomas, Chairman
Committee on Military Affairs
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Thomas:

I seldom write letters to public officials, but I am moved to write you with the most earnest request that you and your committee take appropriate action to correct the tendencies in the military administration in Germany revealed in Raymond Daniell's story on page 11 of the New York Times for Thursday, September 20, 1945.

This is the test. If we are going to let Nazis run Germany again, the war was in vain.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

General

September 28, 1945

Surplus Property Administration
U. S. Department of Commerce
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

The attached clipping from the New York Times lists Navy industrial plants and shipyards in the New York area turned over to your Administration.

I should appreciate your kindness in supplying me with whatever information may be readily available as to:

(a) Plants and yards similarly turned over by the Navy in the thirteen southern states as follows; Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, Kentucky, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma, and Arkansas.

(b) Industrial plants turned over by the Army, so located.

I am asking merely for towns, plant names, and estimated costs, as given in the Times clipping.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM

21st and C Streets NW. Washington 25, D. C.

IN REPLYING ADDRESS
THE DIRECTOR OF SELECTIVE SERVICE
AND REFER TO NO.

5-39

RECEIVED
OCT 8
Southern Regional Council
VETERANS SERVICES

4 October 1945

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Director of Veterans Services
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Subject: Work of the Southern Regional Council for Veterans.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for sending me the brief statement of the work for veterans which you have undertaken for the Southern Regional Council. I shall be interested in learning the results of your study.

I enjoyed our conference very much and hope that we will be able to get together again to discuss some of the veteran problems in light of your experiences while conducting this study.

For The Director

CAMPBELL C. JOHNSON
Colonel, Infantry
Executive Assistant

X gm

DELTA AIR CORPORATION

GENERAL OFFICES • MUNICIPAL AIRPORT

ATLANTA • GEORGIA

RECEIVED
OCT 8
Southern Regional Council
VETERANS SERVICES

October 5, 1945.

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for your letter of September 28 giving us your very timely suggestion regarding taxi-cab service to and from the airport.

For your information we are making arrangements to show that the Checker Cab Company (or a specific cab company) be designated for taxi service at the rate of fifty cents instead of one dollar for our passengers. In other words, if a passenger should hail a cab other than the Checker Cab Company they will be charged one dollar for the trip.

Yours very truly,

T. M. Lemly

Thomas M. Lemly,
Acting General
Traffic Manager.

WLP

WLP/fs

General

October 8, 1945

Mr. James S. Heizer
408 Russel Road
Silver Spring, Maryland

Dear Jimmy:

I had some idea of carrying in the Southern Frontier (published by the SRC) a note on the new housing bill.

Enclosed is my note, rough-draft.

I am no lawyer, and I may be very wide of the mark in my condensing of the bill.

Could you ask Bill Frazier or somebody in Housing to have it checked over and mailed back to me.

I assume through channels.

Emendation, polishing, expansion welcomed.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

Gen

October 16, 1945

Mr. George Rettinger, Comptroller
CIO Political Action Committee
205 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Rettinger:

I have just talked with Carithers-Wallace-Courtney, Inc., about the $6.05 balance due on the PAC account and find that CIO-PAC has now been credited with the box of envelopes returned on May 30th, and this balance is no longer on the books.

I think this finally cleans up all the "leftovers" from the PAC Atlanta office.

Sincerely,

Anna S. Warwick
Secretary to George S. Mitchell

CIO POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE
205 EAST 42nd STREET • NEW YORK 17, N. Y. • MUrray Hill 3-5580

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Counsel
GEORGE RETTINGER
Comptroller

October 2, 1945

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We are in receipt of your letter dated September 24th, enclosing the statement from Carithers-Wallace-Courtenay, Inc. showing a balance owed them of $6.05.

We were informed by your office that this figure represented some clasp envelopes returned to them and for which we were to be credited for.

We wrote them a letter on September 4th explaining the credit but it obviously didn't do any good. Perhaps you ought to call them. These envelopes were returned to them on May 30, 1945.

Sincerely yours,

George Rettinger gstone

George Rettinger
Comptroller

GR:gs

uopwa #1

Carithers-Wallace-Courtenay Inc.

C.W.C OFFICE OUTFITTERS

WALNUT 9200 — 17 HOUSTON STREET

COMMERCIAL STATIONERY — FILING SYSTEMS

STEEL AND WOOD OFFICE FURNITURE

ATLANTA 3, GA.

C. I. O. Political Action Committee
75 Ivy Street
Atlanta, Ga.

STATEMENT OF YOUR ACCOUNT FOR MONTH ENDING AUG 31 1945 — TERMS NET CASH

6.05

CUSTOMER DETACH HERE

FORWARD THE ABOVE STUB WITH YOUR REMITTANCE. RETAIN THIS LOWER STUB FOR YOUR REFERENCE. YOUR CANCELLED CHECK IS A RECEIPT.

MAY 18	18.35
MAY 18	1.32
JUN 1	1.00
JUN 19	7.80
	28.47 S
JUL 14	22.42-
	6.05 *

Check enclosed rtd 5/30/45

C.W.C. OFFICE OUTFITTERS

CARITHERS-WALLACE-COURTENAY, INC.
17 HOUSTON ST. WALNUT 9200
ATLANTA 3, GA.

PAYMENT DUE ON RECEIPT OF STATEMENT

Carithers-Wallace-Courtenay Inc.

WALNUT 9200

C.W.C
OFFICE OUTFITTERS

№ 83002

SOLD TO

C.I.O. POLITICAL ACTION COM,
75 IVY STREET,
ATLANTA, GEORGIA.

COMMERCIAL STATIONERY
FILING SYSTEMS
STEEL & WOOD OFFICE FURNITURE

17 HOUSTON ST
ATLANTA, GA.

SALESMAN	PURCHASED BY	DATE
ALLEN KEY		5/18/45

S-	3 BOXES (250 TO BX) C.W.C. CLASP ENVELOPES #93	18.15
	1 BOTTLE MORRISET INK	.20

(1) INVOICE—KEEP THIS BILL TO CHECK YOUR MONTHLY STATEMENT.

Gen

October 23, 1945

Mr. Neill Raymond
United States Department of Agriculture
Farm Security Administration
Denver, Colorado

Dear Neill:

I sent a copy of your book to Bill Jump, Office of Budget and Finance, in the Department.

On October 10th he wrote me back:

"Some weeks ago you were kind enough to send me a copy of the booklet published privately by the Investigation Division of FSA. This is one of the most unique documents, and also one of the nicest things I have ever seen done. I feel tremendously complimented by being one of the recipients of a copy of it. I have it at home and have now read part of the way through it, as bedtime reading. I find it interesting and refreshing; don't know that I have ever read anything exactly like it before. When I finish it I intend to bring it down to the office and pass it around to a few selected people who ought to read it."

There could hardly be any harm in carrying this part of the letter in the "IV Vine", if the editors should think that suitable.

I knew Bill would like to see the book.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

RECEIVED
OCT 11 1945
Southern Regional Council

October 10, 1945

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Some weeks ago you were kind enough to send me a copy of the booklet published privately by the Investigation Division of FSA. This is one of the most unique documents, and also one of the nicest things I have ever seen done. I feel tremendously complimented by being one of the recipients of a copy of it. I have it at home and have now read part of the way through it, as bedtime reading. I find it interesting and refreshing; don't know that I have ever read anything exactly like it before. When I finish it I intend to bring it down to the office and pass it around to a few selected people who ought to read it.

Until I received your note I did not know you were in Atlanta. I was down there not many weeks ago, with Mr. Dodd of AAA, to have a rush meeting with Judge Tarver at Dalton. The next time I am in Atlanta I will take the liberty of paying you a call.

I hope you are having an interesting time.

With personal regards, I remain

Sincerely,

W. G. Murray

gen

October 23, 1945

Miss Virginia L. Owens
1550 N. W. 27
Oklahoma City 6, Oklahoma

Dear Miss Owens:

I am sorry that because of travel we were so slow in answering your letter of September 28th about printed material about the part played by the Negro in the war.

The Council, in cooperation with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, will shortly be publishing a pamphlet which will review the whole matter. Meanwhile, most of our file material is at Nashville, Tennessee, being used in preparation of the pamphlet. I have found one of the best sources the series of news releases from the War Department, Bureau of Public Relations, News Division, Washington, D. C. I imagine that if you wrote them they would be glad to send you a bundle of back copies of releases relating to the services of Negroes in the Army.

Another good document is Army Service Forces Manual M5, entitled "Leadership and the Negro Soldier". This was classified as restricted, but it is quite possible that you could have access to it at some local post of the Army Service Forces or through writing to the Army Service Forces, War Department, Washington, D. C.

I am arranging for a copy of the pamphlet I spoke of to be sent you when it comes out.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

More correspondence with Miss Owens is in Council files

Jm

October 23, 1945

American Society for Public Administration
1313 East 60th Street
Chicago 37, Illinois

Attention: Miss Hazel Jackson

Dear Miss Jackson:

Many thanks for sending the first edition of the membership list.

In going through it, I am sorry to note the very limited membership the Society has in the Southern states. I note also that a fair proportion of those we have in the South are officials of the various state governments. That is all to the good.

It has probably long since occurred to the Society to circularize certain classes of state officials whosenames and addresses would be listed in the Directory of State Governments. I think particularly of heads of State Civil Service Administration, State AttorneysGenerals, Governors, Presidents or other presiding officers of State Senates, Speakers of Legislatures, etc.

Minute correction: For Georgia you have listed as a member at Atlanta one Dellard B. Lassetter. Should be Dillard B. Lassetter.

In the next edition my own name shifts to Atlanta from Richmond, Virginia. Apparently, I am a Georgian from now on.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

October 24, 1945

gen

Mrs. Helen Hill Miller, Executive Director
National Policy Committee
National Press Building
Washington 4, D. C.

Dear Helen:

Here's my buck.

Wish it were more.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

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VICE-CHAIRMAN
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JAMES B. CONANT
ROSCOE DRUMMOND
ALLEN W. DULLES
JOHN W. EDELMAN
HARRY A. EHLE
MARION B. FOLSOM
CHRISTIAN HERTER
E. HOWARD HILL
WATTS HILL
EDWARD J. MEEMAN
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G. BERNARD NOBLE
H. W. PARISIUS
JAMES G. PATTON
WALTER M. PHILLIPS
WALTER ROSENBERRY
SIDNEY SHERWOOD
EDWARD P. WARNER
ROBERT J. WATT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS
HAROLD E. WOOD

October 2, 1945

RECEIVED
OCT 4 1945

Dr. George Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I am engaged in the annual ungrateful task of asking people to continue the memberships which they have previously taken out in the NPC. This is such a request!

Won't you let me know next time you are in town. I should like to hear about your current plans. I should think that Josephine Wilkins would be very pleased at the hand given her organization in Mark Childs' column a few days ago. Did you happen to see it?

Sincerely,

Helen

Helen Hill Miller
Executive Director

HHM:lyk

Name:

Address:

Reader Membership $1.00

Supporting Membership 5.00

gen

October 24, 1945

Accounting Department
Pullman Company
Chicago, Illinois

Gentlemen:

Enclosed is Ticket #3131 for a lower berth to Richmond on October 22, 1945.

This ticket was not used; and if the space was sold to someone else, we are hoping you will see fit to make us a refund, although the space was not released according to your regulations.

We shall very much appreciate your giving this matter consideration.

Sincerely,

Anna S. Warwick
Secretary to George S. Mitchell

THE PULLMAN COMPANY

PULLMAN BUILDING, 79 EAST ADAMS STREET

CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS

E. P. BURKE,
PASSENGER TRAFFIC MANAGER
J. J. NOLAN,
ASST. PASSENGER TRAFFIC MANAGER

H. LOWDER,
GENERAL PASSENGER AGENT
G. S. CHAPPELL, JR.,
C. D. BOAK,
A. J. CROSS,
E. A. HURLEY, NEW YORK
ASST. GEN. PASSENGER AGENTS

Nov. 2, 1945

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Att: Anna S. Warwick
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Claim No. 475940

Your File

Gentlemen;

Your application for refund on the ticket described below has been received and we are sorry that the information at hand is not sufficient to allow for proper consideration of your request. The following explanation is offered, particularly in view of the possibility that there were conditions surrounding the non-use of the ticket which, if known, would permit us to make the desired adjustment. If so, we would like to hear from you.

Our present refund tariff, which is filed with the Interstate Commerce Commission and other regulatory bodies, provides substantially as follows:

1. Unused Pullman tickets may be redeemed at the full amount paid; (a) if the space covered has been released sufficiently in advance of departure of train for which sold to enable the accommodations being replaced on sale; (b) if connection has been missed due to delayed arrival of a connecting railroad train, or (c) if for any reason the accommodations covered by the tickets are not available. (Ticket agents are authorized to redeem unused tickets under these circumstances.)

2. When reservation is released after departure of train for which sold and as a result of such cancelation, use is made of the accommodations, refund of the rate applicable from the point where the space was used may be made.

In view of the foregoing, we are retaining the ticket and hope that you can give us additional information that will allow further consideration under the provisions of the tariff as outlined above.

Please refer in your reply to our claim number as shown above.

D-2

Yours truly,

H. Lowder

General Passenger Agent.

Office	Form	Number	Accom.	From	To	Date	Value
20-33	9	3131	Lower 1	Atlanta	Richmond	10/22/45	$4.95

16

Per

November 7, 1945

Mr. Thomas Richardson, Executive Vice-President
United Federal Workers of America
930 F Street, NW
Washington 4, D. C.

Dear Mr. Richardson:

Your letter of October 16th addressed to me in care of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, 955 G Place, NW, Washington, D. C., reached me by forwarding today. I am sorry for the incorrect address.

Apparently the critical date in your problem was October 23rd.

While I don't know of anything in particular I could do, if you still think I could help in some way, please let me know.

When I was in the Government, I dealt at length with a local of the UFWA and became convinced in practice, as I was already convinced in theory, that the union does a lot of good in any large administrative problem.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

UNITED FEDERAL WORKERS OF AMERICA

AFFILIATED WITH CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
930 F STREET, NORTHWEST
WASHINGTON 4, D. C.
DISTRICT 3288

ELEANOR NELSON, *President*
ARTHUR STEIN, *Secretary-Treasurer*

Executive Vice Presidents
L. E. TEMPEST
THOMAS RICHARDSON

October 16, 1945

Mr. George Mitchell
c/o Southern Conference for Human Welfare
935 G Place, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Members of the United Federal Workers of America, CIO at Howard University are in the midst of an attempt to secure collective bargaining relations with the administration of that institution. The majority of the eligible workers at Howard University are members of our union. Since we have not been able to secure action from the Board of Trustees of the University, which meets every six months and since the problems of the workers are extremely urgent, we have filed a request for an election with the NLRB and that request is at present under consideration by the agency.

However, our union is anxious to secure the quickest possible solution to the problem of bargaining relations and we would be happy to secure a settlement of this question with the Board of Trustees at Howard University without waiting for action by the NLRB. The Board of Trustees of the University will be in session Tuesday October 23rd here in Washington. Our union is arranging to discuss the problem of collective bargaining with as many Board members as possible, so that when the matter is discussed at the Board meeting, it will receive the most sympathetic attention.

Dr. Clark Forman tells me that it might be possible for you to arrange for a small group from the union to meet with Mr. Guy B. Johnson of the University of North Carolina when he arrives in Washington to attend the Board meeting. If it is possible for you to make such an appointment with Mr. Johnson for us, it will be extremely valuable in helping us to gain the greatest possible consideration for the workers at Howard University.

Since I have only been able to give you a brief picture in this letter of the very serious situation with regard to labor policies at Howard University, I will attempt to reach you by telephone on Wednesday, October 17th, at Dr. Forman's office to discuss the matter further with you.

Very sincerely yours,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson
Executive Vice-President

uopwa 27

Gen

November 26, 1945

Sgt. William Dixon
440 East 42nd Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Sgt. Dixon:

It seems to me that I ought to be perfectly sure of the amount of money I am going to have for the next year before I offer you a job.

It will be another couple of weeks yet before I hear finally about my budget. If I am to be in funds, I shall want you and shall write you to that effect. You are well-trained, interested, and I am sure can do a good job.

I had the pleasure of talking further about you with Father Maloney in New Orleans a couple of days ago, and was delighted to hear that you had picked up a Civil Service job.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

Write to him Nov 20

Charge to the account of SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. $

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
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Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY BUY WAR BONDS TODAY

Sgt. William Dixon
440 East 42nd Street
Chicago, Illinois

FATHER MALONEY TELLS ME YOU HAVE APPLIED FOR JOB. YOUR LETTER NOT RECEIVED. I SHALL BE IN CHICAGO SATURDAY NOVEMBER TENTH. PHONE ME 8AM SHORELAND HOTEL TENTH.

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell

Charge to the account of $

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
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NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK

ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY BUY WAR BONDS TODAY

November 5, 1945

Rev. Father Harry Maloney, S. S. J.
Corpus Christi Church
New Orleans, Louisiana

DIXON LETTER NOT RECEIVED. SHALL BE IN CHICAGO NOVEMBER TENTH AND HAVE WIRED DIXON TO MEET ME THERE 9AM TENTH. INTERVIEW.

George S. Mitchell

Glen

November 30, 1945

Mr. James G. Evans
Assistant Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War
War Department
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Evans:

You will recall your letter of November 14th about on-the-job training.

I enclose a letter sent out the other day to some twenty Fellows of the Southern Regional Council which gives my views. The only thing I see to do is put on a big campaign to get the benefits known and used. There is an opening here for a private agency such as ours. The State Governments and their local offices generally take the position that they will serve the program as it develops, but it is up to the public to demand development.

I am trying to make andadministrative survey of services to veterans in each southern state. So far, I am half through Virginia and nearly done with Louisiana. The results are nothing startling, but I find a good many weak spots, and have in each case asked local private outfits to do what they can to amend them. As an instance, the State of Louisiana supports a single official in the Department of Education whose duty it is to approve places for job training and inspect them. The consequence is that less than one hundred places have been approved for the whole state.

I shall be coming to Washington sometime reasonably soon and will make it my business to go and see you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

P.S. You put a note on your letter about recruiting in Atlanta. I have not checked it in Atlanta; in New Orleans in mid-October I found a recruiting desk with two white recruiting sergeants placed in the white side of USES. On the colored side, no desk. There was a poster urging the enlistment in the WAVES. In mid-November when I checked it again, a recruiting poster was up on the Negro side with overprinted words, "Desk on the other side of this building".

P.S. —

I understand ~~that~~ ~~the~~ Army Recruiting office in Atlanta is located in USES in a place where our people cannot go to it. Obviously such would not promote enlistment. Any observations?

JCE

WAR DEPARTMENT

WASHINGTON, D. C.

14 November 1945

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Director of Veterans Services
Southern Regional Council, Inc
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am sending herewith my immediate reactions to your letter of 12 November 1945. These are subject to further detailing and revision. I hope that they may lead to extended discussions at an appropriate time. Possibly more of this should be attempted immediately since it would be our intention to make the observations and findings available for the counseling service which we extend to soldiers leaving the service.

Any mention of job and training within the same sentence gives broad coverage to my own interests as well as covering our official concerns regarding men who have been taken into the Armed forces. Immediately the question comes up as to what jobs are available and where, and what approaches can be made through these job situations to improve training on these jobs, looking toward advancement and more equitable job occupancy.

You may recall that I worked with Dr. Weaver in opening opportunities throughout the region for training, on-the-job and otherwise, for the expanding war industries. It seems to me that achievements during that phase of the war effort provide ample basis for proposals and conclusions for peace time pursuits. If these things can be done for war then, why can they not more readily be accomplished for peace?

FOR VICTORY
BUY UNITED STATES WAR BONDS AND STAMPS

I think your experiences in this area and mine are such that further details are not necessary here and now. The full impact will not arrive for some time. I am not optimistic that the situation will be well in hand when it does arrive, but the possibilities for outstanding successes and achievements merit more service and attention than will be immediately available.

I hope you will reply on two points. Where may we point properly to entre for on-the-job training and when may your findings and observations be reviewed at Atlanta?

Sincerely yours,

James C. Evans

James C. Evans,
Assistant Civilian Aide to the
Secretary of War.

cc: Dr. Ira De A. Reid

November 12, 1945

Mr. James C. Evans
Assistant Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War
War Department
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Evans:

I greatly appreciate your letter of November 7th.

I shall be careful to keep you informed of the results of my look-around.

For the moment it seems to me that by far the most generally useful benefit can be the on-the-job training program. That fits the needs of the South.

If you agree about that, it would be helpful for the War Department to follow closely the development of the on-the-job training program and help it wherever possible.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

W.C. 4/4
C-for file
Wash guy

WAR DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON, D. C.

RECEIVED

7 November 1945

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I was glad to learn at Chicago of the significant program which now engages your attention. I only wish that I could participate with you in this work in view of its great importance in our effort here.

I hope you will list us as being especially interested and concerned and give us the benefit of your findings.

I hope that we may meet at a later date for further reviews.

Sincerely yours,

James C. Evans

James C. Evans,
Assistant Civilian Aide to the
Secretary of War.

FOR VICTORY
BUY UNITED STATES WAR BONDS AND STAMPS

GSM Gen'l Corsp

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
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WESTERN UNION

1207

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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F	TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

December 1[illegible] 19~~43~~

FOR VICTORY BUY WAR BONDS TODAY

To Mr. R. W. Hudgens

Care of or Apt. No. Assistant Administrator, Farm Security Administration

Street and No. U. S. Department of Agriculture

Place Washington, D. C.

THAT'S A CRYING SHAME.

George S. Mitchell

PAID

Sender's name and address George S. Mitchell, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. Wa. 7963
(For reference only)

Sender's telephone number

WAR DEPARTMENT

WASHINGTON, D. C.

14 December 1945

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Room 432, 60 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Since my last note I have taken occasion to study the outline of your program to assist the returning veteran in his retraining and reconversion efforts. I am glad to have this very clear analysis of a difficult situation.

Sincerely yours,

James C. Evans

James C. Evans,
Acting Civilian Aide to the
Secretary of War.

Gen

December 20, 1945

Mr. Robert N. Ford
Research Technician
Room 2D 561, The Pentagon
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Ford:

Many thanks for your letter of December 11. I am eager to talk with you the next time I get to Washington.

So far, I have had a close lookeat Louisiana and at some of Virginia. A few things stand out:

Practically every southern Veterans Administration contact office should have a Negro interviewer. Those USES offices which use Negro staffs are reasonably well liked by the Negro community. Those that don't, aren't.

Selective Service should make it a practice to put on Negro Reemployment Committeemen in every place where there is an appreciable Negro population.

The great potential benefit for veterans is job training. It needs to be pushed much more than it is being pushed. I doubt if the majority of the Negro veterans thus far have any clear idea of what it is and how to get it.

The Retraining and Reemployment Administration could put some pressure through its state Veterans Service Committees on Information Centers in the South to use Negro interviewers. The Red Cross should use Negro personnel in all of these Southern cities.

I know that as soon as one urges taking on Negro personnel, the argument is made that one is simply trying to make more white collar jobs for Negroes. In this instance it is a question purely of efficiency. Negro veterans are not getting the same service as white veterans, because they are not being received with the same patience, imaginatiion, ingenuity, and sympathy that white counselors give to white veterans.

There are a couple of other fields that the Veterans Administration canhpartly reach but that need working on. State programs of apprenticeship training are directed mainly by officials of craft unions that exclude Negroes from membership. Often their

authority on apprenticeship training is statutory. Similarly, many state veterans service organizations (variously named in various states) are ultimately directed (again often with statutoty authority) by officials of veterans organizations the state department of which refuses to admit Negroes to the white post and refuses to charter Negro posts.

I attach a paragraph from the October issue of the Monthly Summary of Events and Trends in Race Relations (Fisk) abput my intended surveys.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSMsw

Charge to the account of _____ $ _____

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DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
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WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

COLLECT

Jan. 23, 1946

Miss Albina Brinton
National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax
120 S. La Salle St.
Chicago 3, Illinois

MITCHELL AWAY. WILL LET YOU KNOW MONDAY ABOUT FESTIVAL DINNER.

Anna S. Warwick

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH THE POLL TAX

127 B ST. S. E. • WASHINGTON 3, D. C. • LINCOLN 4820 - 4821

MIDWEST OFFICE
120 S. LA SALLE ST.
CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS
CENTRAL 1667

JENNINGS PERRY
Chairman

DR. WILL ALEXANDER
MARY McLEOD BETHUNE
VIRGINIA FOSTER DURR
Vice Chairmen

DINA BLOCH
Treasurer

KATHERINE SHRYVER
Executive Secretary

January 17, 1946

George S. Mitchell, Author
Director CIO-PAC
Richmond, Va.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The FESTIVAL FOR FREEDOM Committee, composed of twenty-one civic organizations, is sponsoring a dinner on February 4, to abolish the poll tax. The FESTIVAL FOR FREEDOM is an all star show, which will be held February 24, 1946 at the Civic Opera House, Sunday afternoon at 2:30 P.M. The benefits of the show will go to the NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH THE POLL TAX.

Your own work, in the abolition of the poll tax, deserves the acclaim of the people of Chicago. We invite you to speak at the dinner, which will raise funds for the promotion of the FESTIVAL.

At this crucial time, when H.R.7 has a chance of becoming law, it is imperative that we have funds to intensify our campaign. Your presence will mean the success of our dinner.

May we hear from y u, by collect wire, as to whether you will be able to attend? If it happens that it will be more convenient for you to be in Chicago at the time of our FESTIVAL, let us know and we will arrange the program for you to speak.

Sincerely yours,

Albina Brinton

ALBINA BRINTON For
Chairman of the FESTIVAL FOR FREEDOM

LCP:AB:el
24 uopwa cio

THIRTY-SEVEN widely representative national organizations officially sponsor and support the work of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax. Scores of nationally known individuals also endorse and support it. Their names will be found on the reverse of this sheet.

SUPPORTING ORGANIZATIONS

Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority • Alpha Phi Alpha • American Civil Liberties Union • American Federation of Labor • American Federation of Labor, Women's Auxiliaries • American Unitarian Youth • Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen • Church League for Industrial Democracy • Colored Voters League of America • Congress of Industrial Organizations • Congress of Women's Auxiliaries • Council Against Intolerance in America • Delta Sigma Theta • Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union • Fraternal Council of Negro Churches • Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the World • Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions • International Labor Defense • League of Women Shoppers • National Association for the Advancement of Colored People • National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses, Inc. • National Conference of Social Work • National Council of Negro Women • National Federation for Constitutional Liberties • National Federation of Settlements • National Intercollegiate Christian Council • National Lawyers Guild • National Negro Business League • National Negro Congress • National Urban League • National Women's Trade Union League • Railway Labor Executives Association • Southern Conference for Human Welfare • Townsend Plan • United Christian Council for Democracy • Women's Christian Service Division of the Methodist Church • Young Women's Christian Association

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Gpn

January 29, 1946

Mr. Claude Barnett
Associated Negro Press
3507 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Barnett:

You will remember that when I saw you in Washington a couple of weeks ago you said I might write you something about job training, and that you would try to get it widely carried.

Here is what I have written.

I don't know how long a story you want. To play safe I made it as short as I could. It doesn't seem to me sensible to try to spell out all the regulations in this. What needs to be done is to get the boys to go to their local offices and ask for job training. Then, the regulations begin to unroll.

If this doesn't suit, let me know and I will try again.

You were very kind to offer to give this boost to job training.

Suggested title: "Job Training for Veterans, by George S. Mitchell, Director of Veterans Services, Southern Regional Council, Inc."

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Director of Veterans Services

GSM:jm
Enclosure

Gpl

January 30, 1946

Mr. Bruce Bliven
President
The New Republic
40 East 49th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Bliven:

Many thanks for your letter of January 17 about an article for the New Republic.

The master benefit for the veterans is education. Everybody understands that the men get help in going back to high school or to college. Hardly anybody understands that they can get help in learning a trade.

Most of the Southern veterans got so little schooling that nothing will pull them into high schools or colleges now.

The skills they began to pick up in the army don't equip them for jobs carrying skilled or semi-skilled rates of pay. They are resisting laborer's jobs. If in quite large numbers they could now be put into training for the better classes of work, common sense, justice, peace, and prosperity will get a boost.

Fortunately, the GI Bill is so flexible that it covers this need. Congress did as it usually does in matters of education, undertaking to foot the bill but leaving supervision to the states. Therefore, the states manage job training, usually through state Departments of Education. It is up to each veteran to find a boss who will pay him learner's pay and teach him a trade. If the employer's firm is approved by the state authority for job training, then the boy so taken on can begin to draw from the Veterans Administration enough of his GI pay to put his combined earnings at, or nearly at, the skilled man's rate for learner's work.

The same deal is becoming available, state by state, for on-the-farm training. On this the veterans get what teaching the employer-farmer will give, plus a stated minimum of classroom and on-the-farm teaching in vocational agriculture by Smith-Hughes teachers. The states collect from the Veterans Administration so much per veteran per month as tuition for this on-the-farm training. The farm end of it will help solve the shortage of farm labor, will teach needed skills, and will hold men off the present bad farm purchase market.

Rightly run and widely used, these two benefits will make a great contribution. They have pitfalls. Wage regulation is scanty, and inspection to see that the men are properly trained is as yet rudimentary. Many craft unions are interested in a related program, which is also available to veterans, called apprenticeship training.

To get job training going will need tighter and more vigorous administration. The great bottleneck is persuading employers to take on trainees. If the veterans servicing agencies were more active than they are, they could do more of this. At the moment, as they have comparatively few applicants, they are not exerting themselves.

Some other things are greatly needed in the improvement of services to veterans in the South. Negro veterans who go to local offices of veterans administration or the draft boards or the Employment Service or the Red Cross or the Veterans Information Service usually are quizzed and advised exclusively by white personnel. This is inefficient. Also, most servicing agencies hereabouts pride themselves on keeping no breakdown in their services by race. Lastly, the administrative insistence on local autonomy calls for more cooperativeness among the many servicing agencies than they are able to muster. Signs point to the continual strengthening of the field offices of the Veterans Administration itself as the best means of getting uniform and effective and less discriminatory administration.

These are my findings so far. If the New Republic would like an article roughly along this line, I would, of course, be delighted to do it. If so, tell me where to put emphasis and what else you would like discussed.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Director of Veterans Services

GSM:jm

BRUCE BLIVEN
PRESIDENT
DANIEL MEBANE
TREASURER

The New
REPUBLIC
40 East 49th Street,
New York 17, N.Y.

January 17, 1946

Dear Mr. Mitchell.

Helen Fuller told me of her conversation with you about a possible article on the position of the returned Negro veteran in the South. This is, of course, something which interests us very much, and we are in general favorable to an article on it. Before you go ahead, however, I wonder if you could not write me a one-page letter just summarizing the contents of the article? Then we'd know a little better just what to expect.

Faithfully,

Bruce Bliven

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Ga.

BB:R

339

THE AMERICAN NATIONAL RED CROSS

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

WASHINGTON 13, D. C.

February 6, 1946

Dr. George Mitchell
906 Lullwater Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

Some weeks ago Monroe Oppenheimer and Arthur Bachrach mentioned that you were looking for a lawyer with the ability and point of view that could help you out in your present endeavor.

We discussed possibilities at some length, but none of us came up with any good ideas. I subsequently mentioned it to John Pehle, whom you may remember as one of the Treasury's top people and a first class fellow. He is assistant to Vinson and was formerly the head of the War Refugee Board. John had no ideas then, but this morning he called me about a fellow who might be what you want.

After checking with Arthur Bachrach, I told him that we didn't know whether the job was already filled, but that I would write you for that information.

The fellow John recommends - and I have never met him - is Walter S. Smith, Jr. He graduated from the Alabama law school in 1935, and is the son of a Walter S. Smith that has some reputation as a southern liberal and friend of Mr. Justice Black. He is 35 and apparently had several years of practice in Birmingham before joining the army some 3½ years ago, from which he has just been discharged.

Since his home is in the south, he presumably could drop in and see you if you have any interest, but since I don't know whether you need someone and, furthermore, don't know except on the broadest general terms what you are doing, I thought the above information would be satisfactory for you for the present.

I got home in late October and out of the army in November, and since that time have been trying to help Douglass Poteat out over here. If you can find time, I would like to know what you are doing and when you are next in Washington, I hope you will give me a ring.

1946 FUND CAMPAIGN
GIVE

Sincerely yours,

Harold Stan

NATIONAL CONFERENCE of SOCIAL WORK

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February 11, 1946

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am glad to know that you will be on hand with us for the meetings at the National Conference of Social Work in Buffalo on May 23, 9 to 10:30 a.m. On the basis of all the acceptances I think we have the makings of a good panel which will deal with racial and cultural tensions involving Negro-White, Jewish-Gentile, and Japanese-American.

Arthur Swift of Union Theological Seminary in New York City will be the presiding officer at the panel, and I am asking him to deal directly with all of the panel participants from now on in shaping up that meeting.

Yours very sincerely,

Arthur E. Fink

Arthur E. Fink
Chairman, Methods of
Social Action Section

Division of Public Welfare
and Social Work
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Buffalo, New York, May 19-25, 1946

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General

February 11, 1946

Mr. Bruce Bliven
President
THE NEW REPUBLIC
40 East 49th Street
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Bliven:

Thanks for your letter of February 4th, offering the possibility of an editorial note.

I have boiled it down to a shade under two hundred words.

Although an old reader of the NEW REPUBLIC, I am quite uncertain that I strike your editorial stride.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

NEW REPUBLIC

Everybody knows the GI Bill of Rights helps veterans to go to high school or college. It is not so well known that veterans can get Government help while learning a trade on the job. Congress left veterans' education to the states, and job training is education. Under the plan, the veteran himself must find a job where the employer will teach him a skill. If the employer receives state approval the veteran gets learner's pay from the employer, plus a supplement from the Veterans Administration which brings him to or toward the rate for the skill he is learning. A similar deal is open for on-the-farm training. Both plans fill a real need, especially for the men who won't or can't take full time education. The program needs administrative tightening. State Departments of Education are not particularly good at setting wages, and they do little inspecting of approved employers. Some unions dislike job training as a threat to apprenticeship standards. For the veterans one great question is whether they can get jobs equal to their abilities. Vocational training, including job training and farm training, needs stepping up.

EDITORS
BRUCE BLIVEN
GEORGE SOULE
MICHAEL STRAIGHT
STARK YOUNG

The New
REPUBLIC
40 East 49th Street,
New York 17, N.Y.

BRUCE BLIVEN
PRESIDENT
DANIEL MEBANE
TREASURER

February 4, 1946

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of January 30. I am sorry to tell you that we are so hard pressed I see no way of getting an article such as you outline, into the paper. We now have more than twenty articles waiting publication, and are working them off at the rate of less than one a week, which means that our space is engaged for five months ahead, except for absolutely compulsory material, and this does not seem to come under that heading.

We would of course be glad to print a letter from you in our correspondence columns, just summarizing the main points of the problem, if not more than one-page of double-spaced typewriting. Or, alternatively, we would be glad to try to print an editorial by you, not more than 200 words, just pointing out the size ~~that characters~~ and character of the problem and the opportunity for veterans in the South.

Faithfully,

Bruce Bliven

Bruce Bliven

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Director of Veterans Services
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 A uburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

BB:ai

Gen

February 14, 1946

Mr. Trueman Gibson
3507 South Park Way
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Gibson:

Dr. Alexander wrote me some weeks ago of his conversation with you about people I could use. Since then I have got up to an beyond my budget with personnel, so I am not at the moment trying to get additional people.

The main thing I find to do is to push job training and farm training for veterans. They are weak programs now, loosely run by the states. But they could be the means of lifting a good third of the Negro veterans into well paid work. I am trying to get it out on the grapevine that this is a main chance. After we get more applicants, it may be possible to get better administration. I hear the Office of Education may be able to give money to the states to enable them to tighten the program.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

Gen

February 14, 1946

Mr. Claude A. Barnett
The Associated Negro Press, Inc.
3507 South Parkway
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Mr. Barnett:

Very many thanks for your letter of February 4th and for getting the story out to the papers. I have heard from four or five people in scattered points all around that the story was well played and was causing discussion. It was a real kindness of you to get the story such good display.

I had been told in New Orleans that by agreement between eight southern states the entering wage for job trainees was half skilled man's pay. I was told subsequently in Norfolk that this is incorrect. The factual basis - as I now have it - is that the Associated General Contractors in a southern eight state area have agreed among themselves that the entry wage for apprenticeship shall be half the skilled rate. That would have a reflection in the rate used in unorganized apprenticeship opportunities - if any - in the building trades.

I do not now hear of any generally applicable minimum wage in connection with job training. It varies from state to state, and from trade to trade, and from town to town. In Georgia, for instance, the officials in charge of job training tell the employers that they may take on trainees at whatever they ordinarily pay new men. The federal minimum wage of forty cents an hour is nearly always rock bottom, because employers can't get anybody for less than that. Where the unions have pushed the effective minimum up, a new, higher minimum usually rules on job training. For instance, in the textile industry in the South fifty-five cents an hour is now quite well established as the minimum wage. I was told in North Carolina that that figure is often the least that will be offered from the employer to a veteran trainee.

The whole field of wage stipulation in job training is of course wide open and undoubtedly is being abused. I hope that measures being taken by the Retraining and Reemployment Administration in Washington will tighten and regularize it considerably. In any case, even where the

arrangement works as a subsidy to the employer, I would urge veterans to get on the program, because many persons will combine a little later to tighten the administration.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

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February 4, 1946

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Director of Veterans Services,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thanks a lot for this excellent story. It passed through the mill before my suggestion that you be identified, had been acted upon. We will do so in whatever else you send, if you do not object. We could have given a thumbnail sketch of you and told of the work you are doing for the Council among Negro veterans. You did not use the word Negro and probably it was unnecessary. All are veterans.

Did you ever get confirmation of the fact that Southern State Superintendents of Education had met to agree upon a wage differential for veterans in training? I brought the matter up in a conference the next day where some high placed persons were. None of them had heard of it.

Sincerely,
THE ASSOCIATED NEGRO PRESS,

C. A. Barnett

Claude A. Barnett.

ir

8/2

February 18, 1946

Miss Marilyn Caca
Community Manager
Antioch College Community Government
Yellow Springs, Ohio

Dear Miss Caca:

I greatly appreciate your letter of February 5th and the leaflet about the college. You know I am a confirmed pro-Antiocher.

I haven't got any money, but I am in touch with a good many Negroes of college age. I have sunk Antioch's praises a good many times and shall do so the more for your letter.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

ANTIOCH COLLEGE COMMUNITY GOVERNMENT

YELLOW SPRINGS, OHIO

February 5, 1946

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

We at Antioch College are seeking genuine representativeness in our student body by having on our campus people of all races, many religions, and from all sections of the country and world. Our purpose is to promote inter-racial understanding through association of individuals of one race with those of another. At Antioch College now are several Nisei students, some Negro students, and students from other countries. We continue to seek outstanding students from all groups.

The enclosed booklet, "No One Group", tells something more about what we believe and why we believe it. We hope you will read it. To put our beliefs into practice, we are seeking two things:

1) Support for our Race Relations Scholarship Fund, which is used to help outstanding Negro students attend Antioch College;

2) Outstanding Negro students who will benefit most from the excellent scholastic program Antioch offers in the arts and the sciences; from the vocational guidance they will receive through the cooperative work side of Antioch's program; and from the training in citizen-leadership offered by Antioch's and that Antioch has much to offer them.

Will you join with us in our search for broader educational basis for inter-racial understanding and in our work of training future leaders of all races who have learned at Antioch the techniques for working together?

If you want to contribute to our Fund, please make your check payable to the Race Relations Scholarship Fund, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio. If you want to tell students about us or tell us about students, we shall be glad to send literature to you or receive information from you.

Sincerely yours,

Marilyn Caca

Marilyn Caca
Community Manager

NO ONE GROUP...

A statement about the beliefs and work of the Race Relations Committee

at

ANTIOCH COLLEGE

Yellow Springs, Ohio

1945

TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION LABEL XENIA O.

Introduction

A Statement of Beliefs

When Antioch was founded in 1853, a firm belief in the liberal principles of education was expressed at the College. Like its first president, Horace Mann, the College over the years has been opposed to discrimination against individuals because of their race, their color, their sex, or their religious beliefs. Also like Horace Mann, all of us who are members of the Antioch community today believe that in our lifetime we should try to "win some victory for humanity."

Man's ultimate victory must be a world governed by tolerance and good will, where every man is judged solely on his performance as a human being. We at Antioch believe in the possibility of such a world. But we believe also that the making of it is not a job for any one group—that it will take the energies, the knowledge, the ideals of all men working together—that when we keep any one group from making this contribution, the whole world suffers. We think it important, therefore, that for the sake of all, no one group should be excluded from contributing economically, politically, artistically, and socially to the life of the nation.

The problems we face are not simple, though we try to state them in simple words: to reconcile the differences of nationality and color, of creed and opinion, and to increase for all peoples the opportunity to be and to give their best.

We have had to answer for ourselves a number of questions: Can any individual be at his best who must remain uneducated, or who, although educated, is still forced to assume an inferior status? Can any person reach his potential stature and full maturity who is not free to choose his associates from a wide group, and to gain from them knowledge and companionship? Can he give his best if excluded from work that is stimulating and challenging, through which he could make his contribution to our world?

The statements in this pamphlet were prepared by Antioch students and faculty who were members of the Antioch Race Relations Committee during the winter and spring quarters of 1945.

Solutions to the problems implied in the foregoing questions will not come quickly nor easily, nor through the efforts of just a few men of good will. Every individual, every group, every institution which is in a position to do so must work toward the solution, no matter how small its contribution may be.

A college certainly should not set itself outside of this problem. In college, as in the world, we cannot learn tolerance and understanding of one another in segregated groups. We at Antioch are trying to find a common ground on which all groups may work together. We are trying to build together the sort of community in which mutual respect and free exchange of ideas and opinions may flourish. We are trying to learn to base our beliefs on facts and first-hand experiences with individuals rather than on preconceived notions. In these efforts, every individual taking part has a unique contribution to make. If he is not encouraged to do so, then our whole undertaking will suffer. We think that students of all races, working together, have much to contribute to this goal, and that in turn Antioch can give them all knowledge and experience that will be meaningful throughout their lives.

The Work of the Antioch Race Relations Committee

The Race Relations Committee was started at Antioch College in 1941 by students and faculty in the community who were interested in working to secure better understanding and co-operation among all the races. One step in the direction of such understanding, it seemed to the members of the committee was maintaining in the student body representation from the various races. The committee knew that many well-qualified students, particularly those coming from minority groups, were unable to attend the College for financial reasons. In an attempt to equalize educational opportunity, therefore, they set up the Race Relations Scholarship Fund. It is hoped that this fund will be large enough in time so that members of many races may make applications for aid from it. At the present time it is available only to Negro students. To date a considerable sum has been contributed by faculty,

students, and other interested persons. It has taken the concerted efforts of the committee to maintain the fund in the past, and, if the committee is to continue to give scholarship aid, a large portion of its future efforts must also go to raising money and enlarging the present fund.

In addition to raising money for the Scholarship Fund the members of the Race Relations Committee conduct study groups, and make available to the Antioch community — through motion pictures, displays, and book reviews — the history and achievements of people of many races. The greatest amount of study is always given to the inter-racial and inter-cultural areas involving nationally the greatest amount of conflict and tension. Emphasis has been given so far to a study of Negro-white relationships. The Race Relations Committee works with the Assembly Committee to bring to the College some lecturers on the assembly series who will help students and faculty discover ways of bringing about better human relations between the races. To date a psychologist, an anthropologist, a poet, a novelist, a lawyer, a minister, a sociologist, and a politician have appeared on this series. In co-operation with other committees on campus (Civil Liberties, in particular), the Race Relations Committee attempts to keep the community informed about legislation affecting race relations — bills about education, voting, employment, and so on. Through the use of the bulletin board the Committee also keeps before the community news of what goes on in the field of race relations nationally and internationally, as well as information about the Committee's current program.

Students and faculty working on the Race Relations Committee have learned through their studies facts upon which they base their work in the present and their plans for the future. Some of these facts are:

1. There is no biological evidence that there are any but superficial physical differences between the different races, and there is no evidence of any kind that there are intellectual and character differences. There are "good genes" and "bad genes" in people of all races. There is no superior race, no inferior race.

2. National problems arise when any group in any part of the country is held back by not being given

equal educational and cultural opportunity, equal economic recognition, equal justice under the law. In other words, good environment is necessary for good development.

3. Psychological problems arise when any group is segregated from any other group either by voluntary or legal means. Such separation causes two-way suspicion, misunderstanding, and hatred.

4. The disastrous consequences of racial persecution in Europe have forced a realization of the extent to which either voluntary or legal discrimination based on race constitutes a threat to democracy itself.

5. In the United States, a country of many races, we must develop the full potentialities of all of our people if we are to develop fully as a nation. For the sake of progress and national morale we must have educated citizens who have places to use their educations; we must have cultural and economic contributions from all; we must maintain our manpower at a high level of efficiency and strength.

Because of these and other findings, the members of the Race Relations Committee have developed a set of principles which they have found helpful in proceeding with their work. These principles, as they have developed to date, follow:

1. We believe that better race relations mean better human relations. Everyone interested in making progress in this area should seek to know and be friends with persons of other races.

2. We believe that the beginning place for improving human relations is at the beginning of a person's life. It seems to us fundamental to have mixed racial programs in nursery schools, elementary schools, high schools, and colleges.

3. We believe that knowledge is necessary for progress in the field of race relations as in any other field. Many excellent books* have been written by many authorities which clarify the racial problems in the world and point the way to their solution.

---

*We suggest as a starting point for the study of Negro-white relationships in this country, for example, a careful reading of Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma,* published by Harper & Brothers, New York, 1944. 2 vols. "The most comprehensive

4. We believe that just legislation offers a way to make bridges over which millions of people can walk to a better way of life. Group study of legislation affecting such things as lynching, poll tax, white primaries, F.E.P.C., immigration exclusion laws, property rights for minority groups, housing, etc., can be of immense value to a whole community if the group keeps the community informed of its findings and recommendations.

5. We believe that people of good will sometimes get pushed apart by not understanding the words used by one another. It seems to us important, therefore, for people to try to get at the exact meaning and intentions of other people without getting emotional.

6. We believe that it is important for people to join together to work with people of similar beliefs in organizations trying to bring about better human and inter-racial relations. These groups may be church groups, labor groups, civil liberties groups, or professional inter-racial groups. We believe that there are two principal bases for judging whether the group a person proposes to join is a good group or a bad group. We believe that an inactive group is impotent and therefore a waste of time. We believe that any group that works to extend segregation is a bad group.

7. We believe that money can be made an extension of belief. For this reason, we think it is important for people who are interested in bettering race relations to contribute money as well as time to doing this. We seek help at Antioch for our Race Relations Scholarship Fund. We know there are hundreds of good causes elsewhere.

8. We believe that it is important for personal happiness and national security for all men and women in this country to open their hearts and minds and work for inter-racial equality. Equality must go with liberty. Fraternity must follow equality.

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report on the Negro in American society which has yet been made."

See also Bibliography, "Race Relations," a selected list of readings on racial and cultural minorities in the United States with special emphasis on Negroes, by Julia Waxman. Published by Julius Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois.

Antioch College Today

Antioch College is a progressive, co-educational, co-operative college offering a well-balanced program of studies in the arts and the sciences leading to both the B.A. and B.S. degrees. Its students come from every state in the country and several foreign countries. Under the co-operative work-and-study program students at Antioch alternate periods of study on campus with periods of regular work for regular pay in industries and professions in some 22 states. There is an interweaving of study and work experiences.

All students at Antioch have their periods on the "co-op job." The Antioch philosophy of education holds that the real test of book knowledge is how it measures up to actual experience and problems in the world; that no one should be expected to choose a vocation which must last him the rest of his life until he has had a taste of it actually on the job. Whenever possible, assuming that they have gained the necessary general working experience, Antioch students are placed on jobs closely related to their interests and abilities. There are jobs available for students who want experience in inter-racial work. It is our belief that students emerging from their co-operative program successfully have made considerable progress toward becoming responsible, open-minded individuals, alive to the world and to their communities, and aware of the personal and civic contributions they may make therein.

Application for Admission to Antioch College and for Scholarship Aid

Students who wish to apply for admission to Antioch should write to the Director of Admissions, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, for application blanks and other information. Those seeking aid from the Race Relations Scholarship Fund should indicate this fact, and their requests will be referred to the Race Relations Committee after their acceptance by the Admissions Committee. At present this aid is available for Negro students only.

In addition to receiving the applications for scholarship aid, the Race Relations Committee would also be glad to receive — from teachers, ministers, and others working with young people — the names of students who are qualified to meet Antioch's admission requirements. The students should have high scholastic and personal qualifications. The majority of Antioch students were in the upper quarter of their high school classes. The Antioch program is a demanding one, and anyone who does not have good aptitude and excellent health is not able to carry it successfully.

Gen

February 26, 1946

Mr. Jack H. Pollack
504 W. 110th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Pollack:

The best thing I know on the subject you asked about is the manuscript by George Stoney written about 1939, never printed, but multigraphed for the Conference of the Committee of Editors and Writers of the South. The last time I was in the PAC office in New York, I saw a precious stack of these on a top shelf. Maybe you already have one. If not, Palmer Weber could get you one. It has a number of instances in which county officials admit that it is the practice to pay poll taxes for voters. Altogether, it is a pretty good item for your case.

Another abundantly documented instance is the frauds in the primary for governor and lieutenant-governor of Virginia in the fall of 1945. In Wise County one candidate for lieutenant-governor, I believe, got a court verdict that fraud had been used against him. Of course this is not directly related to the poll tax, but it is indirectly related, because one could hardly get enough (fake) absentee ballots to tip the scales in an election in which everybody could vote. In any case, the election results were voided, and the candidate with the fewest votes was nominated by the court. Paul Weber knows all about this and doubtless has clippings on it. If he hasn't got a full file of clippings, David George, care Virginia Electoral Reform League, Richmond, Virginia, does have a full set of clippings. Moss Plunkett, unsuccessful candidate for governor in the same primary, would also be fully informed.

The Mississippi poll tax is a fraud in general. I have been told that up until the depression the tax qualification for voting in Mississippi was evidence of payment of land taxes. That worked fine as long as the planters had plenty of money to pay land taxes. When the planters were broke and did not pay their taxes, they were threatened with disfranchisement, so the Legislature obligingly shifted the tax qualification to the poll tax, because all the planters could raise two dollars. I suppose the croppers couldn't raise even that.

W. T. Adcock of the TWUA at Huntsville, Alabama, knows the real facts

about the system in vogue at one of the cotton mills there. Until the union came the mill paid everybody's poll tax. Whether they checked it out of the pay envelopes, I disremember. Anyway, if you worked at the mill your poll taxes got paid, and the mill would haul you to the polls every election. As soon as the CIO came in, the company stopped paying poll taxes. Adcock knows, because he had to make arrangements for everybody to pay the accumulative back poll taxes to the year when the mill quit paying them.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

P.S. I have asked my secretary to try to find a copy of Stoney's article. If she finds it, she will mail it to you. If you do not receive it in three or four days, you had better get Paul Weber to dig up one for you.

Jack H. Pollack
504 W. 110th Street
New York, New York

February 22, 1946

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Palmer Weber and Kit Shryver suggested I contact you regarding an anti-poll tax article which I am preparing.

Could you advise me if you know of any documented instances where the poll tax encouraged fraud and corruption? I would greatly appreciate any such information you can give me.

Many thanks.

Sincerely,

Jack Pollack

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR • 1710 BROADWAY • NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

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March 2, 1946

RW

Dr. G.S. Mitchell
Southern Conference for Human Welfare
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

You will be interested in the enclosed article by my colleague, Mr. Goodman Block, on needed changes in unemployment insurance. Mr. Block has very close knowledge of the subject, and I think you will find his recommendations for a nationalized system worthwhile.

With regards,

Sincerely yours,

BM

Broadus Mitchell, Consulting Economist, Research Dept.

BM/vyk

Enclosure

Gen

March 5, 1946

Dr. A. D. Henderson, President
Antioch College
Yellow Spings, Ohio

Dear Dr. Henderson:

I have been using five or six veterans of World War II on temporary employment traveling in Southern communities promoting job training as a veterans benefit. I find that this, the most useful benefit to Negro veterans, is little known. The men working for me get it out on the grapevine in the smaller Southern towns. I have been paying around $200.00 or $225.00 a month, plus traveling expenses, to Negro or white veterans on this job. It is strictly temporary. It occurred to me that the college and I might mutually benefit from lifting one or two of your boys into this work at your between-terms times.

The veterans would have to be Southern reared. I can teach them most of what they need to know in a couple of days here in Atlanta, and they will pick up the rest pretty fast in the field.

Perhaps, if you are interested, we could correspond further about it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
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Ship Radiogram

Gen

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QN57

Q.NA1249-1239 NL PD=UD NEWYORK NY 18 1946 MAR 19 AM 2 46

DR GEO.GE S MITCHELL VETERANS SERVICES RGL COUNCIL
63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST ATLA=..

WOULD VALUE YOUR RESPONSE INVITATION TO SPONSOR CONGRESS ON CIVIL RIGHTS MAILED LAST WEEK. THE 21 WHO INVITE YOU EMPHASIZE URGENCY CONFERENCE AND YOUR SUPPORT=
MILTON KAUFMAN SECRETARY.

Gladly serve as individual sponsor
congress on civil rights
George S. Mitchell

21.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

INITIATING COMMITTEE FOR A

Congress on Civil Rights

205 EAST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y. • MURRAY HILL 4-6640

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New York City

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Cambridge, Mass.

MILTON KAUFMAN
Executive Secretary

Organizations listed for identification.

March 9, 1946

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

We invite you to join us in sponsoring a national conference on April 27 and 28, 1946, with a two-fold object: to formulate a coordinated program of defense and advancement of civil and democratic rights in the United States in the post-war period, and to consider all steps required to assure a maximum unity of effort.

Text of the draft call is enclosed for your approval. Suggestions, of course, are welcome. The urgency and importance of a conference such as outlined will impress you, we trust, with the need for your quick and wholehearted support.

A reply card is enclosed. We hope you will respond favorably.

Sincerely yours,

Kirtley F. Mather
Edward J. Robinson
Elmer A. Benson
Carey McWilliams
Matthew Balokovic
John F. Shepard
Vito Marcantonio
Edwin McNeill Poteat
Charlotte Hawkins Brown
Benjamin Mays
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No Postage Stamp Necessary If Mailed in the United States

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First Class Permit No. 46221 — Sec. 510, P. L. & R., New York, N. Y.

Initiating Committee for a

CONGRESS ON CIVIL RIGHTS

205 EAST 42nd STREET

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Dear Sirs:

I agree to sponsor the call to a Congress on Civil Rights on April 27 and 28, 1946, draft of which was enclosed in the letter from the Initiating Committee.

signature

organization title

address

(use enclosed prepaid envelope)

uopwa 1-39

URGENT SUMMONS to a

Congress on Civil Rights in _____, April 27 and 28, 1946, to organize an offensive against rising fascist aggression in the United States

(D R A F T C A L L)

Today's drive to subvert our democratic liberties is well-organized, well-heeled, insidious. It presents an emergency that emergency measures alone can meet.

The great war against fascism is won, but the victory is far from secure. Only a coalition of all the forces of the people, through united action, can prevent its destruction.

Here's what is happening in the United States:

Reactionary forces, based on war-rich monopolies, die-hard union breakers, red-baiters and race-haters, command the largest surviving fifth column in the world. They are turning the weapons and methods of fascism against the American people. They are prepared to destroy our democracy, even to the establishment of outright fascism.

Their program consists of SMASHING UNIONS through strike provocation, injunctions, and legislation like the Case bill that would wipe out labor gains of a quarter of a century; SPREADING DISCRIMINATION and hatred against minorities through violence against Negro civilians and veterans particularly in the South, anti-Semitism and destruction of FEPC; MAINTAINING THE POLL TAX SYSTEM to disfranchise ten million Negro and white Americans; SAPPING THE STRENGTH OF LABOR and other organizations by using Hitler's prime weapon of red-baiting, especially through revival of the Dies Committee under Rankin.

This reactionary program has met the growing organized resistance of the labor movement and other groups and individuals who believe firmly in democratic liberties.

The popular response to such campaigns as FEPC and poll tax repeal shows that the people will organize. Veterans are fighting discrimination and challenging the pro-fascist press. Committees everywhere have sprung up to defend victims of police and lynch violence; the renewed activity of such fascist spokesmen as Gerald L.K. Smith has brought widespread, fighting protests.

Labor has sharply stiffened the defense of its civil rights, and people in all walks of life are rallying with enthusiasm to labor's defense.

Now more than ever the united action of the democratic forces is needed to enable each organization and individual to exert maximum effectiveness in the realization of a common program. The elaboration of a campaign or series of campaigns, coordinated in detail and nationwide in scope, is therefore essential to meet the challenges that today confront us all:

TO SAFEGUARD AND EXTEND ALL DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS, especially the rights of labor, and of racial, political, religious and national minorities;

TO COMBAT ALL FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION against these groups;

TO DEFEND AND AID VICTIMS of the fight for these rights;

TO FIGHT AGAINST DOMESTIC FASCISM and all its forms, jim-crow, anti-Semitism, red-baiting, discrimination against the foreign born.

TO THESE ENDS, WE CALL UPON civil rights, labor, religious, interracial and other organizations and individuals to attend a Congress on Civil Rights in on April 27 and 28, 1946, to formulate and agree upon a national program to defeat the offensive of reactionary and fascist forces, and to consider all steps required to assure the maximum unification of effort to advance that program.

uopwa 1-47

COMMUNITY RACE RELATIONS INSTITUTE
OF GREATER ST. LOUIS

Headquarters: 1411 Locust Street, GA 2748

Honorary Chairman
Aloys P. Kaufmann, Mayor

March 8, 1946

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Boy Scouts of America—St. Louis Council
Cooperating School Superintendents of St. Louis and St. Louis County
Ethical Society
Fellowship of Reconciliation
Girl Scouts of St. Louis and St. Louis County
Jewish Community Relations Council
Kirkwood Inter-racial Group
League of Women Voters of St. Louis
Metropolitan Church Federation
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Conference of Christians and Jews, St. Louis Round Table
Planned Parenthood Association of St. Louis
Race Relations Division of the American Missionary Association
St. Louis Civil Liberties Committee
St. Louis Council of Church Women
St. Louis Race Relations Commission
St. Louis Veterans of Foreign Wars Council
St. Louis Young Men's Christian Association
St. Louis Young Women's Christian Association
St. Louis Congress of Industrial Organizations
Social Planning Council
Unitarian Church of St. Louis
Urban League of St. Louis
Washington University YM - YWCA
Webster Groves Inter-racial Group
Young Men's—Young Women's Hebrew Association

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GWC/mes

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

The Race Relations Institute, planned with great care by the St. Louis Committee and the Race Relations Division of the American Missionary Association, has been successfully concluded. The extent of its impress upon this community will be evident, we hope, in aroused and alert public opinion and in the constructive measures initiated as a direct or indirect result.

The committee has asked me to express to you its great appreciation of the part you played in making the Institute so successful and meaningful. It was your generous cooperation in time and effort and that of the one hundred or more other participants which made possible the quality of this community project.

With cordial greetings, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Genevieve W. Crossen

Mrs. Robert J. Crossen, General Chairman

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

March 21, 1946

TO: GSM

FROM: RW

This material is referred to you for:

1. Information ☑
2. Consideration ☐
3. Signature ☐
4. Recommendation ☐
5. Reply ☐
6. Suggested reply ☐
7. Please circulate to desk(s) of:

Miss Clay	☐	Dr. Reid	☐
Miss Fisher	☐	Dr. Johnson	☐
_____	☐	_____	☐

8. Please return to this office. ☐
9. Please return to secretary for filing. ☐

March 21, 1946

Mr. Ben Burns
Executive Editor, EBONY
Negro Digest Publishing Company, Inc.
5125 South Calumet Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Mr. Burns:

The Southern Regional Council's Veterans Services Division, headed by Dr. George S. Mitchell, is devoting a large part of its work to promoting the extension of job training for Negro veterans throughout the South. One of the things we have learned is that the opportunities for job training offered by the GI Bill are not as widely known as they should be. We are trying every way we how how to "spread the gospel" as a means of gaining better general job opportunities for Negro workers, particularly veterans.

It occurred to us that EBONY could perform a genuine service by publishing a picture-story on how the veteran goes about getting job training. We can prepare for you a series of photographs, with running story, that will give the veteran what he needs to know in order to take advantage of this opportunity. We have two plans in mind; one would be a series of pictures showing the steps taken by the veteran from USES to the job itself; the other would follow one particular veteran through the entire series of steps, showing him in interviews with various officials and prospective employers. The latter is probably the better plan, but we should like to have your professional opinion on it.

If EBONY can use such a picture layout, we shall be glad to have the photographs made and send them to you with all necessary copy to make a well-rounded story. Any suggestions you may have for dramatizing the series would be very helpful.

We hope that you will agree with us on the interest and merits of such a story and that we may hear from you very soon. We will try to furnish you any kind of pictures and information you think most effective.

Thanks and best wishes.

Sincerely,

GRW:jm

gen

March 22, 1946

Mr. Claude A. Barnett
The Associated Negro Press, Inc.
3507 South Parkway
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Mr. Barnett:

You will recall that we talked some time ago about pictures of job training. I have had some made here in Atlanta by a professional photographer and am sending you the best four under separate cover.

The Atlanta Daily World has published several of these photographs separately in recent issues, and I am sending you clippings of these. If you would prefer it, I think we can borrow the plates used by the World and send them to you for matting for your member papers. However, the engraving seems none too good, and you would probably prefer to make your own plates from the photographs.

I have also given three or four pictures to the Journal and Guide, which will probably be carrying them soon.

The pictures are captioned on the back. Enclosed is material from which could be made up whatever general information you would wish to have accompany the layout. The manuscript was prepared for Pulse Magazine in Washington and is forthcoming in April. Items from it should not be used verbatim, but it is still an accurate statement of the situation.

If you need any further information, please let me know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

Gen

March 23, 1946

Mr. George B. Murphy
Veterans Editor
The People's Voice
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

On your recent trip you selected some photographs which you indicated you would like to use in an article about on-the-job training in the South for Negroes. Here in are the pictures, two articles by Dr. Mitchell, and a few things of my own.

Of the benefits offered veterans in the GI Bill, the ones that best fit the needs of the Negro veteran in the South are undoubtedly on-the-job training and on-the-farm training. Consider the vet who, at the end of his sixth, seventh, or eighth school year, (for economical reasons usually) had to drop out to add what he could to the family income. Along comes the war and he is off to spend three to five years in the service. Upon being discharged, he is told that there are plans for his rehabilitation and each plan is discussed in detail. But the veteran, eager to get home, back in civilian clothes, etc., doesn't hear all of this. After his celebration, he begins to think of the future. Folks all around are talking about the "government sending men back to school", but he thinks at his age, even in an accelerated classroom, he would be older than the eighth grade teacher. And even if he went back to school, what of the years after school??

Through the proper agemcies, he could be placed on job training where he may learn as he earns from the shop owner, and the V. A. farm training is the rural counterpart.

A man may enter auto mechanics as did Reid Tory* who earns as he learns. At the end of two or three years, Tory should be equally as good if not better than any mechanic in the shop.. Knowing that he does good work, knowing the boss appreciates his

*see photograph

sincereness, he should have few worries in the days to come. He will have learned a skill and will not have to say "common labor" when a prospective employer asks about his capacities. All the time he is learning, he will be paid by the boss, and this pay will be supplemented by the V. A. so that he earns as much as a skilled, fully trained mechanic. As his skill increases, the boss' pay increases, the V. A. pay decreases, until at the time he is fully trained the V. A. pay stops. Training periods vary with the skill, and of course, the veteran only gets GI pay for the service months to his credit, plus twelve.

The whole program seems to me to be the greatest lift Negroes will get into a skilled level of living. With the aid of this program, he can move out of the common labor ranks, out of the pool halls and corner drugstores, out of the roles of lackey and servant, into decent, respectable parts as skilled laborer, proud of his trade whatever it may be, proud to be able to make his own way, happy to take a greater share in his duties to his country, happy to share in the benefits it affords. In other words, here is a chance for making citizens of former so-called step-children of the South.

It is true that placements in the newer, more modern, skills are difficult, but so much of this is due to the ignorance both on the part of the veteran and the employer that the program is available. Hence the need for widespread publicity. There are some ills in the program, as there are in any new program. However, steps are being taken to correct these faults.

I will appreciate any space you can give to these great opportunities for veterans.

Sincerely yours,

Horace A. Bohannon
Field Agent

HAB:w

gen

March 26, 1946

Mr. Henry Modell
280 Broadway
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Modell:

I am greatly interested in your advertisement of March 21st in the New York Times .

This (private) organization has been working throughout the South to get on-the-job and onethe-farm training widely understood and used, particularly among Negro veterans. The program is clearly the opportunity of a generation for those who cannot use the GI Bill for high school or college training.

I should like to circulate your advertisement among Chambers of Commerce, Retail Merchants Associations, and similar groups in the South, making the suggestion to them that they encourage others to do what you have done.

If your stack of reprints will stand a drain of one hundred copies, I would like to have that many. I shall be glad to pay for them and shall of course expect them to come down to me by collect carriage.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

Gen

March 26, 1946

Mr. A. A. Liveright
American Council on Race Relations
32 West Randolph Street
Chicago 1, Illinois

Dear Mr. Liveright:

Thank you for your letter of March 22nd. I shall be at the New York meeting as agreed.

I will be present from nine o'clock on, but I haven't got any manuscript. I can make my remarks anything from five minutes to thirty minutes, as you wish.

Thanks for getting in touch with the Algonquin. I will await word from you as to what they do.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

32 WEST RANDOLPH STREET CHICAGO 1 PHONE CENTRAL 3066

A. A. LIVERIGHT
Executive Director

CLARENCE E. PICKETT
President

CHARLES HOUSTON
Vice-President, Consultant

WILL W. ALEXANDER
Vice-President, Treasurer

MARY-JANE GRUNSFELD
Secretary

7/22/46

George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

This will follow up our phpne conversation of this morning about the emergency conference on Minority Veterans Problems which we are planning for New York on April 5th.

For your information I am attaching a copy of the Tentative Agenda. Although there is still some doubt as to whether Ben Kurpki will be present at the lunch meeting and as to an additional speaker such as F.D.R. Jr. the rest of the program is fairly well set.

We are very eager to have a fast-moving concrete conference which will come forth with definate reccomendations for action. It is our hope that the problems can be fairly completely set forth in the morning session and that the afternoon can be devoted to definate plans for action. It is quite possible that some of the persons at the Conference may want to follow through in Washington the following week to take conference reccomendations to the various Government agencies.

We are counting on you to give a picture of some of the special Southern problems - possibly with special emphasis on the Educational aspects of the situation. As for time, I wonder if it will be possible to confine your presentation to twenty or thirty minutes. As far as Malvaux' report is concerned we are planning to have a breif summary report mimeographed available for distribution and you may want to do likewise.

I have wired the Algonquin about reservations and will let you know as soon as we get an OK from them. Am delighted that you will be able to be with us and look forward to seeing you on the fifth.

Best regards to you and Johnson,

A. A. Liveright.

Apologies for my typing

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March 30, 1946

Miss June Blythe,
Information Service,
American Council on Race Relations,
32 West Randolph Street,
Chicago 1, Illinois.

Dear Miss Blythe:

We have asked one of our New York reporters, Miss Gladys Graham, to attend the national emergency council on veterans affairs in New York on April 5. Her address is 373 W. 126th Street, Apt. 5, New York 27, N. Y.

I will be in Florida at that time, having promised to meet Mrs. Barnett there.

Have you thought to invite George Mitchell of the Southern Regional Council? He knows as much about what is going on in the South among GI's as anyone I have seen. Also I think you would err if you did not invite Joseph Albright of the U. S. Veterans Administration. He is a liaison person and in public relations. He has been associated with us also.

Sincerely,
THE ASSOCIATED NEGRO PRESS,

Claude A. Barnett.

ir

Gm

April 3, 1946

Mr. Morris D. Katz
Henry Modell & Company
280 Broadway
New York 7, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Katz:

It was very kind of the firm to send me the hundred reprints of the March 21st advertisement.

I have sent them out to a hundred Southern Chambers of Commerce with the attached letter.

If you still have a supply on hand, I would like fifty to send out to Southern Retail Merchants Associations.

Thank you for letting me know about Mr. Nathaniel Ebron. It is encouraging that the firm thinks so highly of his work.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

HENRY MODELL & CO.

280 BROADWAY • *Wholesale Division* • NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

CORTLANDT 7-4830-1-2-3

March 30, 1946

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Souther Regional Council Inc.
Rm. 432 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of March 26th.

Under separate cover we are mailing you 100 copies of the reprints of the advertisement which appeared in the New York Times of March 21st. We sincerely hope that these will prove useful in interesting other business men in this project.

We would appreciate very much hearing from you in the future about the results of your efforts along these lines.

It will interest you to know that one of our ten trainees is a negro veteran who is now receiving his training on the "On-the-Job Traing Plan".

He has taken very nicely to this On-theJob training program and is a credit to its philosopht and purpose.

We have have also enclosed brief biogrophies of some of the veterans.

Very truly yours,

HENRY MODELL & CO., INC.

Morris D. Katz

PER

MDK:FU
ENC.

Sam J. Ronaldi, 2345 Broadway, N.Y.C., Age 29 77th Army Div.

Studied business and salesmanship at St. John's Extension 2/36-38.

Engel Brothers-Scranton-Salesman for 6 months.
Western Field House-Clerical for 1½ years.
Scranton Chemical for 1 year.
Dugan's-New York for 1 year.

Entered Army 3/21/42 as a private.
Ft. Jackson, S. Car.-10 months. (M.P. P.F.C.)
Louisiana and Texas maneuvers. Arizona-6 months desert training.
Indian Town Gap, Pa., Camp Pickett, Va., A.T.B. Solomons, Md.
Hawii-3 months. Guam-1st operation beachhead. Admiralty Islands.
Leyte and Luzon. Three small Islands in Ryukyus Group, Okinawa - wounded twice. Hospital in Saipan.
Discharged on points 11/17/5.

Morton Potter, 250 Amherst St., B'klyn, N.Y. Age 24 U.S.C.G.

Attended Erasmus Hall High School.

Abbey Employment Agency-Personnel work.
M.G.F. Associates-Apprentice buyer.

Enlisted in the U.S. Coast Guard 9/24/42.
Trained at Manhattan Beach.
Long Branch, N.J.-Atlantic Patrol. Went to the West Coast and was Assigned to the U.S.S. Gallup P.F. 47.
New Caledonia to Australia then proceeded to New Guinea.
Action:- Took part in invasions of Hollandia, Biak (was burned in action), Raol, Morotai, Halmerhera then proceeded to Phillippine Islands. Invasion of Dinegat, Homonhon, Leyte. Ship returned for emergency repairs then proceeded to North Pacific. Ship took part in the following activities:- Escort and convoy duty throughout Aleutian Islands. Directed bomber attacks on Kurile Island. Weather patrols off Attu.
Discharged 2/27/46 on points.

Melvin L. Glantz, 1675 E. 21st St., B'klyn, N.Y. Age 22 702 Tank Battalion

Graduated Madison High School. Attended aeronautical school in Maine under the N.Y.A.

Entered Army 5/3/43.
Camp Upton to Camp Shelby, Miss. -13 months training with 69th Infantry Division (with heavy weapons company 6 months and cannon company 7 months.)
Ft. Mead, Md. After brief stay then to Camp Shanks, N.Y., P.O.E.
After two weeks joined 702 Tank Battalion. Arrived Liverpool England 4/21/44. Proceeded from there on to France, Luxenbourg, Germany, Austria, and Belgium.
Corporal gunner in combat. Helped to relieve beseiged garrison at Bastogne (Battle of the Buldge).
Campaigns:- Northern France, Central Europe, Rhineland and Ardennes
Discharged on points 12/19/45.

Leonard Gruszka, 89-02-221st St., Queens Village, N.Y. Age 29
Air Corps Engineers

Graduated Stuyvesant High School in 1935

Entered C.C.C.'s for 5 months
Wholesale Hardware Co. Stock boy for ½ year.
Worked for Macy's warehouse during Christmas rush 1935-1936.
J.J. Little & Ives book manufacturer- February 1936-1940

Shipyard worker from 1940-1942.

Entered Army in August 1942.
Camp Dix-Private
Gieger Field, Spokane, Wash.-Basic training and specialist schools.
Fort Belvoir, Va. 1943-entered O.C.S. After commission as S/Sgt. proceeded to Richmond, Va. (air base), where he became a 2nd Lt. In charge of Battalions earthmoving machinery. Instructed men how to operate and maintain bulldozers, graders and shovels. Lectured on various subjects pertinent to army life.
Served in the following areas:- Milino Bay, Finschaffen, Maffin Bay, Hollandia, Sansapor, Middleburg, Leyte, Palawon, Okinawa, Japan.
Discharged 3/11/46 on points-rank of Captain.

Nathaniel Ebron, 419 W. 147th St., N.Y.C. Age 32 13th 10th Eng. Regiment

Negro

Attended Washington High School.

F.W. Woolworth-stock for 4 years.
Farm Food Restaurant-cook for 5 years.
Did defense work in Connecticut.

Entered Army 2/23/43.
Inducted at Fort Dix then proceeded to Camp Sibert, Alabama where he took basic training. Was transferred to Camp Cleveland, La. where he became a Sgt.
Overseas:- Glascow, Scotland, Central England. Built camps for incoming troops. Took advanced training at Bali, Whales then proceeded to Southampton then to France. Was assigned to 1st Army, 28th Division. Participated in the Battle of Lehay Deprue, Battle of St. Lo and the Battle of Rhine. Then erected camp Lucky Strike. Transferred from France to Phillippine Islands to Manila.
Discharged 1/19/46 on points.
Was awarded two Battle Stars.

Mariam Jean Brody, 349 W. 85th St., N.Y.C.

Graduated John Hay High School in Cleveland.

Was in hotel restaurant business in administrative and managerial capacity.
Worked at World's Fair from 1939 to 1940.

Enlisted in the W.A.A.C. 10/16/42. Re-enlisted in the W.A.C. 8/43.
W.A.C. reporter and librarian-Gulfport Field, Miss. for 1½ years in which capacity passed final Warrant Officer's exams in 3rd Air Force.
Went overseas August 1944 on staff of Paris and London Stars and Stripes as W.A.C. reporter and section chief in communication.
Awarded combat star for being in first contingent of W.A.C.'s who hit Paris. Was in London during V2 bombings. Has also been in Holland and Belgium. Was on duty in Paris at the time the Big Three confirmed the surrender terms of Japan.
Discharged on points.
Spent four months in Veteran's Hospital after discharge as a result of back injuries sustained in service.

COMMON COUNCIL FOR AMERICAN UNITY

20 WEST 40TH STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

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PAUL LAVAL
Business Manager

April 4, 1946

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Perhaps you, like many Americans, feel uneasy these days. As we see the many areas of doubt and conflict throughout the world - our relations with Russia, Iran, Indonesia, Palestine, civil strife in China, the occupation of Germany, the threat of atomic power - we realize that making the war stay won may be as difficult as winning it.

What can you and I, as individuals, do about problems so complex and baffling?

There is one important thing we can do. Perfect here at home the kind of democracy we want to see prevail abroad. The moral leadership America should give the world can come only if we ourselves learn to live together, despite differences of race, origin and religion, in a spirit of genuine equality. Yet even here in the United States, equal opportunities are denied all too many Americans because they happen to be darker skinned, or speak with an accent, or share a minority faith.

Our victories over intolerance abroad are only half won as long as Jim-Crowism, anti-Semitism and Bilboism are active at home. These are not just "minority problems". They hit us all. Either our generation must overcome them, or our children will face a third world conflict.

Making this war stay won is a job that is up to you and me - not our government alone. It is something that is being decided in every city and town of our country. It depends on re-educating ourselves - as well as the Germans and Japanese. We cannot have "one world" until we more fully realize our ideal of "one nation".

You can advance such a program by supporting the Common Council for American Unity. For 27 years it has worked to unite Americans of all backgrounds, colors and creeds in support of a vigorous, all-inclusive democracy. In these critical postwar years it needs to redouble its efforts. How it works for the "American idea" - through press, radio, government cooperation, its own magazine, Common Ground - is told in the enclosed folder.

Won't you help to maintain and extend its work by sending a contribution or membership - as generous a one as you can? The enclosed card, returned to us with your check, will help to combat intolerance, forward a more perfect union of all Americans, advance an enduring peace. The need has never been greater.

Sincerely yours,

Read Lewis

Executive Director

gen

April 17, 1946

Mr. A. A. Liveright
American Council on Race Relations
32 West Randolph Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Liveright:

Thank you for your letter of April 15th. The Washington plans are fine.

I will be there Monday and Tuesday, April 22 and 23, but have a previous engagement on Wednesday April 24, and will have to miss the sessions with Studebaker and Wyatt.

I am uncertain now whether I can get to the May first meeting with General Bradley.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

32 WEST RANDOLPH STREET CHICAGO 1 PHONE CENTRAL 3066

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April 15, 1946

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue. N.E. - Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Mr. Houston has asked me to notify you of your appointment to the special committee which will follow up on the resolutions passed at the national emergency Conference on Minority Veterans' Problems.

In line with resolutions 12 and 16, we have arranged interviews with the responsible government officials in Washington. Due to a field trip which will keep Generals Bradley and Hawley out of Washington during the week of April 22nd, it has been impossible to arrange all meetings at one time. The following is the schedule of visits as now set:

Monday, April 22nd
3:00 P.M. - Robert Goodwin - Director, United States Employment Service.

4:00 P.M. - William Patterson - Director, Apprenticeship Division.

Tuesday, April 23rd
3:00 P.M. - General Erskine - Director, Retraining and Reemployment Administration.

Wednesday, April 24th
11:00 A.M. - J. W. Studebaker, Office of Education.

2:00 P.M. - Wilson Wyatt, Housing Expediter.

Wednesday, May 1st
10:00 A.M. - Generals Bradley and Hawley, Veterans Administration.

In addition to yourself, the following persons have been asked to serve on this committee: Mr. Walter White, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Mr. Julian A. Thomas, National Urban League;

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Mr. Robert J. Funabashi, Japanese American Citizens League; Mr. Luigi Creatori, National CIO Community Service Commission; Mr. Ernesto Galarza, Pan American Union; Mrs. Mabel K. Staupers, National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses, Inc. We are also communicating with all the national veterans' organizations and are asking them either to be represented on this committee or to give us a letter approving the resolutions passed at the New York meeting. In this way we will have a clear picture of which of the veterans' groups are willing to get behind a program for minority veterans.

Since we believe these Washington interviews will be of great importance in bringing about necessary action, may I urge you to make every possible effort to be present. Please let me know just as soon as possible whether you can participate.

For your information, I am sending you several additional copies of the resolutions, as well as the covering letters which transmitted these resolutions to the members of the conference.

Very truly yours,

A. A. Liveright

Resolutions
adopted at the
National Emergency Conference on Minority Veterans Problems
called by
The American Council on Race Relations
Friday, April 5, 1946
Willkie Building
20 West 40th Street, New York City

After hearing full reports and floor discussions on the problems facing minority veterans, the conference agreed to the following general principles and unanimously passed the subsequent resolutions:

Principles

1. Government agencies have failed to establish procedures to either integrate or protect the rights of minority veterans in the employment, training or rehabilitation programs provided under the G.I. Bill, even where these programs are directly administered by federal agencies.

2. The Veterans Administration, United States Employment Service and Community Veterans' Information Centers provide service largely inadequate for all veterans, coupled with segregation and discriminatory treatment of minority veterans.

3. The National Housing Program provides insufficient protection to insure that minorities shall receive a just share of available housing and permits local patterns of segregation to be perpetuated, with few exceptions, in emergency housing.

4. Old line veterans' organizations provide no machinery for attention to the problems of minority veterans and fail to admit minority veterans to membership on a basis of equality.

Resolution

1. That the Veteran's Administration include on its national, regional and local staffs representatives of minority groups to participate in the preparation and execution of policies calling for a fair extension of all services of the Veteran's Administration to all veterans without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin.

2. That the veterans hospital program be so administered as to accord every patient all facilities without discrimination or segregation based on race, creed, color, or national origin, and that employment in the veteran's facilities be open to all on the basis of merit.

4. That the Veteran's Administration investigate the conduct of all agencies under its supervision charged with execution of any part of the veteran rehabilitation program and that it institute adequate corrective measures wherever it finds discrimination by such agencies against veterans on account of race, creed, color, or national origin.

5. That the Veteran's Administration establish adequate standards and safeguards which will guarantee that all applied training, such as apprentice training, on-the-job training, and on-the-farm training, shall be open to all veterans without regard to race, creed, color or national origin, and that federal funds be withheld from any agency or industry which exercises or is guilty of discrimination against veterans on account of race, creed, color or national origin.

6. That the administrator and expeditor of the National Housing Agency take immediate steps to see that minority group representatives shall be included on all the emergency housing committees now being set up in some two-hundred and fifty cities, and that all benefits be extended to minority groups in all phases of housing activity under the program he is administering, including employment.

7. That legislation be enacted to extend full rights to members of the Women's Auxiliary Corps for the period of service before the reorganization of that agency into the Women's Army Corps.

8. That the press generally, and particularly the Negro press, be requested to fully discuss the rights and benefits of all veterans in its columns and assist in the protection of members of minority groups.

9. That the major veteran organizations be urged not to establish segregated posts and to discontinue those already organized, and that these organizations be urged to integrate minority group veterans into their regular posts and chapters.

10. That the interpretation of Section 310 of the G.I. Bill of Rights by the Veteran's Administration be changed so as to extend all rights under that bill to holders of blue discharges.

11. That the rights of conscientious objectors be recognized, and that they be released from confinement.

12. That the activities begun here today be followed with a meeting in the future in Washington and that the organizations here represented meet with the heads of federal agencies administering phases of veteran's programs.

13. That immediate action be taken to secure the passage of legislation calling for a fair employment practice committee and the abolition of such restrictions on the veteran's right to vote as state poll taxes.

14. That unions be urged to accord all qualified veterans full and equal membership rights immediately.

15. That the American Council on Race Relations be requested to act as a clearing house for information and action related to minority veterans problems.

16. That the American Council on Race Relations be instructed to arrange a meeting with governmental representatives to follow through on the above resolutions and to request all organizations present at this conference to participate in this meeting.

17. That another conference of this group be called in three months to report on action taken and to consider further action.

18. That the Veterans Administration accord Negro and other minority nurses full opportunity in veterans hospitals without segregation or discrimination.

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

32 West Randolph Street
Chicago 1, Illinois
April 12, 1946

TO: Persons invited but not attending national emergency Conference on Minority Veterans Problems

So that you might be brought up to date with reference to the national emergency Conference on Minority Veterans Problems which was held in New York last Friday, I am attaching the following:

(a) a copy of a letter to persons who participated in the conference, and

(b) a copy of the resolutions which were drawn up by the conference.

Although this meeting was an extremely representative one, we were concerned about the fact that your organization was not represented. We would appreciate it, however, if you would review the resolutions as soon as possible and indicate to us your approval or disapproval.

Very truly yours,

A. A. Liveright

Attachments - 2

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

32 West Randolph Street
Chicago 1, Illinois
April 12, 1946

TO: Participants in national emergency Conference on Minority Veterans Problems

Thank you for your active support and cooperation in making a real success of the national emergency Conference on Minority Veterans Problems, held in New York on Friday, April 5.

The realistic program that came out of this conference is a first step in securing effective and just action for minority veterans in this country. On the basis of the splendid response evidenced at this meeting and the varied participation, we have every confidence that many of the resolutions which were framed and adopted by the body will be achieved.

Attached is a copy of the resolutions drafted by the Resolutions Committee. This committee was composed of the following participants:

Truman Gibson, Jr., The Pittsburgh Courier
Robert J. Funabashi, Japanese American Citizens League
Dorothy Burnham, Southern Negro Youth Congress
Bernard Vedockler, Veterans League of America
Julian J. Thomas, National Urban League

So that we may implement resolutions twelve and sixteen dealing with a Washington follow-up, and so that this follow-up may be arranged as quickly as possible, Mr. Charles H. Houston, chairman of the conference, is now in the process of naming a small committee to wait upon federal agencies. Wires have been sent asking for appointments for the early part of the week of April 22 with the following persons:

John W. Studebaker, Commissioner, U. S. Department of Education
General Omar Bradley and General Hawley, Veterans Administration
Wilson W. Wyatt, Housing Expediter, National Housing Agency
Robert C. Goodwin, United States Employment Service
General Graves B. Erskine, Retraining and Reemployment Administration
William F. Patterson, Apprentice Training Division, Labor Department

If any members of your organization are planning to be in Washington at that time and will be available to accompany the committee on these visits, please let me know immediately.

Special letters are being sent to all national veterans organizations asking them to join this committee. Reactions to this letter will provide a concrete indication of how far these organizations will go in their support of minority veterans groups.

Plans are also proceeding for a follow-up conference to be held in New York in approximately three months, as recommended by the Resolutions Committee. Pending this conference, the Clearing House of the American Council will keep you posted on any further developments.

Very truly yours,

A. A. Liveright
Executive Director

Attachment

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ERNEST E. JOHNSON, CHIEF
WASHINGTON BUREAU
1915 14TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C.
MICHIGAN 6400

April 20, 1946

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am asking the Secretary of the Conference on Negro Land Grant Colleges to send you a copy of the report which you desire.

Sincerely,
THE ASSOCIATED NEGRO PRESS,

C. A. Barnett.
Claude A. Barnett.

ir

gm

April 18, 1946

Mr. Claude A. Barnette
Associated Negro Press, Inc.
3507 South Parkway
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Mr. Barnette:

Mr. Charlie Brannon, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, praised to me the other day the report on Land Grant College funds for Negroes.

I haven't seen it. Could you send me a copy?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

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5TH DISTRICT ARKANSAS

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May 1, 1946

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thanks very much for your letter regarding the amendment to the Water Facilities Act. I am going to look into this matter at once and hope that something can be done about the problem you describe. Will let you know of developments.

You will be interested in the fact that Senator Bailey's committee will, on next Friday, begin public hearings on the bill for Rural Industrialization which he and I introduced some months ago.

Sincerely yours,

Brooks Hays

Gen

May 17, 1946

Miss Anne L. C. Wood
The Community Workshop Association
3516 Fairmount Avenue
Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania

Dear Miss Wood:

I am greatly interested in your letter of May 15th. We must get together and talk about our mutual interests.

I trust that you know about the on-the-farm training program for veterans of World War II. It might be that in a good many places you could fit into that in some way. Your nearest Smith-Hughes vocational agriculture teacher should be able to give you an account of it.

I found a number of people at Hampton Institute in Virginina interested in getting to Negro farm families the small amount of technical information needed to enable them to equip their homes with modern conveniences. Many now have the money and are hooked to REA, but don't know how to install grease traps, disposal fields, and water under pressure. If you go to Hampton, talk to the secretary of the Negro Organization Society. It has five thousand dollars on hand and has talked about using some or all of it for such a purpose.

The mud brick construction that I have used is called Bitudobe. It uses a patented chemical (an emulsion of asphalt) for sale by the American Bitumuls Company, Chesapeake Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland. Five or six percent of bitumuls dumped into a morter box full of heavy mud waterproofs the mud. Then the mud is moulded into adobe bricks and allowed to dry without baking. That makes a waterproof brick. You lay the bricks in their own fresh mud morter. Thus you can build a house with nothing store-bought but cement for the floor and footing, doors and windows, and whatever is used for the roof. I think I know how to build a roof for around forty or fifty dollars.

The house and barn I helped build in this manner is located on the farm of a colored man named Houston Johnson. This property lies

four-tenths of a mile east of U.S. Highway No 1, down the Dry Bridge Road in the vicinity of Gum Tree. Gum Tree is a locality without a post office, four miles north of Ashland, on and around U.S. No. 1. The mailing address for Houston Johnson is Box 150-A, RFD #2, Ashland, Va.

Houston's house has been standing since '41, to the amazement of all about, who expect it to melt every next rain, but it never does. The walls are fireproof, heat and cold resistent, rat and vermin proof. Incidentally, the Bitumuls Company will cheerfully send you literature about how to build houses out of mud plus bitumuls. I suspect, but have not demonstrated, that crude oil would also waterproof the mud and would be cheaper than bitumuls, but you can build a big house with twenty barrels of bitumuls at ten or twelve dollars a barrel. Such a house is built of mud, sweat, and tar.

I don't know what is at Peak's Turnout. There is, however, an excellent school dormitory built of bitumuls at the now derelict Kings Cross School south of Annandale, Virginia. Also a couple of government houses of bitumuls and rammed earth in the Cameron Valley Project outside Alexandria, Virginia, though these were not cheap.

Do let me know if we can meet and discuss all these things.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

EVERGREEN 4028

THE COMMUNITY WORKSHOP ASSOCIATION
INCORPORATED IN PENNSYLVANIA
THE DOROTHY RUNDLE FOUNDATION
3316 FAIRMOUNT AVENUE
PHILADELPHIA 4, PENNA.

May 15th, 1946

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I had an interesting conference with Dr. Beitel, of Talladega, and in our conversation on veterans opportunities he recommended that I see you.

Our association is a small philanthropic organization, interested in educational work of a very practical nature, in theSouth. Our chief concerns have to do with helping people to help themselves and through this means to develop their communities toward the ideal of healthful, abundant living.

While we assist the rural Negroes to build farm workshops, canneries and clinics, the training program which we present to leaders is the basis of making these physical assets effective. We believe that there is a very real need for a program for out-of-school youth who can take part in project work and to some extent, class work, and thus further their education and make farm life more interesting and meaningful.

I want to talk with you about the possibilities of our working out an effective youth program.

When I was talking with President Reddix, of Jackson College, Mississippi, we discussed the low cost housing problem and touched upon the potential use of native clays. Our director, Mr. Willis T, Spivey, tells me that he has discussed this problem with you, some time in the past. We are working on cement block and slip-form construction but I am very interested in what can be done with native clays. President Reddix told me that you are experimenting along this line. I am wondering if the people could make their own bricks or blocks, and fire them in a homemade community kiln.

I expect to be in the Carolinas for a month, beginning next week and would like to see some of your experiments, if there are any in those states. President Reddix spoke of one in Peak's Turnout, Virginia. Would you advise me to see that one?

If my work takes me to Atlanta on this trip I hope I may be fortunate enough to find you there and that you may find time to see me. However I know that I will be in Atlanta on succeeding trips.and will surely try to get in touch with you.

In case you have a suggestion for clay experiments you believe I would be interested in, will you please address me as follows , for the next month:

6are of Mrs. Cabell
"The Oaks"
119 East Russel Street
Orangeburg, S. C.

It will be a pleasure to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Anne L. C. Wood

Anne L. C. Wood
Executive Secretary

901

May 17, 1946

Mr. Herman Singer
THE CALL
303 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Singer:

I greatly appreciate the suggestion that I do an article on the political problems and results of the CIO drive.

Unfortunately, at present I am employed by a non-political organization, and I do not feel at liberty to write for publication on a strictly political subject.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

THE CALL

HERMAN SINGER, Editor

303 FOURTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • GRamercy 3-4286

May 13, 1946

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Conference on Human Welfare
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

At the suggestion of Broadus Mitchell, I am taking the liberty of writing you.

The CALL is planning to devote a good portion of one of its future issues to the prospective labor drive in the South, and I wonder if you will be good enough to contribute a short article of 500-800 words on what the political problems and results of the drive are likely to be.

We hope to give a rounded picture of the South today, and I am certain any presentation by you will constitute one of the really authoritative contributions.

It would be helpful if we could have the article within two weeks.

Very cordially,

Herman Singer

Herman Singer

RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION LIBRARY MAY 27 19[illegible]
130 EAST 22D STREET
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

DEAR SIR:

The following publication would be of great service to this library. May we expect it as a donation from you?

Opportunities for the Negro veteran in Atlanta, Ga... by Joseph Shalses.

We should appreciate it if you would add the name of this library to your mailing-list to receive regularly such reports and bulletins as are for free distribution. Your co-operation is earnestly requested.

Yours Respectfully, B. Adams
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May 29, 1946

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta-3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am greatly obliged to you for your letter of May 22 addressed to Mr. Carl Murphy, which has just been referred to me.

Your suggestion for obtaining lists of veterans successfully employed in the on-the-job training program, is well taken and we are putting someone on this at once.

Very truly yours,

W. I. Gibson

W. I. Gibson
Editor

wig/j

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Gen

June 3, 1946

Mr. Frank Loescher
c/o American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Loescher:

The other evening in Nashville I talked awhile with Dr. Charles Johnson. He told me of your interesting work of finding unusual places for unusual people. Dr. Johnson wants the two of us to become acquainted.

I am trying to ease matters as the Negro veterans fit back into American, and particularly into Southern, civilian life. For the job I am using seven or eight Negro veterans who travel extensively in the Southern states. Naturally, they are in contact with large numbers of veterans who have special employment problems. If you will let me know more about your work, I would like to let these young men who are traveling for me know of you as a resource for some of the special problems they run into.

I know Mr. Clarence E. Pickett - of course, most pleasently.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

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M. MARGARET ANDERSON
Editor, Common Ground

YAROSLAV J. CHYZ
Manager, Foreign Language Press Division

JACQUES F. FERRAND
Chief, Foreign Language Radio Division

HANNY COHRSEN
Assistant to Director

PAUL LAVAL
Business Manager

June 3, 1946

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

As you know, 800 hopeful, if bewildered, passengers arrived last week on the S.S. Marine Flasher. These 800 immigrants -- victims of Nazi aggression -- are the first displaced persons and refugees brought to the United States under President Truman's directive. They came from 16 different European countries and represent all faiths.

Two days after arrival, two of these passengers had already called at our office for information. Similarly, each year, thousands call or write us from all over the United States, asking advice and assistance in becoming citizens or solving other problems of adjustment.

For 27 years, the Common Council has rendered an educational and interpretive service to and about the foreign-born. This, as you will see from the enclosed, is but one phase of our activities in promoting American unity.

We reach millions through the foreign-language press and radio, and thousands through our magazine Common Ground, through meetings of intercultural and interracial groups, by correspondence, and by personal consultation.

To carry on this vital work, we count on financial support from liberal-minded and generous persons. We hope you, too, will want to participate.

Do send $5.00 or more today.

Sincerely yours,

Read Lewis

Executive Director

COMMON COUNCIL FOR AMERICAN UNITY
20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

I enclose a membership and contribution as marked below:

☐ PARTICIPATING MEMBER $5

☐ COOPERATING MEMBER $10 ☐ SUPPORTING MEMBER $50

☐ CONTRIBUTING MEMBER $25 ☐ SUSTAINING MEMBER $100 AND OVER

Two dollars of each membership is for a year's subscription to COMMON GROUND.

☐ SUBSCRIBING MEMBER (including *Common Ground*) $3

☐ Subscription to COMMON GROUND *alone* $2

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COMMON COUNCIL FOR AMERICAN UNITY

20 WEST 40TH STREET

NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

THE COMMON COUNCIL FOR AMERICAN UNITY

Is a national organization, with members in every state, carrying forward work started by the U. S. Government in World War I.

WHAT are its purposes?

—To promote unity, understanding and equal opportunity among Americans of all national origins, races and faiths.

—To overcome intolerance and discrimination because of race, creed, or national origin.

—To further an appreciation of what each group has contributed to this country.

—To help the foreign born and their children share fully and constructively in American life.

HOW does it work?

—Through its magazine, COMMON GROUND.

—Through weekly educational articles in 19 languages, sent to 1000 foreign-language newspapers and radio stations.

—Through citizenship assistance to over 10,000 people a year.

—Through *Interpreter Releases,* a technical information service for local agencies about problems of aliens.

—Through active cooperation with government agencies, civic and social organizations, nationality groups.

—Through the *American Common,* a meeting place where Americans of all backgrounds come together to discuss common problems.

—Through action on specific issues of discrimination and fair play.

HOW is it supported?

—By memberships and contributions.

Everyone believing in the Council's objectives is invited to join.

NICHOLAS KELLEY
Chairman, Board of Directors

ROBERT D. KOHN
Treasurer

READ LEWIS, *Executive Director*

America's Explosive Idea

"...all men are created equal... endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights . . . among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness . . ."

This is America's explosive idea. It, not the atomic bomb, is our most powerful weapon for building a better world.

Out of the coming together here in America of people of many origins, races and creeds, came this ideal of equal opportunity, this faith in the fundamental worth and equality of human beings.

It has found affirmation not only in the Declaration of Independence, but in our Bill of Rights, the Emancipation Proclamation, the Four Freedoms, in the miracle of valor and production which the American melting pot contributed to the winning of the war.

Not Fully Realized

But even in our own country this idea, on which the peace of the world depends, has not yet been fully realized.

Millions of Americans who gave their utmost to the war are denied equal opportunity. Because of race, creed, foreign birth or origin they are set apart from the majority.

What Is At Stake

To extend the American idea to all our people is a matter of long delayed justice. Men who risked their lives for democracy and freedom abroad will not be content to be second class citizens at home. If we are to maintain the unity and wellbeing of our country in these critical postwar years, discrimination and prejudice must be eliminated, the different elements in our population united in a more perfect union.

Unless here at home we square our practice with our ideals, we cannot exert abroad the influence which will lead the world to an enduring peace. Only the American idea, the courage to live it, to carry it forward, the willingness to sacrifice for it in peace as well as in war, can make the war stay won.

Vandals Wreck Temple Unsel

FIND RACE TENSION INCREASING IN U. S.

Employers In Valley Oppose Nisei

Negro Labor Hit Hardest By Reconversion Cutbac

Prejudice Must Not Defeat the American Idea

Bilbo Adds N. Y. Poles To List of Pet Hates

Americans All

13,000,000 Negroes
11,500,000 Foreign Born
23,000,000 of Foreign Parentage
600,000 of Indian, Japanese, Chinese or Filipino descent
83,500,000 Whites of Native Parentage, including Protestant, Catholic and Jew

Brooklyn Synagogue Calls Off Rites; Holy Objects Smashed and Scattered

National Conference of Christians and Jews, Pennsylvania, called campaign for fund ... the conference's ed ... gram against preju ... Howard B

Prejudice V On Two Fr

Prejudice against Am ... nese descent boiled ... sectors of the home ... while the Americ ... to remove the ... tiver, Ore., where ... men were stricken

GEORGIA KLANSMEN BURN FIERY CROSS

Grand Dragon Says its 20,000 Members in State Are War on Communi

ATLANTA, Oct. 20 (AP)— ... Klan, claiming a mem ... more than 20,000 in Geo ... ning its fiery cross ag ... ring up new argument o ... born in reconstructio ... huge cross which leade ... visible sixty miles away ... ted on Stone Mountain ... ts ago, the firs ... the war. ... Samuel Gre ... said the ... active on a ... functioned u ... State ...

a service the ... Congregation ... 108 Noble Street, Brook ... expected that the mai ... stairs, which seats 1,100 ... would be filled to capacity, be

10,000 Face Deportation

Aliens, Heads of Families, to Be Sent Back, Offenses 25 Years Ago

"In 90 per cent of the cases," stated Dickstein, "the men are married to American women, with many having children in the armed forces."

The congressman asserted that his committee is receiving bitter protests from servicemen overseas complaining against the deportation of their fathers.

"Is That Democracy?"

"Is that democracy?" asked one soldier. "What am I fighting for?" "Why didn't they deport my father 20 years ago when he committed the crime ...

Nation's Medical Schools Closed to 12 of Every 13 Jews

Overwhelming evidence of discrimination against Jews by the nation's medical schools was disclosed today in a countrywide survey which reported that 12 of every 13 Jewish applicants for medical degrees were denied admission.

Let's Make Sure All of Us Have All the Benefits of America

Heroes Club Blackballs Wounded Negro Veteran

Discharged GI Advised to Start a Jim Crow Organization

By John T. Mo...

ter writer's) vet and therefore NOT eligible to membership in the Mt. Vernon Chapter, because it was thought best not to try to mix white and colored P. H. veterans

Racial School Strike Reach

Special Correspondence

CHICAGO, Sept. 29. — The school strike in Gary, Ind., where 850 students of the Froebel School refused to attend classes with Negroes, has spread to Chicago.

Nearly 1000 students from En-

cipal of Morgan Park, said a group of four stndents informed him that the strike was called off and that the peition protesting the presence of Negroes in the school was recalled.

Your Help Needed

Success can come only from the work of many men. For 27 years the Common Council for American Unity has been working to make the American idea prevail. It invites your cooperation and support in the greatest task facing the world today.

How the Council Works for the American Idea

"Common Ground" The Council publishes the leading magazine in the United States dealing with intercultural and interracial problems, bringing vital material for better intergroup understanding to communities, libraries, and schools in all 48 states.

Foreign Language Press It sends a weekly edcational press service, in 19 languages, to 900 foreign language newspapers in the United States, reaching some 8 million readers.

Foreign Language Radio It supplies a similar weekly service, interpreting American democracy and promoting better understanding, to 146 radio stations in the United States broadcasting in 25 foreign languages.

Social Action It takes constructive stands on specific issues of discrimination and fair play; advocates a permanent FEPC; fair play for Japanese Americans; fights anti-Semitism and Jim Crowism; encourages American citizenship.

Legislative Bulletin It follows daily developments in Congress and supplies interested organizations and individuals with regular reports by its Washington representative on pending legislation affecting nationality and racial groups.

Cooperation with U.S. Government It works with the Justice, Treasury and State Departments, Social Security Board, and other government

agencies interested in foreign origin groups — supplying information, translating their material. planning educational programs.

Service to Local Agencies It furnishes social agencies with weekly articles and reports giving the latest technical information needed in working with refugees, foreign born and minority groups.

Service to Individuals It assists more than 500 newcomers a month, many of them living in places where no local agency is available, to become citizens, unite their families and straighten out difficult problems of status.

Intergroup Information It responds to hundreds of requests for information and advice about nationality and racial groups, and programs to advance better understanding. It sponsors special projects such as sending a Negro poet to speak in representative high schools, and an exhibit by a Japanese American painter to leading art museums.

"American Common" It brings together men and women of different nationalities, races and creeds in meetings and programs providing opportunities for joint discussions and closer understanding, and featuring their contributions to American life.

"If civilization is to survive, we must cultivate the science of human relationships — the ability of all peoples of all kinds to live together and work together in the same world at peace."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *in speech to have been delivered April 13, 1945.*

How You Can Help

Join the Common Council and participate in its work for the American idea.

Use the Council's magazine, "Common Ground," to promote unity and understanding. Its short stories, articles and pictures, will bring you a wealth of fascinating material by many of our leading writers about your neighbors in America and throughout the world.

Show by personal example that equality and fair play are the American way.

Oppose through your newspapers, organizations and representatives in Congress, all discriminatory proposals and practices; support measures which will enable all our people to share fully in the American idea.

"When we talk of freedom and opportunity for all nations, the mocking paradoxes in our own society become so clear they can no longer be ignored. If we want to talk about freedom, we must mean freedom for others as well as ourselves, and we must mean freedom for everyone inside our frontiers as well as outside."

WENDELL L. WILLKIE, in "One World."

Membership

The Council is supported by memberships and contributions. The outgrowth of work started by the Federal Government in 1918, the Council has been an independent organization since 1921, with members in all 48 states. Joining the Council is one way *you* can help to forward the American idea and make the war stay won.

SUSTAINING MEMBERSHIP
$100 AND OVER

SUPPORTING	$50	COOPERATING	$10
CONTRIBUTING	$25	PARTICIPATING	$5

All of the above Members, as well as Subscribing Members at $3, receive "Common Ground." Subscription to "Common Ground" alone is $2 a year. Contributions to the Council are deductible for income tax purposes.

COMMON COUNCIL FOR AMERICAN UNITY

Willkie Memorial Building
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

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Gen

June 7, 1946

Mrs. Snyder Taylor Brown
American Council on Race Relations
32 West Randolph Street
Chicago 1, Illinois

Dear Mrs. Brown:

As soon as you know definitely when the second meeting on minority veterans is to be held, please let me know, so I can begin to worry about transportation.

I assume the meeting will be in New York, but nobody has told me so definitely. WHERE 'TIS?

I will handle hotel reservations myself, so you need not bother about me on that.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

gsm

June 7, 1946

Mr. A. A. Liverwright
American Council on Race Relations
32 West Randolph Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Liverwright:

I tried here in Atlanta to get hold of the pamphlet, "Action for Unity", which somebody passed around in our free panel discussion in Buffalo.

The best source here had not seen it and didn't know how to get it. Can you give me a citation, or better still, mail me one, so I can get hold of some more direct?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:W

GSM

June 7, 1946

The Canadian Unionist
230 Laurier Avenue, West
Ottawa, Ontario

I have greatly enjoyed "The Canadian Unionist" during the past two years.

My job has changed (from CIO-PAC), and I no longer need to keep up as breadly with union matters.

Therefore, I relinquish my place on your mailing list.

As you have had considerable expense in mailing me the magazine, please accept this dollar as a contribution to its revenues.

With every good wish.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

THE CANADIAN UNIONIST

230 Laurier Avenue West,

Ottawa, Ontario,
June 3, 1946.

Dear Reader:-

For some time we have been sending you copies of THE CANADIAN UNIONIST. We are revising our mailing list and shall be glad to know if you would like us to continue sending you this publication. If we do not hear from you within a reasonable time, we shall assume that you no longer desire it.

With all good wishes, I am,

Yours sincerely,

Norman S Dowd

Norman S. Dowd,
Editor and Manager.

/ND

FV3

Write then + send 1.00 (over)

Dear Sir.

I have greatly enjoyed "The Canadian Unionist" during its last two years.

My job has changed (from CIO-PAC), and I no longer need to keep up as broadly with union matters.

Therefore I relinquish my place on your mailing list.

As you have had considerable expense in mailing me the magazine, please accept this dollar as a contribution to its running costs.

Wishing you good luck,

Sincerely yours

Sdm Follow up

The Board of Home Missions
of the Congregational and Christian Churches

287 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION

FRED L. BROWNLEE
GENERAL SECRETARY
RUTH A. MORTON
DIRECTOR OF SCHOOLS
CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR OF RACE RELATIONS

June 8, 1946

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

The American Missionary Association will be one hundred years old this autumn. We should like to have some outstanding meetings in one hundred key cities to celebrate our Centennial. We shall ask church people in these cities to arrange for inter-church and interracial meetings, and sometimes for city-wide meetings, during October and the first half of November.

Our church people have much to learn about race relations. We want these meetings to stimulate their thinking and help them form convictions about better ways of living with people of other races. We are, therefore, asking a group of distinguished leaders to be the speakers on these occasions.

The Congregational Christian Churches are in the midst of raising a Post-war Emergency Fund, $300,000 of which is being sought for the American Missionary Association. We are hoping that, through offerings taken after the addresses, these meetings will help in the raising of this Fund.

I wish I might offer you an honorarium, but we are able to cover expenses only. Knowing that your interest is as keen as mine to improve race relations, I am writing to ask if you will share in our Centennial. Can you take two or three consecutive appointments at least once, possibly several times, during October and early November? If not, can you give us one or more single dates which would fit into your busy schedule?

I am enclosing a return post card addressed to Mrs. William H. Medlicott, who is in charge of our speakers' bureau, and I would be deeply grateful if you would let her hear from you at your earliest convenience.

We shall be glad to give you background material concerning our first hundred years. However, we are very anxious that our Centenary celebrations be a thrust into the future, for we mean to work earnestly for the elimination of the "sins of caste" from American culture during our second hundred years. But do not misunderstand me; we are not asking you to talk about the A. M. A., but to choose your own approach to this important matter of race relations.

I hope I shall be seeing you again this summer. I appreciate very much the share you have already taken in the program of our Department of Race Relations, particularly through our annual Institute of Race Relations.

Yours sincerely,

Fred Brownlee

Enc.

June 21, 1946

Mr. Ernest Borneman
Director of Foreign Distribution
National Film Board
Ottawa, Canada

Dear Mr. Borneman:

I am delighted to have your letter of June 15th and to know that you have moved along with the idea of a film on Negro racial origins.

I started with a piece of self-analysis. I found that what survivals I had of sensitivity to the queerness of foreign people (a circumlocution for prejudice, if you will) gave way readily to an interest in their history, their customs, costume, language, etc. Then it dawned on me that the Negro population is marked by a difference, for hardly any of us have any knowledge of their origins, culture, and history, in short, of the forces of nature and of humanity which lie in their past. Slavery and transportation robbed them of all of that over here. Could we not, therefore, in a small degree at least diminish prejudice by substituting for it an awakened interest in the Negro past?

I am no anthoprologist and no sociologist and no psychologist, and I suppose this idea ought to be put to good guys in those fields - although always there is the danger that it will come out of that mill too thin to use - unless you get really good men.

The best book I ever read on Africa was by MacMillan. He sketched in the forces of isolation, climate, inaccessibility to commerce, susceptibility to disease among men and among cattle, which made human survival and growth in Africa an acievement in itself. I don't remember too much about tribal migrations and the filling up of the continent, or about the devastation of centuries of slave trade, but this ought to be in the film. My thought was that it could be very largely graphic. You can show the disadvantages of African geography clearly that way, and running arrows would give migrations of the peoples. There must be millions of feet of travel film showing racial types and tribal ceremonies that could be cut in.

That is about all I had in mind. I know I would like to go and see such a film, and I suppose a whole lot of other people would too.

I don't know what I can do to help, but if you think of something you want me to try, let me know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

NATIONAL FILM BOARD

CANADA

Ottawa 15th June 1946.

Mr. George Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Mrs. Reed of the Southern Film Service wrote to me to tell me about your plan for a film on Negro Racial Origins. I have for quite some time worked on the idea of an Interracial Film Institute to be established on a foundation basis, and your suggestion would fall very definitely within the scope of the project. As producer and now as Director of Foreign Distribution for the Canadian Film Board, I have, of course, very little time and occasion to get the project under way within the next few months, but if we could start with one properly financed and efficiently produced film of the type you suggest, we might make a good deal of progress.

I have spoken to Herskovits and to most of the Negro organizations about the project, and I am reasonably assured of their support. Some of the foundations are willing to contribute some funds, but I am afraid that these good people in the academic world have very little idea of what it costs to produce films. I am currently putting the last touches to a prospectus which will go to all the Foundations, most of the Negro organizations, and some of the Negro Universities, and in a few months' time we will, I presume, get the first reactions to the project.

Meanwhile I would be much interested in getting some additional data on your proposal. Would you care to drop me a line?

Yours very faithfully,

Ernest Borneman

Ernest Borneman
Director of Foreign Distribution.

Charge to the account of Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. $

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WESTERN UNION

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A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

June 28, 1946

Mr. Ray Newton
American Friends Service Committee
20 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

REURLET JUNE 22 SHALL BE AT FISK JULY 9, 10, 11. ATLANTA JULY 13-20.

DELIGHTED SEE McCORKEL.

George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

PAID

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Honorary Chairman
RUFUS M. JONES

Executive Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone: RITTENHOUSE 9372

June 22, 1946

George Mitchell
c/o Southern Conference of Human Welfare
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Friend:

Clarence Pickett wanted me to write you about the possibility of extending our international service seminars and perhaps other peace education work in the South. For a number of years people from the southern part of the United States have been suggesting that the American Friends Service Committee should do this. We are beginning to think in those terms but before we undertake anything at all, we would like to talk with some of the outstanding citizens in the South in order to get their judgment as to whether or not we should look forward to extending the work and if so, where? when? how? etc. We would welcome your counsel and advice.

Roy McCorkel, and probably one other person, will spend the period from July 8 to July 20 in Nashville, Atlanta, Birmingham, New Orleans and Austin, Texas. Would it be possible for them to talk with you during that period? Would one time suit you better than another? If you would be willing to see them, would you wire us, collect, so that we can make out an itinerary? We would very much appreciate an opportunity for such an interview.

Would you also be willing to send us names of people whom you think they might see? I am sending a similar letter to Dr. Ira de A. Reid, Dr. W. A. Smart, Dr. Rufus Clement, Roy Jordan, Emmett Johnson and Clark Howell.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Ray Newton

Ray Newton

RN:mr

June 28, '46

Dear Mr. Newton,

Thankyou for your letter of June 22.

I'm much interested.

I'll be at Fisk, at the RR institute, July 9, 101, and 11. New York July 12. Atlanta July 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20. So somewhere in there we ought to meet, or rather, Mr. McCorkel and I should meet.

Wire Ray Newton
Am Friends Service Committee
20 South Twelfth Street Philadelphia 7, Pa.
Rxxxx
REURLET June 22 shall be at Fisk July 9, 10, 11. Atlanta July 13 -20.
Delighted see McCorkel

George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. Atlanta 3, Ga.

MISSIONS COUNCIL, 14 BEACON ST., BOSTON 8, MASS.

June 28, 1946

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for the information which you sent Mrs. Medlicott regarding your participation in the American Missionary Association Centennial Program this fall. She will be working on these schedules during July and will be writing you with definite information.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy M. Preble

Dorothy M. Preble
Office Secretary

DMP/f

GM

July 1, 1946

Mr. Jack H. Pollack
1149 South Rimpau Blvd.
Los Angeles 6, California

Dear Mr. Pollack:

The South has scores of traditional tales that float around about the questions you ask about. I doubt if any of them are at all accurate.

Of course the "examination" technique is not used in all Southern states. It would take careful study of Southern registration laws to say exactly which use it. And in several of the states authorized to use it, it is rarely used.

If I am not mistaken, Virginia has an improved statute. There the registrar may ask questions, but the applicant for registration has statutory right to require that the questions and answers be recorded, and should he be dissatisfied with the registrars decision, he can take the transcript to the nearest Judge (of what level I forget) where decision on the transcript takes precedence over all other court business. I personally have never heard of anyone's using this provision, but it is a good safeguard, obviously.

In Birmingham in 1944 several people gave me circumstantial accounts of questions put by the Birmingham city registrars to a Negro woman school teacher. The trick question was, "How many rooms in the White House?" She went and looked it up and came back and answered, but was refused registration.

You could doubtless get accurate and more recent accounts of these questions by writing to Louis Birnham, Southern Negro Youth Congress, Masonic Building, Birmingham, Ala. He has been quite active lately in pushing registration, particularly for World War II veterans. Another man who might give you Mississippi information is Rev. Mr. Charles G. Hamilton, Aberdeen, Mississippi.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

Jack H. Pollack
1149 South Rimpau Blvd.
Los Angeles 6, California

June 26, 1946

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am preparing an article for a liberal national magazine entitled ARE YOU FIT TO VOTE in which I am citing some of the scandalously un-American questions "asked " by voting officials to disfranchise white and Negro citizens.

If you know of any such questions I would be extremely grateful for your passing them on to me. I would also like to know, if possible, where they were asked even though I plan only to indicate the state not the county in the article.

Many thanks and best wishes.

Sincerely,

Jack Pollack

Gen

July 11, 1946

Mr. James Patton
National Farmers Union
3501 E. 46th Avenue
Denver, Colorado

Dear Jim:

Here is some dope about on-the-farm training selected for the South. I got most of the information from the Veterans Administration in Washington, but it is checked with what actually happens in the various Southern states.

It occurred to me that you might possibly send out copies of this to various Southern locals or Farmers Union officials.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

FARMERS EDUCATIONAL AND COOPERATIVE UNION of America

3501 EAST 46th AVENUE, DENVER, COLORADO

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

July 17, 1946

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your letter of July 11 arrived during Mr. Patton's absence from the office. However, I will call the letter and attached material to his attention when he returns. You can be assured that we will use it whenever and wherever possible.

Thanks very much for your thoughtfulness in sending it on.

Sincerely,

Ara M. Hamill

Ara M. Hamill
Secretary to Mr. Patton

ah

Sgm

July 23, 1946

Mr. Ernest Borneman
National Film Board
Ottawa, Canada

Dear Mr. Borneman:

I am sorry but I don't know where the money would come from to do the film.

I appreciate your interest. I will keep talking about it with this one and that, and maybe we will hit somebody who could be interested financially.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

NATIONAL FILM BOARD

CANADA

Ottawa 3rd June 1946.

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I agree about MacMillan's book. The question is money. It's really the only question left over by now. The bright and the brave and the men of good will are ready by now. I know the boys who could and would make the films that are needed, at a subsistence wage if necessary - but where does even the subsistence wage come from?

You are in the U.S. and you're down south and you're right in one of the organizations that are in the battle: if you don't know how to finance the thing, there probably is no way of financing it. Or would you like to let me have me an idea as to who would or might put the thing on a reasonable basis - self-paying, foundation supported, tax-supported or out of private donations - anything at all. Is there really no way?

Yours sincerely,

Ernest Borneman.

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
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P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

July 23, 1946

Mr. Claude A. Barnett
The Associated Negro Press, Inc.
3507 South Parkway
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Mr. Barnett:

I appreciate your letter of July 20th. In spite of what has happened in Georgia politics, I still see some ground for being hopeful. The main thing is the attitude of the Negro veterans themselves. In large numbers, they show a dignity, calm courage, and determination to get improvement by reasonable methods, which is an important contribution to the possibilities of the situation.

Also, they are organizing pretty rapidly. A great many towns and cities have purely local organizations of Negro veterans. The local clubs are going over from time to time to national organizations such as the UNAVA or the Council of Negro Veterans. The VFW has been active straight along in setting up new Negro posts, and within the last few weeks the Legion in all of the Southern states, so far as I can hear, except one or two, has begun actively to recruit Negro veterans. Organization gives the men voice. Commanders and other officials of these bodies are being received by veterans servicing offices with a new respect. And some of the States are beginning to open administrative jobs for Negro veterans in servicing work. Alabama now has upwards of twenty Negro Coordinators of Veterans Education stationed variously over the State. And it has recently authorized the employment of a Negro liaison officer with power to travel over the State in furtherance of the interests of Negro veterans. Florida has four Negro Assistant Service Officers employed by the State Veterans Commission. These men are assigned a definite part of the State and cover the counties, helping to service all

requests from Negro veterans. I understand that Texas and Oklahoma have a number of Negro veterans servicing officials employed by the States.

The Veterans Administration itself is unaccountably and lamentably slow in using Negro employees. They have added some Guidance Centers at Negro Colleges, and the word has gone out that they are to open additional contact offices at points convenient to groups of minority veterans. Thus far I have not run into any such additional office. Presumably, when opened they will be staffed with personnel drawn from the minority veterans groups. The great clerical offices of the Veterans Administration scattered over the South are still lily-white.

Whatever may be the convictions of the US Employment Service in Washington as to the advantage of Negro personnel, hardly anything additional is being done in this way. I continue to get complaints about unfair servicing of Negro applicants for help from USES.

On-the-farm training is beginning to move. I figure there are now between three and four thousand Negro veterans in twelve Southern States who are receiving it. In a number of the States this program is being virtually held in abeyance until the self-employed benefit of a hundred dollars a month has been used up.

On-the-job training for Negroes has grown with the passing months. I would estimate that eight or nine thousand Negro veterans are getting it in the South. The corresponding figure for white veterans would be around one hundred and twenty-five thousand. If the proportion were working out fairly, forty thousand Negro veterans in the South would be getting on-the-job training. Partly because on-the-job training is not being offered Negro veterans in anything like satisfying numbers, a great many Southern localities are making serious efforts to open or enlarge trade training schools for Negro veterans. To my mind, this is really the most hopeful thing in the picture. With the progress of industrialization and the mechanization of agriculture proceding simultaneously, the next ten or fifteen years will see an unprecedented need for training in modern skills of the whole Southern population. At long last, I can see the beginning of a widespread popular interest in trade training for Negroes. The new schools need nursing and multiplying and bringing up to

standard.

I can't think of anything that would be more helpful to the situation than newspaper support for these new vocational school ventures. Every Southern State has many of them. Because they are local, they are thus far little known, and they have hardly been publicized at all. I believe it would be well worth the time of some paper or group of papers to send out a man to make a tour of towns and cities where such schools have been set up. They have many faults and these should be opened. They also have much cause for faith in the future.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

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July 20, 1946

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

How are things going? We have had several articles of one sort and another, the column on veteran's affairs, a very good summation by Bill Simms and occasional news breaks but I don't believe anything which we have had thus far is sufficient to do the job. What you want to do is to shock people into a sense of what the real problems facing the Negro veteran are, North and South but especially the latter.

The thing we call Democracy ought to be at its finest flower in our treatment of veterans. It is bad enough for many of the whites. For Negroes it frequently is vile.

The only way I believe you can do a job on this is by reporting in all the gory details, every case of disadvantage and discrimination which you come across. Let's play these up. The VA appears to be sensitive enough at the moment to try to follow up individual cases and if some of the worst ones are publicized it might even affect policy. Get a good case and keep on it--get some of the action groups to follow through and make a cause celebre out of it and perhaps that sort of thing will catch the imagination of the people, remove them from their cynical, self sufficient crusts for awhile and make them think.

How much of this can you do? Can you send us information on some of the bad treatment you must hear a lot about? What sources would you suggest? Let us hear from you and any cases you have on hand with data, names, etc., let come right along. Call names of everybody involved regardless of position, race, creed or what have you.

Sincerely,
THE ASSOCIATED NEGRO PRESS,

C. A. Barnett.

Claude A. Barnett.

ir

Congregational Christian News Bureau

Dorothy P. Cushing, News Editor

Room 508, 14 BEACON STREET, BOSTON 8, MASSACHUSETTS

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THE BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS
THE COUNCIL FOR SOCIAL ACTION

August 1, 1946

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

The Missions Council Speaker's Bureau has just informed me that you will be doing some speaking this year for the American Missionary Association's Centennial, and has requested me to prepare a newspaper release to be used in announcing your speaking dates.

I would deeply appreciate receiving from you, at the earliest possible moment, a comprehensive biographical sketch which would include not only the usual facts of birth, education and experience, but outside interests and hobbies.

In addition to this, I would be glad to have brief statements on any subjects near to your heart which could be quoted, and also, copies of press releases which you may now be using. I imagine a statement on Race Relations would be one of the quotations included.

Finally, if you have available a publicity glossy that you would lend me, I promise to return it safely.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy P. Cushing

Dorothy P. Cushing,
NEWS EDITOR

DPC:L

August 6, 1946

Mr. Louis Harris
The American Veterans Committee, Inc.
554 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Harris:

Dr. George S. Mitchell has been out of town for some weeks and has not been able to give consideration to the tentative resolutions of the National Action Conference on Minority Veterans Problems.

We are expecting him back in the office early next week, and you should hear from him shortly thereafter.

Sincerely,

Anna S. Warwick
Secretary to George S. Mitchell

The American Veterans Committee, Inc.

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Edward J. McHale
Executive Secretary

July 19, 1946

George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear George:

I am enclosing a copy of the tentative resolutions brought up before the Resolutions Committee of the National Action Conference on Minority Veterans Problems on Friday, July 12. Would you please vote on them, make any comments or corrections you wish and return them to me.

Those resolutions marked with an asterisk were passed on the floor of the Conference. The others are for your consideration at this time. As for the last resolution included, it is the feeling of the Chairman that though AVC is in accord with the meaning and intent of the resolution, since it restricts AVC as well as other organizations, the conference was called to consider minority veterans problems and the resolution does not seem to be pertinent. However it is being included since it was submitted.

May I hear from you soon on your comments.

Sincerely yours,

Lou

Louis Harris
Chairman, Resolutions Committee
National Conference on Minority
Veterans Problems

NATIONAL ACTION CONFERENCE ON MINORITY VETERANS' PROBLEMS

CALLED BY THE AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

NEW YORK CITY, JULY 12

The Resolutions Committee consisting of:

Conference Chairman - Charles H. Houston	
Louis Harris - Chairman -	American Veterans' Committee
George Mitchell	Southern Regional Council
Bertram Alves	UNAVA
Jessie Dedmon	NAACP
Dorothy Burnham	Southern Negro Youth Congress
Lester Dubenstein	Jewish War Veterans
Manuel Murawchik	Veterans' League of America
Charity Adams	Former Lt. Col. of the WACS
A.A. Liveright	American Council on Race Relations

presented the following resolutions to the Conference, and were adopted by it.

Establishment of a Joint Action Council

* 1. That a continuing Joint Action Council on minority veterans' affairs be established, initial membership of the Council to be all groups who participated in the two conferences on Minority Veterans' Problems. That membership in the Council may include other interested groups. That within this Joint Action Council, a special policy and public relations committee consisting only of veterans' groups be established to handle certain aspects of the problem.

* 2. That the American Council be asked to serve as a clearing house for this Joint Action Council.

* 3. That Mr. Charles Houston be named as temporary chairman with responsibility to implement the resolution made by the veterans' organizations at the morning session and arrange for a conference for these veterans' groups with President Truman.

Conference with President Truman

4. That the Joint Action Council on minority veterans' affairs proceed immediately to implement the resolution made by the veterans' organizations at the morning session and arrange for a conference for these veterans' groups with President Truman.

General Resolutions

5. We commend the pronouncements against discrimination in employment and in services by top officials of Federal agencies concerned with the administration of veterans' services and thank the various governmental agencies for making their representatives available to this meeting. We further urge strongly that the non-discriminatory policies reported by the Federal agencies'

representatives at the meeting, be promptly enforced by unequivocal and aggressive action through the field offices of these agencies.

6. On practices within veterans' organizations:

a. We condemn in non-sectarian veterans' organizations the practice of discrimination against minority groups in their organizational setups. We commend those organizations whose constitution and program unequivocally state and stand for complete integration and participation by all veterans, regardless of race, creed or color.

b. We recommend that all veterans' organizations take an active part in minority relations by setting up within each organization a special minority relations division on the local level.

* 7. Civil Liberties

We condemn the numerous attacks on the civil liberties of the populace and of veterans, particularly in the South, as in the extreme case at Columbia, Tenn., and our committee is instructed to call on the Attorney-General and urge the reopening and review of the Columbia case, and prompt action to invoke the full powers of the law against such violations.

* 8. Housing

That the following message be sent from the Conference to House majority and minority leaders, Joseph Martin and John McCormack: "The National Action Conference on Minority Veterans' Problems, representing 80 delegates from 50 national veterans and civic organizations, urge you to take immediate steps to secure enactment of the Wagner-Ellender-Taft Bill before recess, as the major measure for adequate housing for veterans within their ability to pay. Charles H. Houston, Conference Chairman."

Veterans' Administration

9. a. The unanimous opposition of the Conference is expressed with respect to the discriminatory practices which still continue in veterans' hospitals in regard to Negro employees, doctors and patients.

b. We recommend that the program of the veterans' hospitals be so administered as to accord every patient all facilities without discrimination or segregation based on race, creed, color, or national origin, and that employment in the veterans' facilities be open to all on the basis of merit.

c. That the Veterans' Administration investigate the conduct of all agencies under its supervision charged with the execution of any part of the veteran rehabilitation program and that it institute adequate corrective measures wherever it finds discrimination by such agencies against veterans on account of race, creed, color or national origin.

d. That the Veterans' Administration establish adequate standards and safeguards which will guarantee that all applied training, such as apprentice training, on-the-job training, and on-the-farm training, shall be open to all veterans without regard to race, creed, color or national origin, and

that Federal funds be withheld from any agency or industry which exercises, or is guilty of, discrimination against veterans on account of race, creed, color or national origin.

U.S. EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

10. That Secretary Schwellenbach take immediate action to see that the recommendations discussed by the Special Committee with Robert Goodwin, director of U.S.E.S., be put into effect immediately.

Apprenticeship division

11. That Secretary Schwellenbach be urged to call for a stronger policy statement with respect to employment of minority groups by the National Apprenticeship Council; and further, that he take steps to see that the other recommendations discussed with the director of the Apprenticeship Division by the Special Committee be put into effect.

Retraining and Reemployment Administration

12. That Secretary Schwellenbach be urged to confer with General Graves, the administrator of this division, to hasten the action being taken on the recommendations discussed by the Special Committee.

National Housing Agency

13. That Wilson Wyatt, Housing administrator, be commended for action under way in the National Housing Agency, and the Joint Action Council, through local representatives of the organizations participating, lend active support to see that national policies are implemented at the local level.

Congressional Action

14. We recommend that Congress take note of the need for additional opportunities for minority veterans in on-the-job training and apprenticeship programs, that it recognize the need for further supervision to see that these services are provided on a non-discriminatory basis, and finally, that it adopt such additional legislation that is necessary to enforce the provision of such services on a non-discriminatory basis.

NATIONAL ACTION CONFERENCE ON MINORITY
VETERANS' PROBLEMS

Resolution presented jointly by 5 Veterans' Organizations; passed unanimously.

American Veterans Committee
Catholic War Veterans
Jewish War Veterans
Veterans' League of America
United Negro and Allied Veterans of America

WHEREAS, inadequate administration of the G.I. Bill of Rights and severe cuts in other measures designed to help veterans, such as the housing program, are preventing veterans from obtaining their full benefits and are impeding America's progress toward full prosperity, and

WHEREAS minority group veterans suffer, in addition to the general inadequacies of these measures, the special privations resulting from discrimination and segregation, and further suffer denials of the democracy guaranteed by the Constitution, such as the right to vote in certain states, and discriminatory discharges for certain racial groups, and

WHEREAS these minority group veterans were called upon to make equal sacrifice in war service and contributed in full measure to our country's victory, and

WHEREAS the previous Conference on Minority Veterans' Problems has presented to all federal agencies involved the facts about treatment of minority veterans, and

WHEREAS the reports of federal agencies as presented here today indicate little progress in eliminating unequal treatment of minority veterans or implementing the recommendations of the previous Conference, therefore be it

RESOLVED: That this Conference make available to all veterans' groups and other interested organizations the facts about discrimination and segregation of minority group veterans, and

That the Conference appoint a special Committee to be made up of the veterans' organizations here represented and such others as may wish to participate, and to recommend to him specific administrative and legislative steps to eliminate these problems.

A RESOLUTION

Whereas Senate Bill 223, an Act to establish and effectuate a policy with respect to the creation or chartering of certain corporations by Act of Congress is a bill that will prohibit non-profit organizations from receiving Congressional Charters, and

Whereas the new Veterans organizations now in process of development throughout the country fall within the scope of this bill, and

Whereas detailed investigation by the Department of Justice of the corporation and its incorporators is authorized by this bill, and

Whereas the bill provides that each corporation chartered by Congress is subject to an annual audit of its financial transactions by the General Accounting Office at the expense of such corporation, and

Whereas the bill provides that no part of the activities of the corporation shall consist in carrying on propaganda, and

Whereas the bill declares that said corporation shall not contribute to or otherwise support or assist any political party or candidate for elective public office, and

Whereas the foregoing elements of this bill indicate clearly a desire on the part of its sponsors and supporters to prohibit due Governmental recognition to the veterans of this war, whose fighting record found strength in the ideals of freedom and security for all people, for which the war was fought,

Be it resolved that this conference goes on record as denouncing the bill as a measure to prevent veteran and civic non-profit organizations from having official recognition from the government to carry on democratic activities.

Be it further resolved that this conference goes on record as giving active support to the veterans organizations who seek to meet the needs of America's fighting men who made the invaluable contribution of securing our nation from fascist tyranny,

And be it further resolved that this conference calls upon the congress to defeat Senate Bill 2223 as an undemocratic act that will muzzle the democratic action of American Veterans.

SUBMITTED BY KENNETH C. KENNEDY, NATIONAL COMMANDER,
UNITED NEGRO AND ALLIED VETERANS OF AMERICA

August 6, 1946

Miss Dorothy P. Cushing
News Editor
Congregational Christian News Bureau
Room 508
14 Beacon Street
Boston 8, Massachusetts

Dear Miss Cushing:

Thank you for your letter of August 1 requesting publicity material on Dr. Mitchell.

Dr. Mitchell will be out of the city until early next week. I will bring your letter to his attention when he returns, and you should hear from him very soon.

Sincerely,

Anna S. Warwick
Secretary to George S. Mitchell

August 6, 1946

Mr. Claude A. Barnett
The Associated Negro Press, Inc.
3507 South Parkway
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Mr. Barnett:

Your letter of July 20th came in just as Dr. Mitchell was leaving the office on a trip, and though he read it carefully, he had no time to reply.

I have put it in his drawer for immediate attention upon his return early next week.

Sincerely,

Anna S. Warwick
Secretary to George S. Mitchell

Sgn

August 7, 1946

Miss Dorothy P. Cushing
News Editor
Congregational Christian News Bureau
Room 508
14 Beacon Street
Boston 8, Massachusetts

Dear Miss Cushing:

Here is some reply to your letter of August 1st.

I am forty-three years old. I was born in Richmond, Virginia, and went to school in South Carolina, Maryland, Delaware, and Virginia. I had college work at the University of Richmond and graduate work at Johns Hopkins, whence I got a PHD in 1926. Thereafter, more college in England. Taught economics in Columbia College, Columbia University, New York City, six years. Worked in the Government for nine years, mostly in the Farm Security Administration.

Southeastern Regional Director for the CIO Political Action Committee 1944-45. Present job began in '45. Obviously, I like unions. Also obviously, I am interested in getting people in the country to where they can make a decent living. Principal item of side conversation is, "Does anybody know how to build a good cheap house for farm people?"

The Southern Regional Council through its veterans services division presently has a staff of eight or ten World War II veterans traveling in the South in the interest of improving services, employment, and benefits (mostly educational benefits) for veterans.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

Sent photograph 8-7-46 am

43-05 44th St.
Long Island City 4
New York
August 10, 1946

Mr. George Mitchell
C.I.O.
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Professor Ruppert Vance of the University of North Carolina has given me your name and suggested that you might be able to help me.

I am an instructor at Long Island University and a graduate student at Columbia University. At present I am working at assembling as much information as possible on the readjustment problems of the Negro veteran. Of special interest to me is any information you can give pertaining to the denial of the benefits of the G.I. Bill of Rights and all other rights to the Negro veteran. It is my hope to use this material in a thesis and possibly to publish it as a step toward rectification of the many inequities that exist.

If you have anything that might help me I would be most grateful. If you have any original material that you are willing to lend me you can be sure that it will be handled with great care and returned to you promptly. As you probably know, there has been very little published on this problem in the past, so whatever you can offer and whatever other sources for material you may suggest, will be most welcome.

Hoping that I may hear from you soon,

Sincerely yours,

Joseph H. Schiffman

Joseph H. Schiffman

JHS:s

Gen

August 19, 1946

Mr. A. A. Liverwright
American Council on Race Relations
32 West Randolph Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Liverwright:

Thanks for the summary of the meeting.

If you can send me fifteen copies, I would like to mail them out to my agents in the field.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

Gen

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

8. 20 5, 194

TO: Dr. Mitchell

FROM: [illegible]

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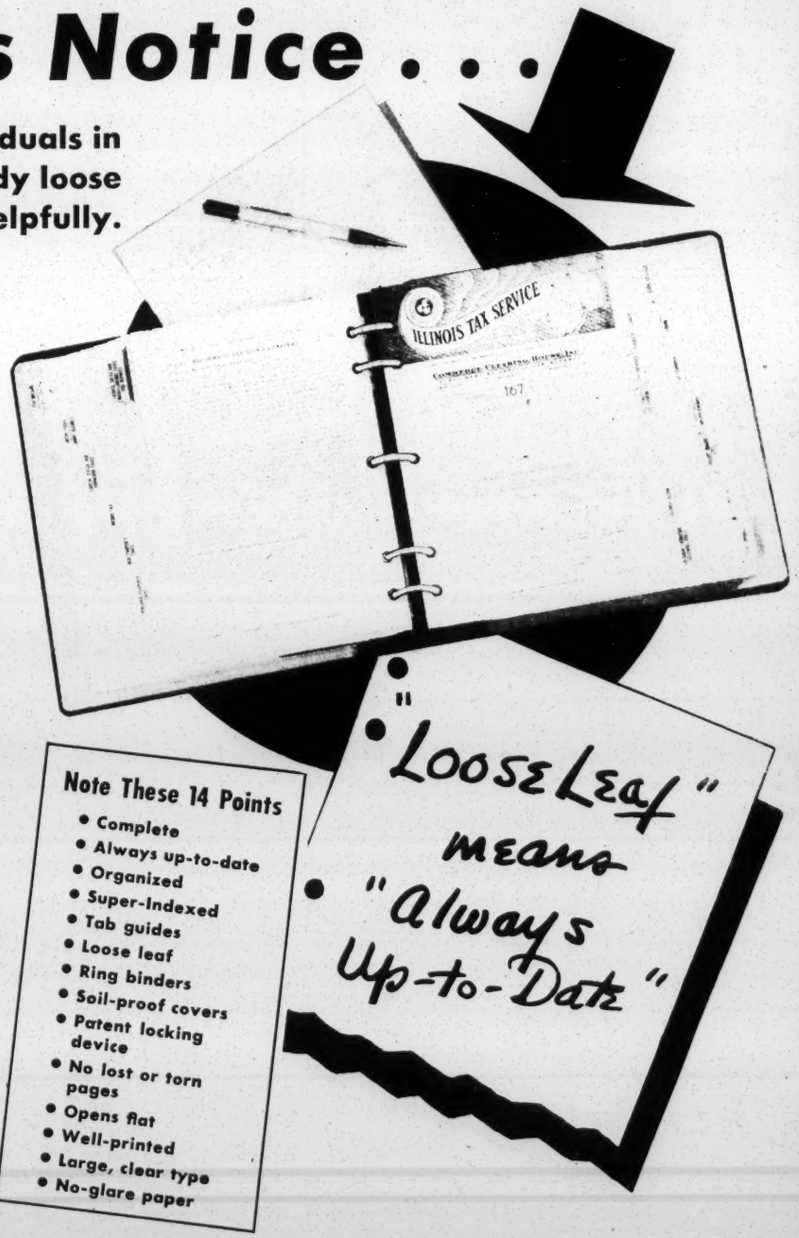
Answered at a Moment's Notice . . .

. . . those puzzling questions about taxation of corporations and individuals in your state—*and every state!* The CCH STATE TAX SERVICES in handy loose leaf volumes cover all phases of state taxation fully, clearly, helpfully.



STATE TAX SERVICES collect from every source and assemble in one convenient place all the "law" in the field.

The CCH State Tax Services cover not only the basic tax law for every state, but include as well all the interpretations which have been handed down under them. All administrative releases, all rulings, pertaining to these laws are set out in full. All essential forms are reproduced. Finally, every pertinent decision handed down by the state and federal courts is currently reported in full text. In every respect, the coverage of each unit is complete.

STATE TAX SERVICES arrange and organize the "law" in logical and readily usable form. There is a place for everything; and everything is in place.

Especially noteworthy is the systematic and effective way the information in the CCH State Tax Services is presented. First come the "Features" divisions which present the tax calendar and summaries of laws having a collateral relationship to the subject of taxes. Then the "Compilations" segregating the tax laws of each state *by taxes or taxables* for individual detailed analysis. "Compilations" are arranged in uniform order for all states; first, the distinctive corporate taxes such as initial fees and franchise taxes; second, income taxes; third, property taxes; fourth, license, sales and miscellaneous taxes and reports; fifth, utilities taxes. Following the Compilations is the Law, which sets forth *en bloc* the taxing statutes as amended to date.

STATE TAX SERVICES correlate and index the "law" so as to insure swift and easy contact with any subject of interest.

To facilitate the prompt locating of the exact statutory provision or article of the regulation, or the specific rulings, order or decision which cover any particular tax problem which may arise, the Services provide simplified and positive approach from three angles: (1) *By Subject Matter* through their exhaustive Topical Indexes; (2) *By Case Name* through their complete Tables of Cases; and (3) *By Number* of law section, or rulings, etc., through their ingenious Finding Lists. CCH State Tax Services make it easy to find "what you want, when you want it."

STATE TAX SERVICES keep facts and data always up-to-the-minute throughout. You have today's law to guide you today.

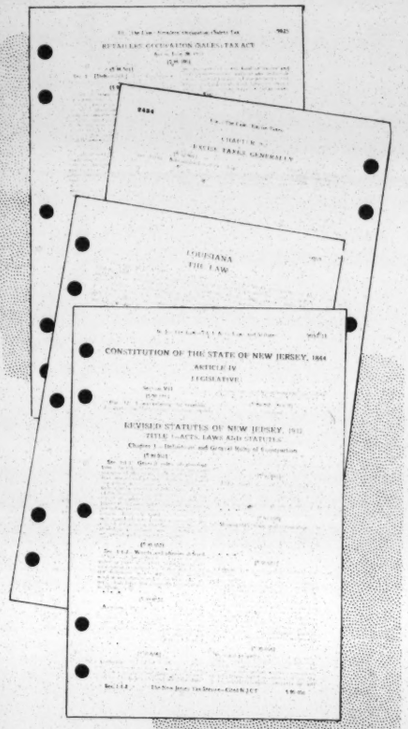
The CCH State Tax Services, since they are loose leaf, are kept up-to-date at all times. As new developments occur, they are promptly reported, loose leaf, for immediate use and insertion in place. Thus, whenever any change occurs which affects a page already in any state unit, a new page reflecting the changes is promptly supplied. By means of this modern loose leaf reporting method, the Services present the latest information always.

Note These 14 Points

- Complete
- Always up-to-date
- Organized
- Super-Indexed
- Tab guides
- Loose leaf
- Ring binders
- Soil-proof covers
- Patent locking device
- No lost or torn pages
- Opens flat
- Well-printed
- Large, clear type
- No-glare paper

From beginning to end, the CCH STATE TAX SERVICES have been especially designed to simplify the task of keeping in touch with every angle of state taxation. Enjoying wide and continuing use throughout the states among those concerned with state taxation in one or many states, they have well earned their reputation as "the complete reporter on state taxation."

CCH STATE TAX SERVICES



LAWS

In its comprehensive coverage of the statutory background of state taxation, every state unit of the CCH State Tax Services brings together, *in one place*, all the laws and parts of laws which make up the state's revenue system. New laws, amendments, and confusing fragments of effective prior laws are carefully coordinated to show exactly how the basic tax law stands today.

Introductory tables of contents in the "Law" divisions provide references to Service paragraph numbers. Every section of the law reproduced carries a paragraph reference to the Compilations where the section is analyzed and annotated.

Law Divisions

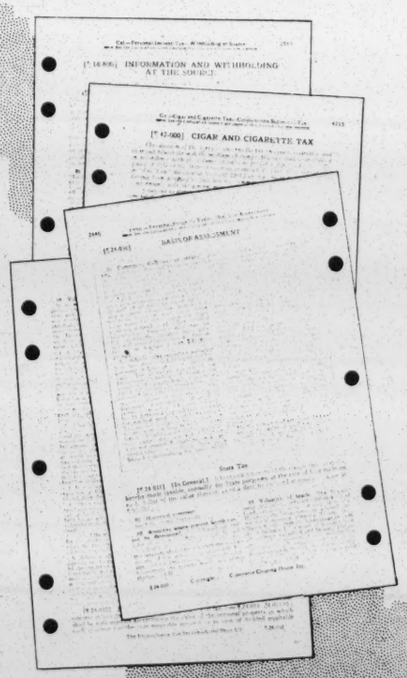
"Law" divisions are kept right up-to-date with all changes, amendments and new laws. Amendments are incorporated in place immediately by the replacement of pages. New laws are reported with speed and dispatch, integrated with existing laws.

COMPILATIONS

Outstanding among the features of the CCH State Tax Services are the Compilation divisions. Here a provision-by-provision exhaustive analysis of the whole body of the tax law—statutory, case, and administrative law—offers subscribers the utmost assistance in the effective handling of all state taxes.

Topical Annotations

Annotations combined ingeniously with the law provisions set forth legislative history and report full texts of official regulations immediately following the law provisions construed. Topical annotations reproduce court decisions, official opinions, and rulings, together with editorial comments and other interpretations of the law.



SPECIAL FEATURES

Administration and Personnel

Every state unit includes a handy "Who's Who" of official personnel. In addition, each Compilation is introduced by a listing of the administrative officials concerned. Personnel lists are kept right up-to-date.

Tax Calendars

All important tax dates are listed, day-by-day, in the CCH State Tax Services. Calendars for each unit show just when various taxes are due and payable, tell when to file reports, returns, appeals, etc.

Tax Charts

Quick-reference charts for every state unit show at a glance the origin, coverage, rate, due date, and other essential data about each tax imposed.

Collateral Material

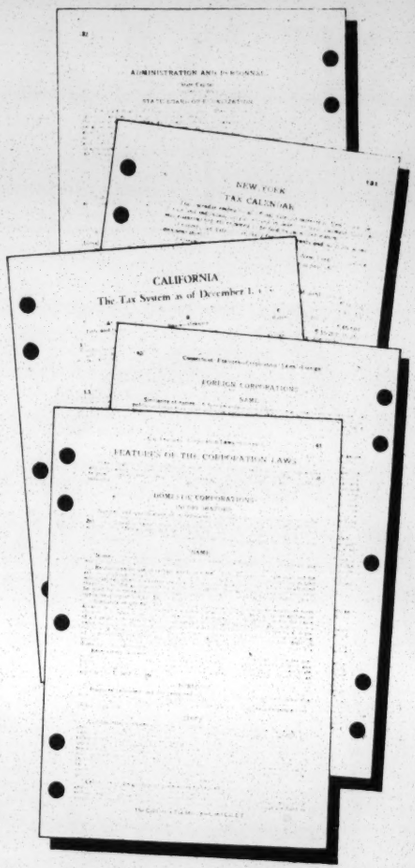
Corporation, blue sky, anti-trust, and stock transfer laws are summarized in each state unit to aid in checking up problems collateral and incidental to tax matters.

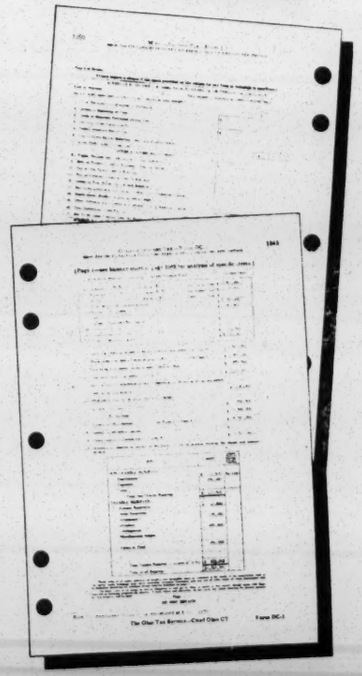
FORMS

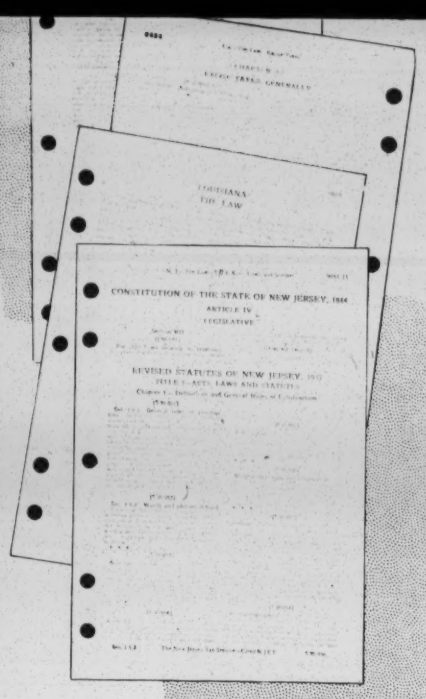
Franchise, income, property, sales, chain store, gasoline, etc., tax returns and report forms are reproduced in facsimile in every state Service. All forms are kept current, reflect each revision and issuance of new forms.

Specimen Filled-In Forms

Many of the state units of the CCH State Tax Services provide filled-in forms, with all specimen tax facts and figures "followed through," step-by-step, for typical taxpayers and tax situations. Moreover, detailed explanations show just *how* and *when* to use each.







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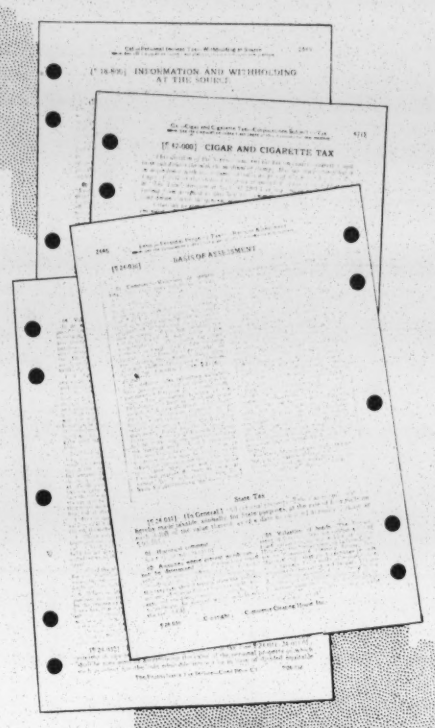

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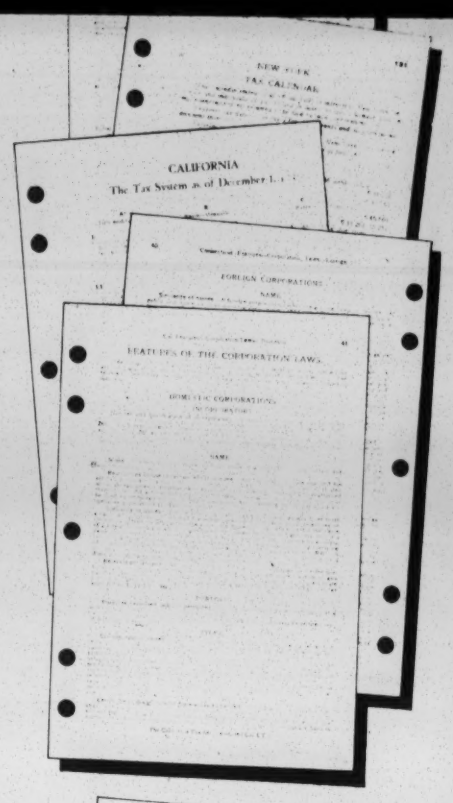

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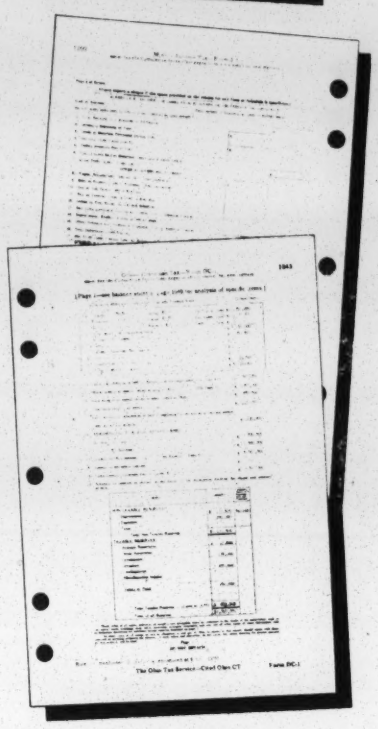
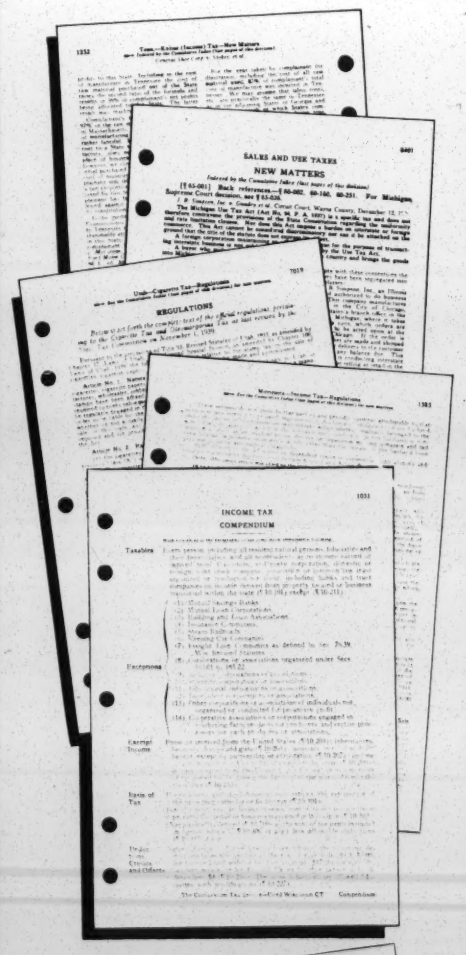


Master Annotations

Throughout, the treatment of the principal taxes is enriched by "master annotations" summing up the trend of rulings and decisions on pivotal points. These "master annotations" present the basic general rules embodied in statutes, regulations, and decisions as a starting point to the annotations which supply refinements of interpretation.



DECISIONS AND RULINGS

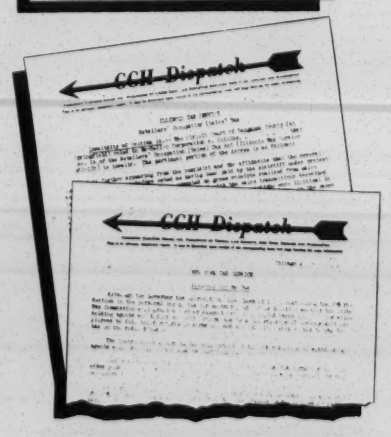
Full texts of court decisions from state and federal courts, and digests of new U. S. Supreme Court decisions involving pertinent tax laws of other states are all currently reported. Rulings by the state taxing authorities, interpreting the state tax laws, are also reported ready for use and insertion in the Service, as are important pertinent opinions of the attorney generals.

RULES AND REGULATIONS

In addition to current official matter already in place in the Service, and directly related to the statutory provisions which it interprets, all new rules, regulations, and instructions are reported in place immediately upon release by the authorities.

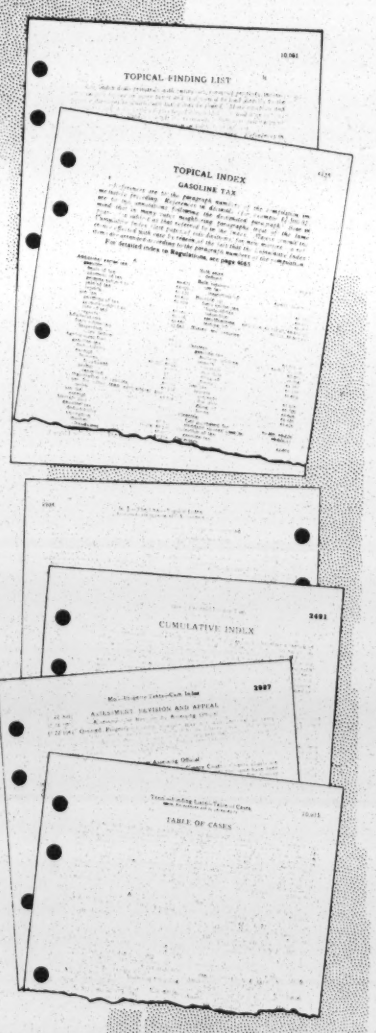
COMPENDIUMS

Compendiums like the one here shown provide an indispensable first approach to the detailed analysis and interpretative authority which follow. These "thumb nail sketches" introduce the explanations of law and regulations for each division.



DISPATCHES

An extra Service feature for which there is no additional charge is the "Dispatches" which flash to subscribers news of unusually important developments in advance of the regular Current Reports.



INDEXES, TABLES

Every angle or aspect of the state tax law in the CCH State Tax Services is made immediately available through exhaustive indexes and tables which are kept always up-to-date. *Everything helpful is covered, everything covered is easy to find.*

Topical Indexes

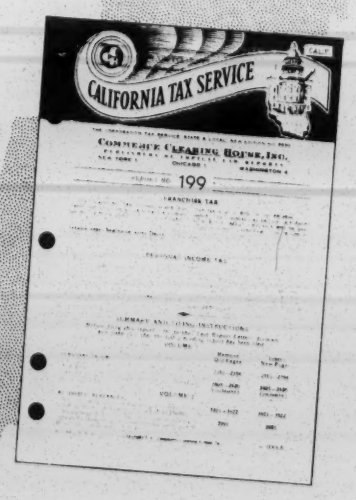
In addition to a general topical finding list for many state units, division topical indexes at the end of each division in that unit provide instant and detailed contact with every item concerning the taxes covered in the division.

Cumulative Indexes

Helpful "Cumulative Indexes," also at the end of each division, arranged by paragraph number in the same manner as the law "Compilations," correlate the current court decisions with the statutory provisions affected.

Case Tables

Especially valuable are the comprehensive "Tables of Cases" for each state Service. These listings by case name show the citations and Service paragraph reference to aid the subscriber in locating quickly the very case in point.



CURRENT REPORTS

Speedy current Reports of new loose leaf pages reflecting latest developments keep the CCH State Tax Services always up-to-date. Every state unit has its own series of Current Reports, applicable to it alone. Each Report is accompanied by a special "Report Letter" (see cut). In addition to giving detailed instructions for filing the new pages in the Service volumes, this Letter helpfully notes the "highlights" of the new matters covered in the Report.

Tax Procedure Is No Longer SIMPLE . . .

State taxation once was easy. The property tax, a franchise tax, and a few license taxes made up the picture. But now all this is changed.

New and drastic forms of taxation have been created, rates have sky-rocketed, more and still more money is demanded. Today, as never before, correct, continuing tax information is vital to effective, economical business management. And not just at return time, but all through the year. Tax control must be carefully planned, plans constantly revised, to match the swift pace of present day tax change.

For this reason Tax Men welcome the special assistance of the CCH State Tax Services.

. . . But It Can Still Be SOUND

Forty-eight states and the District of Columbia are covered by the CCH State Tax Services, each state the subject of a distinct unit contained in its own individual binder, or binders. These Services keep your tax facts and information constantly up-to-the-minute by prompt, continuing reports of all new developments taxwise, as they occur—instantly accessible through fingertip tab guides and indexes. Swift, accurate, convenient, the CCH State Tax Services bring together everything essential or helpful on the taxation of corporations and individuals.

Whatever the nature of your interest in state taxation, whether you are concerned with only one state, a few states, or all states, CCH State Tax Services will be of immeasurable assistance to you. They give you, all in one place, everything you want and need to know about state tax law, its administration and its interpretation. The whole record is at your fingertips —complete from the time of enactment of the law right down to the latest ruling or decision.

Your subscription is invited

COMMERCE CLEARING HOUSE, INC.

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August 23, 1946

Mr. Claude A. Barnett
The Associated Negro Press, Inc.
3507 South Parkway
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Mr. Barnett:

The things I have seen to do and have tried to further come under three heads: (1) Building channels through which Negro veterans could get their benefits, (2) education, and (3) organization.

We have had eight or ten veterans traveling constantly in the Southern States for months. Usually they have been men from the States they travel in. All but a couple of them have been Negroes. They work mostly in small towns and country places. Their job has been to build a bridge between the officialsveterans servicing agencies and the Negro veterans. That meant going to see the service officers - always white - and drawing out what interest he had in the Negro veteran, and then going around to see leaders in the Negro community. Usually a meeting was arranged where the service officer came and talked to an audience of Negro veterans. The result has always been many more applications by Negro veterans for job training, farm training, or other benefits. A good many of the service officers have bestirred themselves to answer some of these requests with real opportunity. In other places little good can be shown.

Another thing that these traveling veterans have pushed is employment of Negro officials in State, federal, and local servicing agencies. They have not had much luck. Alabama has put on twenty or twenty-five Negro coordinators of veterans education, and I credit Mr. Frank Thomas of the Alabama Citizen (Tuscaloosa), who has been helping us, with a good deal of this success. Florida has four such men stationed out in the State. Some of the southwestern States have a few such people. The Veterans Administration has been almost unbreakable. They have simply paid no mind to the requirements of justice or of their own administrative regulations on this. They have a very few Negro officials placed at

Negro colleges as guidance officers and that is about all. I keep hearing from Washington that things are about to get better, but I don't see the evidence. Greatly increased Negro employment in these agencies is a badly needed step toward giving real opportunities to Negro veterans and Negro communities to make real use of the services and benefits that are rightly theirs. Perhaps ten thousand Negro veterans are now receiving job training in a dozen Southern States. If they could get in on the same scale as whites, I think there would be fifty thousand Negro veterans on job training. Perhaps four thousand Negro veterans are getting farm training. The balance here is better. On institutional training I believe Negroes are getting somewhere near their share at the college level, but much less than their share at high school level.

At any rate, by this time I think the leadership of the Negro population over the South has a pretty good idea of what benefits are available and of where to go to try to get them.

On education the South has a great chance. We have hardly had the beginnings of trade and vocational education for Negroes, or for whites either for that matter. The Negro veterans in large numbers would take a year or two of trade education if they could get it. For the first time in history, provision for such education is not a matter of money. The Federal Government will now pay the teachers, provide most of the equipment, pay the veterans for going to school, and by an act that went through the last Congress, it will even put up additional school buildings in a limited number of cases. All that is lacking is imagination, organization and drive in scores of Southern towns which should have good Negro vocational schools. We are in for much more industrialization, and mechanization of agriculture is going to turn loose a million and a half farm workers. Schools built for veterans will be there to serve these two oncoming needs after the veterans have gone through.

I am doing all I can to get this opportunity known and used. It seems to me that this is a chance for a great permanent gain.

Negro veterans are now beginning to organize on a pretty large scale. For many months the most that could be found was an occasional controlled Negro post of one of the old-line organizations, or else a weak local discussion club. Now the Legion has opened up in practically every Southern State except Alabama. It is trying to get many new Negro posts. World War II veterans are suspicious, but I expect both the Legion and

the VFW will get many more colored members in the next year. UNVA and the NCNV have both launched Southern drives, and both are well established. I think that within a short while many local independent clubs will go into one or the other of these four. I don't know what the AMVETS are doing. AVC has a few brilliant chapters in the larger Southern cities, and it is furnishing a lot of leadership in men and in ideas. My guess is that it will recruit a good many scattered members even in places where it cannot set up large non-segregated posts.

Self-organization is bringing to the surface a new group of leaders. The South now has scores of young fellows who have a salary or an expense account or both from veterans organizations. Naturally, they have lotof good. My guess would be that in the long run widespread organization of Negro veterans will do more thantany one factor to improve the situation.

I quite realize that these things that are happening are mostly long range and that in the short run brutality is popping up all around.

The veterans themselves, in so far as I get to see into their minds, are of the opinion that in a comparatively short while - a matter of, say, three, four or five years - quite substantial changes can be produced. They are going about it with determination and with plan. That I think is the best thing about the present situation.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

Paid Education for Veterans at Labor School Here

VETERANS (left to right) Keith Eickman (ILWU), Ralph Rollin (ILWU) and John Pena (FTA) on scholarship at CLS from their unions talk it over with Vets' Director Allen Rosenfield (leg on chair).

By ALLEN ROSENFIELD
CLS Veterans' Director

THE California Labor School is the only progressive labor school in the nation where veterans can study under benefits of the GI Bill of Rights.

It is mushrooming to prominence as the nation's recognized training center for trade union leadership because it is the only labor school so equipped to train trade unionist-veterans for active leadership in their unions.

LOW COST LEADERSHIP

Combining the advantages of the school's accrediting for GI education with its special training facilities, all unions now have the opportunity of securing leadership instruction for selected members at a minimum investment of time and money.

Under the GI bill provisions, veterans attending the school full time receive $90 monthly subsistence pay if married or with dependents, $65 monthly if single.

In addition to this, all tuition, books and other fees are paid the school by the Veterans Administration.

In order to save one or two months delay in getting GI Bill payments, veterans should apply to the Veterans Administration nearest home for a Certificate of Eligibility necessary to receive the educational benefits. A photostatic copy of discharge papers is required when applying.

ASSISTANCE AT SCHOOL

While veterans returned to their trade unions are going to school on the subsistence provided by the GI Bill, the unions as well have found an additional way to assist the student-veteran to mutual advantage of both union and individual.

SCHOLARSHIPS SET UP

Progressive unions, aware of the need for leadership development to shoulder the increasing burden being placed on organized labor by government and industry, and recognizing the returned veteran as a natural source for such leadership, are setting up nominal scholarships to give veterans added

(Continued on Page 3, Col. 3)

LABOR SCHOOL TRAINING PATH TO JOBS FOR ALL

Labor Herald

Vol. 10, No. 13 — 52 — Northern California Edition—August 23, 1946 — Price 5 Cents

SECOND SECTION

REGISTER NOW FOR FALL TERM

Peace, Full Employment School Aim

By HOLLAND ROBERTS
CLS Educational Director

ALL courses of study at the California Labor School are created to help those who come here solve today's problems of society and personal welfare; the problems of full employment, homes, a rising standard of living, a permanent peace.

How can every able-bodied person in the United States have a secure job at good wages?

Full employment is the goal of the American people and to this ringing question an answer is fashioned in more than a dozen courses of study at the school; study in economics, American labor history, in imperialism and union organization.

BUILDING PEACE

To the general welfare, building the peace is another key; a key now being polished for the September 3rd opening of the fall term at the trade union fostered San Francisco school.

Many courses will be offered this term to point the way to peace. "China and Japan" and "Latin America Comes of Age" are two, to be taught by Ramon Lavalle, a Republican Army veteran of the Spanish Civil War, who renounced a nine-year diplomatic career when he quit the Argentina Embassy in Tokyo to become a citizen of the United States.

Thomas Harris, executive director of the American Russian Institute, will draw upon his travels and study in Russia, Europe and the United States to present a colorful, special course on the Soviet Union. Jules Carson will illuminate the necessity for understanding and controlling monopoly

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

CLASSROOM of veterans, unionists and students representative of the 900-per-quarter average at California Labor School in San Francisco hear of labor's problems from Irwin Elber, school trade union director.

ILWU Urges Locals to Use School

California Labor School training of trade union leaders to help realize objectives of organizing new workers and strengthening existing locals has been urged by the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union in a letter to all ILWU locals.

The letter, signed by ILWU President Harry Bridges and Secretary-treasurer Louis Goldblatt, declared:

"This school offers an unique program of workers' education, especially designed for active union members who wish to become trained, efficient union leaders. We urge you publicize this program among the veteran members of your union and encourage brothers and sisters with leadership possibilities to take advantage of it."

The letter stressed the need for trained leadership to meet the growing demands being imposed on labor by trends in government and industry.

Film, Foundation Funds to School

Substantial support for the California Labor School's expanding program of trade union education has been received from the Frank Sinatra film, "The House I Live In," and from the Robert Marshall Foundation.

The School was awarded $3,000 from proceeds of the singer's RKO film on tolerance, and trustees of the Marshall Foundation voted the School a grant for the year of $2,500 "for the training of leadership in the trade union movement."

The school was one of ten organizations in the nation chosen to share in the film's net by Malcolm Ross, chairman of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices.

Ross, in announcing the award, said it was selected because it shared with the film "the aim of making America a place where all groups can live together in harmony."

STAFF members at CLS hear expansion plan from Director David Jenkins (seated, left) as school gains by bounds from Pearl Harbor beginning in auto loft.

Build Peace Keynote for Special Study

(Continued from Page 1)
and Leon Alexander will paint a course in World Labor: Past, Present and Future, with the brush of his European experience.

Classes at the California Labor School are informal and simple. There are no grades, examinations or degrees. Thus people come to the school to learn easily what they want to know about the world in which they live.

LEARNING PRACTICED

Whenever possible, students practice what they learn so that theory is integrated with an actual working knowledge. In this way every class becomes a workshop.

Such practical learning is possible beyond scope of the ordinary academic institution, because teachers at the California Labor School are professional people as well as instructors and many earn their living in the same field in which they teach. By daily practice in their professions, they keep up to date and give their students latest expert knowledge.

All courses focus on building the labor movement as a central means of maintaining and developing our democracy. There are courses to give particular attention to the history of American and world labor movements, economics necessary for labor progress and the techniques needed by all who build the labor movement.

In the forthcoming term, School Director David Jenkins will join with union leaders as guest instructors to analyze recent strike struggles. Trade Union Director Irwin Elber and selected union leaders will explain the operation of unions under present day conditions. They will draw from factual experience in their unions to detail the techniques of organizing the unorganized, drafting and negotiation of contracts and duties of officers and stewards.

Political and union leaders will participate in Elber's special course, "Labor's Political Program Today," and labor's legislative needs will be studied and current legislation analyzed in "Labor Law and Legislation," directed by Vivian Dahl, of the U. S. Department of Labor, and selected specialists.

HOW CONTRACT WORKS

For labor leaders and others who wish to understand the inner workings of contracts as they operate in industry today, a special course on Collective Bargaining and Research will be taught by Lincoln Fairley, ILWU national research director; Paul Pinsky, California CIO research director, and Philip Eden, California CIO research associate.

Union members and leaders will be trained to conduct meetings in Effective Speaking and Parliamentary Procedure, taught by Isobel Cerney. Practical workshop tasks taught by working journalists Tom Weber, Gail Hazard and Jules Carson will emphasize Labor Journalism. Writing shop papers and leaflets, and such technical aspects as copy reading and make-up will be studied.

The school uses history as a weapon to arm labor against fascism and reaction. The history needed to understand the problems faced today is dramatized in a wide variety of courses on American history, History of Our Times, and Modern European History, taught by Hazel Grossman and Leon Alexander. In Negro History and Culture, Thelma Gorham, Negro community leader, brings to light the contributions of the Negro people to our nation and draws them into focus on the struggle against discrimination and bigotry.

The Industrial Arts department offers job training in many fields: plastics, ceramics, photography, industrial design, interior and home design and the fine arts. A special seven-week workshop course in mimeograph and layout will be valuable to union office workers and all who need a working knowledge of the use of mimeograph.

Isobel Cerney directs an English department which offers a broad range of work from basic classes for those with little knowledge of English on up to college and graduate programs.

BOOKS PUBLISHED

Young writers interested in the short story, novel, poetry or the play are offered evening study or full-time work under successful writers and teachers. A number of books are now being written by students in the school, and they have published several stories and articles, as well as one book.

Foreign language courses will provide practical speaking knowledge in Spanish, Portuguese, Russian, Yiddish and Hebrew, along with reading and writing. Such utilitarian training as shorthand, arithmetic and bookkeeping is to be given.

The school also has its special cultural features. Leo Christiansen, former director of the People's Chorus, conducts the notable Labor School chorus. There will be training in piano and singing for those wishing solo work.

Mara Alexander presents the Union Theater, a class in drama for working people and professional actors desiring to appear before union audiences. Modern Dance Workshop is directed by Mimi Kagan. There are also offerings in recreational dancing, young people's dancing, folk dancing, led by Julia and Earl Lundwall, and ballroom dancing.

Growth of School Helps Build Labor

By IRWIN ELBER
CLS Trade Union Director

THE California Labor School is the largest of its character in the history of the United States.

Within four years, over 20,000 people in the Bay area have attended classes and lectures at the school or in extension classes at union halls.

The CLS has been nationally and internationally recognized as the nation's top labor school by notable educators, non-unionists of prominence and by visiting and lecturing international labor figures.

Despite this recognition, the school is not large enough even yet to help labor, of all affiliations, meet the deep problems and threats it faces today.

'PARLOR CAT' BID

Every honest labor man who knows the score realizes that monopoly-employer interests are out to break the unions determined to protect and improve the conditions of their members, or to encourage "parlor cat" unions that would sell out their members to curry employer favor.

The role of labor education thus boils down to the question:

"How can labor education help us in the day to day job we face as active unionists?"

FOUR ANSWERS

Here are some answers already evolved by unions in close working cooperation with the California Labor School:

1. If you think union membership meetings are too often long and boring, then the school's now established film, pamphlet and visual education aid department can be used at nominal rates by all unions to enliven meetings.

2. If either as a rank and filer or an official you want to hit the floor more but aren't sure of yourself enough to feel you can put over your point, then the school's classes in public speaking, parliamentary procedure and union building will provide you the necessary poise and savvy.

3. If only a few people instead of many are carrying the entire load of committee work, grievances, dues collection, negotiation, organization, etc., then follow the lead of some unions who have already solved these problems by training additional secondary and top leadership at the school.

4. If you regard economics and politics as something so mysterious that only a few politicians, bankers and big money editorial writers can understand (with the result you're taken in by the phony economics that says high prices, low wages, "boom and bust" are inevitable in the American way of life), then the school's classes in economics, labor history, theory and practice have the scientific basis for the kind of economics and politics you must know to explode those phoney economics.

EDUCATION PRACTICAL

Concerning theory and practice, practice without theory is a ship without a destination. You can steam ahead, but where are you going?

Some labor people belittle education as "ivory tower," unrealistic; and not without some reason.

Unions themselves can be the best schools for workers. But let's not fool ourselves.

Education pays off — when it combines the "Know-How" with the "Know Why."

Isn't it about time we made our unions the kind of schools which can organize and maintain permanent security and peace?

The 75 AFL, CIO and R.R. Brotherhood unions which sponsor and support the California Labor School do so because this school is trying to combine the theory and practice which can help working men and women and other progressive sections of the community realize these objectives.

The school is not yet large enough, because labor is not strong enough. The education of labor and the progress of labor must go together. Build labor education, and build stronger unions.

CIO, AFL, Brotherhood Leaders Praise School's Training for Building of Labor Unity

"THE International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and its locals in the Bay area have cooperated with the California Labor School on training courses for ILWU members with highly successful results.

"Union members, particularly veterans, should take advantage of the opportunities offered by the school.

"Labor's program requires the development of new, trained leaders, with new skills and techniques, and will command the full use of all our resources. The California Labor School can and does play an integral part in that program."

H. R. BRIDGES, President CIO Intl. Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

"THE California Labor School is deserving of unrestricted commendation for its contribution to the educational strengthening of the entire labor movement.

"I cannot strongly enough recommend to all unions the use of its facilities as a certain means of forwarding the progress of organized labor; both through training within labor ranks and enlightenment of those outside the pale of organization.

"The California Labor School can play a vital part in equipping labor to meet its tasks of the day."

G. F. IRVINE, Legislative Board, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen & Enginemen.

"I LAUD the role of the California Labor School in strengthening the labor movement and urge all members of my union and other AFL unions to take full advantage of the union building opportunities offered by this school.

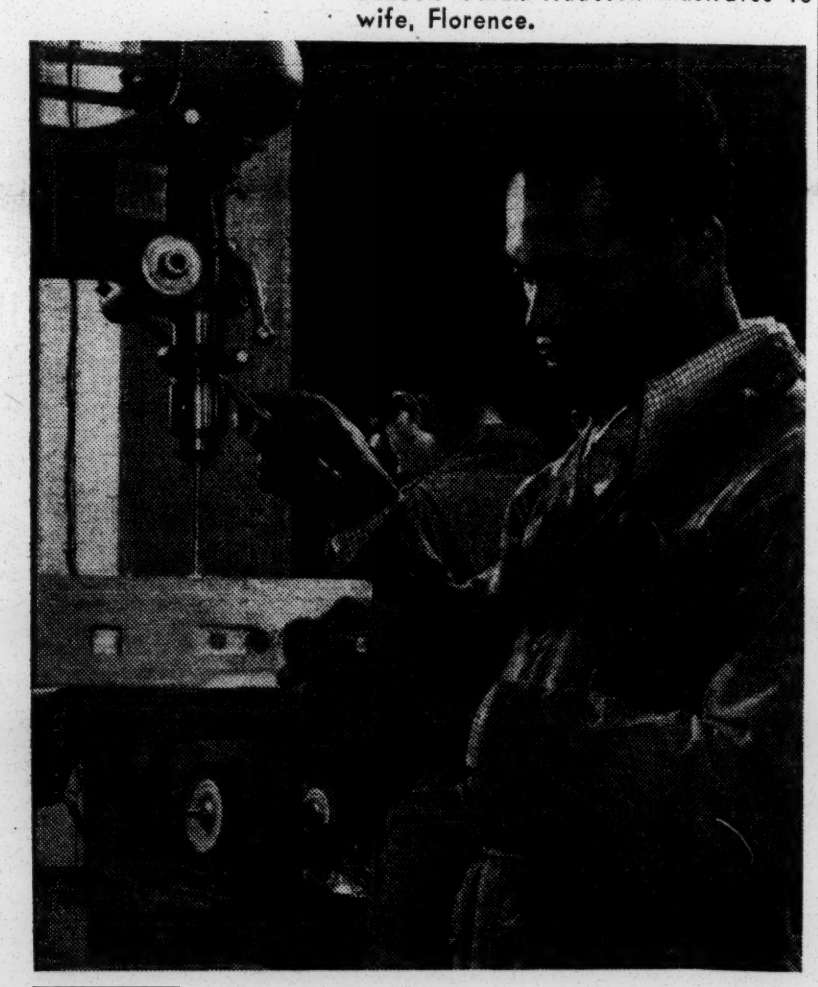
"I have endorsed the school since its inception, and I am proud of its contribution to organized labor.

"I am additionally proud that my son, George Hardy, a veteran returned from overseas, actively participated on the school's board of directors."

CHARLES HARDY, Intl. Vice President AFL Building Service Employees Intl. Union.

Labor School Gives Vets Both Classwork, Job Training

MR. AND MRS. VETERAN plot the graph of their postwar future while studying at the California Labor School. Allan Isaacson illustrates to wife, Florence.



LOUISIANA veteran Melton Rougeau is one of the full time students at California Labor School studying industrial art and design, getting ready for a postwar job.

(Continued from Page 1)

aid while training at the Labor School.

ILWU Local 6, San Francisco, has set up five $50 per month scholarships. ILWU Local 13, San Pedro, has established the same. San Diego's FTA local 64 set up one scholarship of $150 for one term. Others are following suit in varying degree.

The California Labor School's special course for trade unionists extends over fifteen weeks full time. There are 25 hours of instruction per week from 1:30 to 6 p. m., Monday through Friday, plus one or more evening classes.

Such classes are included as American Labor, Economics and Labor, Effective Speaking, Collective Bargaining and Research, Organizing and Union Building and Labor Journalism. Registration currently is open by mail or at the school, 216 Market Street, San Francisco (11), for the Fall term starting September 3.

HOUSING, PART TIME JOBS

In addition to easy registration, the school's policies of no entrance requirements eliminate necessity of pre-formal schooling and no discrimination offer advantages to Negro and minority group vets unobtainable elsewhere. The school also has arrangements for low cost housing and part time jobs for vets. But the main thing, with crowded state and private schools turning away applicants, is that enrollment at the California Labor School is OPEN!

Concerning trade union veterans, three steps are suggested to interested unions:

1. Endorse and become another of the 75 CIO, AFL and RR Brotherhood unions sponsoring the school.

2. Inform your veterans committee of the educational benefits available at the school and urge individual veterans in the membership to take advantage of them.

3. Establish some scholarship basis on which one or more selected members may be sent to the school for special training.

During the summer term, more than 175 veterans were enrolled in the California Labor School. They found it mature and practical in its approach to problems of the day, because it is a trade union school, fostered and supported by 75 CIO, AFL and Brotherhood unions, as well as by other forward-looking groups.

Student participation in establishment of school policy has proved itself popular with veterans attending the California Labor School. Under the plan student council members representing each class meet regularly with school administrators to discuss curriculum and school affairs.

During its recent California State Convention, the American Veterans' Committee vigorously endorsed the school as a "center for labor, liberal and community organizations" that "can make an important contribution to the knowledge of individual veterans."

A SHORT CUT

EVERY vet will save from one to two months getting subsistence pay by applying to the VA nearest home for a Certificate of Eligibility. You have to have this certificate to claim the pay off. You can still get it through the Vets Department at the school when you enroll, but you'll save time and trouble if you get it NOW! It costs nothing, and whether you go to school now, later, or at all, the Certificate is good indefinitely. If you get it NOW you'll have it if and when you want it. AND IT'S IMPORTANT to take a photostatic copy of your discharge papers with you when you apply for the Certificate.

Your Veterans' Advisor at the California Labor School, Room 309, can assist you. The California Labor School also offers special counseling and guidance to veterans on their study program.

Vets Tell Aims in School Study

VETERANS studying at the California Labor School are quick to speak of their aims and purposes in attending the nation's adult education center for trade union training.

HARRY H. McNEILL, AFL Masters, Mates and Pilots, says: "I'm taking a full labor course to equip myself for more effective contribution to expanding and strengthening trade unionism."

KEITH EICKMAN, CIO International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, declares: "What I am learning at the California Labor School will be of terrific help in my work. I had some experience in the labor movement, but I hadn't begun to appreciate what there is to know."

SARA SCHEIBER, former WAVE, was looking to crowded University of California for her Masters' Degree but: "I found the best workable training to be at the California Labor School, academically because of its special labor courses and practically because of its close working cooperation with the unions themselves."

TED ALLEN, Negro veteran from Texas, asserts: "The California Labor School is especially good for Negro veterans because it teaches a special understanding of the ways to advance the labor movement and secure lasting peace through harmony between races."

Teachings Offered to Meet Aims

UNDER four main divisions, the California Labor School teaches many subjects.

LABOR ORGANIZATION trains for union leadership through the development of a comprehensive understanding of labor's history, present program, political aims and economic struggles. Special classes deal with preparation and negotiation of contracts, labor statistics and research, organizing and union building, all the functional items of unionism. Students attend actual union meetings, work with shop stewards, meet with union leaders and learn how to issue union publications.

SOCIAL SCIENCE emphasis is on economics, history and current politics, with the aim of providing a basic knowledge of the major forces at work in the world and the direction necessary for progressive action on a community, national and international basis.

CREATIVE WRITING is designed for those desiring a profession in writing, with a program particularly arranged for those actively working on books or other material. A Writers' Seminar provides regular criticism and assistance with work in progress.

INDUSTRIAL ARTS provides practical job training for work in plastics, ceramics, furniture design, construction, photography and graphic arts. Much time is spent in workshop activities under guidance of established artists and craftsmen.

S. F. School Affairs

No dull atmosphere is to be found at San Francisco's Labor School. To the contrary, students and friends have made of it a lively community center.

Extra-curricular activities at the school include frequent social affairs where students and faculty members become fast friends. The popular Sunday night film series, also, offers San Franciscans rare foreign films as well as early American "classics" seldom displayed elsewhere in the city.

Oakland Labor School

Now commencing its third year of operation, the California Labor School in Oakland offers numerous educational and cultural advantages to East Bay residents.

Taking advantage of the abundance of experienced labor leaders and trained instructors in the Bay Area, the Oakland school presents a varied course of study for unionists, veterans, and others seeking practical education.

The Oakland school is located at 2030 Broadway.

SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY

THE California Labor School participates in many community activities. Forums and conferences leading to action have dealt with public health, housing, transportation, minority problems and liberal education.

Outstanding among these have been the World Peace Forum, the Workshop in Public Relations which won national industry and labor attention, the Journalism School taught by guest instructors from the San Francisco-Oakland Newspaper Guild's working newsmen, and Mara Alexander's labor theater.

During the United Nations Conference in San Francisco, the State Department designated the California Labor School as official host to labor delegates. French delegates Marcel Camus of CGT and Jean Brodier of the French Christian Federation of Workers officially informed the State Department that the Labor School constituted a high point in their labor survey of the U. S. and that they had recommended its features be incorporated in French labor education.

DISTINGUISHED GUEST SPEAKERS have included Czech Consul Bohus Benes, ex-British Labor Minister Rt. Hon. Margaret Bondfield, Yugoslav Undersecretary of State Stoyan Gavrilovich, Latin-America Labor Leader Vicente Lombardo Toledano, All-Soviet Trade Union Congress General Secretary Michael Tarosov, India's Railway Workers' Vice-president Fasal Qurban, Labor Leader Harry Bridges, Actor Orson Welles, Poet Muriel Rukeyser, Architect Frank Lloyd Wright, Journalist Eric Severeid, Artist William Gropper, Anthropologist Dr. Paul Radin, Psychiatrist Dr. Jacob Kasanin, Screen Writer John Howard Lawson, Singer Paul Robeson.

DISTINGUISHED SPONSORS include U. S. Senator Sheridan Downey, U. S. Congressman Franck Havenner, Attorney General Robert Kenny, State Senator John F. Shelley, Bishop Edward L. Parsons, Attorney Bartley C. Crum, Conductor Pierre Monteux, Editor Carlotta Bass, Crocker Bank Chairman J. K. Moffatt, Superior Judge Sylvain Lazarus, Civic Leader Martha Gerbode, Stanford University Professor of Industrial Relations Paul Eliel, Wendell Phillips, AFL, and Paul Schnur, CIO.

SCHOOL AND TRADE UNION

THE most vital single function of the California Labor School is carried out in classes by the Trade Union and Industrial Relations Department.

Because of the dynamic role of organized labor in the nation, a high percentage of men and women studying at the school came for labor classes. Their teachers are union leaders, government and labor experts. In the classes, they study labor's political program, economics from labor's viewpoint, the history of American and world labor and labor techniques.

The memberships of some unions have voted that new members attend classes at the school in order to learn the basic facts of the labor movement. Others send shop stewards and officials to classes.

An example of how the school works with the union concerns ten ILWU students from the five Hawaiian Islands, officers from sugar and pineapple workers, longshoremen and warehousemen who came to the mainland last February. They trained at the school in basic labor courses, then went into locals here to sit in on actual negotiation and membership meetings. They visited plants and warehouses, came back to the school to polish their training in advanced courses and at forums, films and lectures, and returned to their Island locals in April.

In many such instances, unionists have used the knowledge and ability gained at the school to reach positions of greater responsibility and leadership in their organizations.

SCHOOL AND ART

CALIFORNIA Labor School art courses offer a functional approach to art and job training for new professions and industries.

Teachers are professional artists and craftsmen.

Students learn theory as well as technique. They study basic design, the uses of tools and materials.

Composition, color, metals, design, figure drawing, painting, ceramics, plastics and photography are major subjects taught.

The Gregor Duncan Memorial Gallery at the school regularly exhibits the work of outstanding students and local artists and craftsmen.

EDUCATIONAL Director Holland Roberts explains relations of American history to labor and minorities to vet students Wing Art Ng and Jack Randall (MC&S).

Instructors Selected From Labor Movement

THE California Labor School has over 100 instructors and lecturers handling some 1500 full and part-time students in over eighty courses.

In keeping with the school's orientation on the labor movement the major part of the school's teaching staff is drawn directly from the labor organizations.

For example, the school's trade union director, Irwin Elber, is a veteran trade unionist with years of active trade union experience. Elber was a national organizer for the United Federal Workers of America; West Coast director of the Oil Workers Organizing Campaign; Labor consultant of the Western Regional Office of the War Manpower Commission.

His classes reflect this rich background. You will find in all the other classes of the labor department at CLS instructors of the same calibre. Lincoln Fairley, ILWU research head, Julius Stern, director of the CIO veterans' bureau and many other trade union leaders bringing their practical experience and teaching ability into the class room.

The same high standards are maintained in the other department at CLS. The Social Sciences, headed by Hazel Grossman, with years of experience in the labor and progressive movement has a well-trained staff of instructors including Isobel Cerney, Ramon Lavalle, diplomat and war correspondent, Thomas L. Harris of the American Russian Institute and many others pre-eminently qualified in their fields.

Heading the educational department is Dr. Holland Roberts who gave up his professorship at Stanford University to teach at CLS. Dr. Roberts has worked closely with the labor movement since he joined CLS's staff and has won a wide following among trade unionists for his penetrating and original treatment of labor education. His courses in American History and History of the American Labor Movement are among the most popular at the school.

Dave Jenkins, CLS director, has more than 15 years of active labor experience behind him. Jenkins has been, among other things, Educational Director of the National Maritime Union, Legislative Director of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific and Secretary of San Francisco's Labor's Non-Partisan League. His class for the Fall term will be Recent Strike Struggles, which will deal with role of strikes and the development of the American labor movement from 1919 to the present.

Space limits the listing of the instructors and lecturers slated for the fall term at CLS to a few:

Helen Wheeler, business agent, Miscellaneous Employes Union Local 110, AFL; Tom Weber, journalist formerly on the staff of Friday Magazine; Paul Pinsky, research director, California CIO; Luisa Moreno, Regional Director, Food, Tobacco and Agricultural Workers, Archie Green, AFL Shipwrights and Joiners; Charles F. B. Roeth, state director California U.S.E.S.

The Industrial Arts Department is manned by a staff that is top-flight in its field. Heading the industrial arts program is Eugene Bielawski, instructor in basic design workshop and photography, Institute of Design, Chicago. Working with Bielawski are such well known artists as Giacoma Patri, Margaret De Patta, Milton Halberstadt, Peter Macchiarini, Victor Arnatoff and others.

Whatever the course, the California Labor School has sought and found for instructors the people who were tops in their particular field. What the school demands from its instructors is that they know their stuff, have experience in their field and have the knack of getting it over to others.

Academic traditions and stuffiness go out the window at CLS. Student and instructor relationship is close and relaxed. The student can and does say: "I don't get it," or "I don't agree" or "please repeat that," or "I should have heard this long ago. It would have helped a lot."

And all you have to do to come to CLS is to register any time up to September 18, or at any five-week period thereafter.

You can't miss.

Realism Biggest R Of School

By DAVID JENKINS
CLS Director

REALISM is the biggest of the California Labor School's three Rs.

It was born of trade union parentage in San Francisco shortly after Pearl Harbor.

To organized labor in the closed shop city nearest Honolulu, Pearl Harbor meant production. The sinew of production was labor. The brain of labor was leadership. Labor set about building ships, mounting guns and training leaders.

FIRST TWO HUNDRED

Six CIO and AFL unions foraged an $1,800 founding fee, assembled a 2,500-volume library, and 200 union students subscribed to the first fifteen classes in an auto loft over Van Ness Avenue.

The school today is sponsored and endorsed by 75 AFL, CIO and RR Brotherhoods, including the Allied Printing Trades, S. F. Building Trades and California CIO Councils and the State Legislative Board of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, as well as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Veterans Committee and the Howard Sperry Maritime Post, Veterans of Foreign Wars.

It has a 7,000-volume library and is in a five-story building on S. F.'s main Market Street, complete with administrative offices, classrooms, work shops, auditorium, art gallery and student lounge. It has an East Bay branch at 2030 Broadway, Oakland.

Students average 900, taking 2,000 classes per quarter, of which 50% are unionists. Roughly 20% are veterans (176 attended last term). About 55% are women, many from the armed services.

ADULT EDUCATION

It is a school of adult education with an average student age of 28 years and with a functional curriculum keyed to labor history, theory and job practice but including cultural classes.

Such a program has special appeal for the awakened veteran of the war against fascism.

In fact, biggest boost to the trade union fostered school's ambition to attain an enrollment position comparable to the academic state and private schools is it's recent accrediting for veterans education under the GI Bill of Rights.

The Labor School, with a five-year foothold in the labor movement, with policies of no entrance requirements and no discrimination with that five-story Market Street building to fill, will have no such problem of accommodation with the opening of the fall term September 3.

REGISTER BY MAIL

Date .....
Please send catalog to:
Name .....
Last (Please Print) First
Address ..... Zone.....
Union or other organization?.....
.....
Are You a Veteran? .....
(Branch of Service) .....
Are you interested in Full Time ☐
or Evening Classes.....☐
(Check 1)

Mail to
CALIFORNIA LABOR SCHOOL,
216 Market Street
San Francisco 11, Calif.
DOuglas 7494.

gm

August 27, 1946

Deputy Administrator
Veterans Administration
707 Market Street
St. Louis 1, Missouri

My dear Sir:

I should be grateful for your kindness in referring to appropriate officials the attached survey of services to Negro veterans in Arkansas.

I realize of course that Arkansas is not among your States, but in my experience conditions are substantially similar on these matters throughout the South.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

Gen

August 27, 1946

Mr. Charles G. Bolte
American Veterans Committee
544 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Bolte:

You may possibly find time to go through the attached survey on services to Negro veterans in Arkansas.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

gm

August 27, 1946

Commander John Stelle
The American Legion
777 N. Meridian Street
Indianapolis, Indiana

My dear Sir:

You may possibly find time to go through the attached survey on services to Negro veterans in Arkansas.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

Gen

August 29, 1946

Yale University
School of Law
New Haven Connecticut

Dear Sirs:

Please send me a copy of your current catalogue and a complete set of applicationsforms for entrance.

Very truly yours,

Harry L. Wright

HLW:w

gen

August 29, 1946

University of Pennsylvania
School of Law
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Sirs:

Please send me a copy of your current catalogues and a complete set of application forms for entrance.

Very truly yours,

Harry L. Wright

HLW:w

Gen

August 29, 1946

Harvard University
School of Law
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Sirs:

Please send me a copy of your current catalogues and a complete set of application forms for entrance.

Very truly yours,

Harry L. Wright

HLW:w

Gen

August 29, 1946

Columbia University
School of Law
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sirs:

Please send me a copy of your current catalogue and a complete set of application forms for entrance.

Very truly yours,

Harry L. Wright

HLW:w

gen

August 29, 1946

Boston University
School of Law
Boston, Massachusetts

Dear Sirs:

Please send me a copy of your current catalogue and a complete set of application forms for entrance.

Very truly yours,

Harry L. Wright

HLW:w

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

32 WEST RANDOLPH STREET CHICAGO 1 PHONE CENTRAL 3066

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Vice-President, Treasurer

MARY-JANE GRUNSFELD
Secretary

September 3, 1946

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Please excuse the delay in replying to your letter of August 19 which arrived in Mr. Liveright's absence.

Although your letter was not answered promptly -- for which we apologize -- the fifteen copies of the summary were sent on to you and should have reached you by now.

Very truly yours,

Hazel M. Wickliffe

Hazel M. Wickliffe
Secretary to Mr. Liveright

VETERANS ADMINISTRATION
BRANCH OFFICE NO. 9
ST. LOUIS 2, MO.

OFFICE OF
DEPUTY ADMINISTRATOR

September 3, 1946

SLD

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of August 27 with which was forwarded a survey of services to Negro veterans in Arkansas.

In accordance with your request, copies of this survey have been sent to the manager of our regional office in Little Rock, Arkansas, and to Directors of our Vocational Rehabilitation and Education, and Contact and Administrative Services in this Branch area.

Very truly yours,

B. C. MOORE
Deputy Administrator

GSM

September 3, 1946

Mr. Holland Roberts
Educational Director
California Labor School, Inc.
216 Market Street
San Francisco 11, California

Dear Mr. Roberts:

I am delighted to have your letter of August 30.

I have five or six Negro veterans traveling constantly in the South, getting in touch with servicing officials and with Negro veterans, particularly in the smaller places. They would probably be an excellent engine in finding out just who would be sincerely interested in the California Labor School. If you will send me a couple of hundred of each of your leaflets, I will get them out to my field representatives and will write each of them about the opportunity.

This is very kind of you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

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Grocery Clerks, Local 648
Hospital, Institutional Workers, Local 250
Hotel Service Workers, Local 283
Miscellaneous Employees, Local 110
OEA, Local 13188
Office Workers, Local 20744
Operating Engineers, Local 3
Painters, Local 1158
Pile Drivers, Local 34
Retail Clerks, Local 1100
Shipwrights, Local 1149
Sign Painters, Local 878
Sleeping Car Porters
Stageriggers, Local 2116
Steamfitters, Local 590
Technical Engineers, Local 89
Tool Die Makers, Local 1176
CIO
California CIO Council
Contra Costa CIO Council
San Francisco CIO Council
Textile Workers Joint Council
Utility Workers Joint Council
Alaska Fishermen's Union
Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Local 42
ACA, Local 3
ACA, Local 9
Federal Workers, Local 223
Furniture Workers, Local 262
International Fishermen, Local 34
International Fur Workers, Local 79
Longshoremen, Local 1-10
MM & S, Local 50
NMU
Ship Clerks, Local 34
Ship Scalers, Local 2
SF-Oakland Newspaper Guild
UAW, Local 76
USA, Local 1798
UOPWA, Local 34
101 Warehousemen, Local 1-6

california labor school, inc.

216 MARKET STREET SAN FRANCISCO 11, CALIFORNIA DOUGLAS 7494

August 30, 1946

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432 63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Mr. Ambrose Caliver, Specialist for Higher Education of Negroes in the United States Office of Education, has suggested that I write you. We are very much interested in finding the most direct channels through which we may reach Negro veterans who are seeking opportunities for education under the G. I. Bill of Rights and who would profit from work in our school. The enclosed folders and literature will be supplemented soon by the catalog we are sending.

We now have a very considerable number of Negro and white veterans studying with us in our program under the G. I. Bill of Rights, some of them from the South. We have opportunities for an additional 75 and we would appreciate your suggestions on ways in which we might inform them about the work our school is doing.

Sincerely yours,

Holland Roberts

Holland Roberts
Educational Director

HR:EC
oeiu 3

Gen

September 3, 1946

Miss Elizabeth S. Magee
General Secretary
National Consumers League
348 Engineers Building
Cleveland 14, Ohio

Dear Miss Magee:

I have been very late this year in paying my modest contribution.

May I interest you in some of my propagenda - enclosed?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

NATIONAL CONSUMERS LEAGUE

FOR FAIR LABOR STANDARDS

348 ENGINEERS BUILDING • MAIN 1175 • CLEVELAND 14, OHIO

August 26, 1946

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We are sending you the Summer Bulletin because we want you to know what the National League and its branches have been doing these past months. We want also to re-emphasize what you already know -- the sterile record of the 79th Congress on social issues.

From now until next January, you realize, I am sure, the amount of work that it will take to awaken interest in new quarters and to keep alive old enthusiasms in behalf of the backlog of social legislation that will be awaiting Congress when it reconvenes. The coming fall holds little rest for us.

The League was so fortunate as to have had your support for a number of years. In view of the great need for strengthening liberal consumer movements, I am wondering whether we can call upon you to renew your contribution? The fight for an improved minimum wage, liberalization of social security laws, and national health insurance are matters of profound concern to all forward-looking citizens.

We need your help. Can we count on you?

Very sincerely yours,

Elizabeth S. Magee

Elizabeth S. Magee
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The National Consumers League is an educational movement founded in May, 1899, to awaken consumers' interest in their responsibility for conditions under which goods are made and distributed.

gsm

September 3, 1946

Mr. J. D. Dawson
Personnel Director
Antioch College
Yellow Springs, Ohio

Dear Mr. Dawson:

You will remember our correspondence some months ago about engaging Mr. Emory T. Judy.

He did work for us for about two and a half months this summer.

I believe he means to go back to Antioch within the next few days. I should like for the college to know that he did a quite remarkable piece of work for the Southern Regional Council. He traveled over at least two-thirds of the State of Virginia. He interviewed many scores of local veterans servicing officers and made the friendly acquaintance of hundreds of Negro community leaders in Virginia. He was put on the trail of the various Negro religious conventions and attended many of these meetings at country churches, where he talked to and with large crowds.

I do not know of any way in which the small sum used for Mr. Judy's salary and travel could have accomplished so much good. The good will be diffuse, but it will live in greatly improved services for Negro veterans and in better trade and training opportunities for Negroes in general for a long time to come. Mr. Judy was good material to start with, but I am sure that much of his success was due to what he is getting at Antioch.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

American Veterans Committee, Inc.

TO ACHIEVE A MORE DEMOCRATIC AND PROSPEROUS AMERICA AND A MORE STABLE WORLD

Executive Offices · 1860 Broadway · New York 23, N. Y. · COlumbus 5-7960

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September 4, 1946

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for sending me the data you have compiled on the Negro veteran in the South. It will be very valuable to me in the preparation of the article for Survey Graphic.

I shall of course be careful about concealing the source of any references I might use and because of the confidential nature of the material shall send you an advance copy of the article to make certain that nothing traceable has been used.

Thank you again for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Charles G. Bolte

Charles G. Bolte
Chairman

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September 4, 1946

Mr. A. A. Liverwright
American Council on Race Relations
32 West Randolph Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Liverwright:

I have not received the fifteen copies of the Summary of the National Action Conference on Minority Veterans' Problems, requested in my letter to you of August 19.

Could you send them along right away?

Many thanks.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

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20 WEST 40TH STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

LONGACRE 3-6890

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September 6, 1946

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This acknowledges receipt of your letter and the enclosures. Thanks very much for these pamphlets and the information concerning Congressman Prince H. Preston, Jr. I shall contact him as soon as he comes to Washington to officially take office.

Sincerely yours,

Jesse O. Dedmon, Jr.

Secretary, Veterans' Affairs

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

JOD:led

Board of National Missions
of the Presbyterian Church in the
United States of America
156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.

September 6, 1946

My dear Mr. Mitchell:

I have just returned to the office to find your letter of August 21 bringing us up to date on Abner Nash Locklear and Ola Lee Jacobs. You have been very good about keeping us posted about them since our official connection was ended, and we all appreciate your doing so.

We are greatly interested to learn that Abner graduates from Ohio State in February with a B.S. in Agriculture. We need an Agriculturist at our Ganado Mission in Arizona and would like nothing better than to have a well qualified young Indian for this position. However, since Abner attended a State University, we question whether he would consider our mission salaries. Do you know whether he has any plans in mind and whether it would be worth while for us to write him?

We are all glad to see that Ola Lee has married and is establishing her own home. We hope she can keep on with her work as social case worker for a time as she is in a position to make a rather unique contribution , however with a house as well as a farm to help care for she may soon find all her energies needed at home.

Very sincerely yours,

Katharine E. Gladfelter

Katharine E. Gladfelter
Assistant Secretary, Unit of
Educational and Medical Work

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.-Rm. 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia
KEG:cer

P. S. I am still hoping to hear some day that you have visited Warren Wilson!

Gen

September 10, 1946

National Commander
United Negro and Allied Veterans of America
4411 South Parkway
Room 4
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Sir:

I have recently taken on the task of preparing a Directory of Veterans Organizations. This Directory will have a special emphasis on those organizations operating in the South and of these the ones which have Negro membership.

It would be of tremendous use to small groups of veterans in rural areas of Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, etc. It would furnish information about the national organizations, the posts or chapters, the officers and their addresses.

I am writing you for such information. I would like a bit of descriptive matter about UNAVA, a list of the national officers, a list of local chapters or posts (in the States of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and Arkansas), and the name and address of a responsible person in each.

Thanking you for your very kind cooperation,

Sincerely,

Horace A. Bohannon

HAB:w

Gen

September 10, 1946

National Commander
National Council of Negro Veterans
1518 N. 7th Street
Kansas City 2, Kansas

Dear Sir:

I have recently taken on the task of preparing a Directory of Veterans Organizations. This Directory will have a special emphasis on those organizations operating in the South and of these the ones which have Negro membership.

It would be of tremendous use to small groups of veterans in rural areas of Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, etc. It would furnish information about the national organizations, the posts or chapters, the officers and their addresses.

I am writing you for such information. I would like a bit of descriptive matter about NCNV, a list of the national officers, a list of local chapters or posts (in the States of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and Arkansas), and the name and address of a responsible person in each.

Thanking you for your very kind cooperation,

Sincerely,

Horace A. Bohannon

HAB:w

Gen

September 10, 1946

National Commander
American Veterans Committee
554 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

I have recently taken on the task of preparing a Directory of Veterans Organizations. This Directory will have a special emphasis on those organizations operating in the South and of these the ones which have Negro membership.

It would be of tremendous use to small groups of veterans in rural areas of Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, etc. It would furnish information about the national organizations, the posts or chapters, the officers and their addresses.

I am writing you for such information. I would like a bit of descriptive matter about AVC, a list of the national officers, a list of local chapters or posts (in the States of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and Arkansas), and the name and address of a responsible person in each.

Thanking you for your very kind cooperation,

Sincerely,

Horace A. Bohannon

HAB:w

Gm

September 10, 1946

Miss Katharine E. Gladfelter
Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Miss Gladfelter:

Thank you for your nice letter of September 6th. My wife and I and the children were in the mountains for a trip this summer and stopped by Warren Wilson College. We had a pleasant few minutes visit and were delighted with the grounds and pleased with the one or two officials we talked with. Everyone spoke most warmly of you.

Abner Locklear's address is Tower Club, Ohio State University, Columbus 10, Ohio.

It is to be remembered that the Pembroke Indian community is described as "mixed". The purely Indian tribe of Cherokee in western North Carolina, for an instance, is generally unwilling to recognize the Pembroke people as Indians. Nor does Abner himself have a many facial Indian features.

However, Although Abner ought to end by doing agricultural work in his own county, he will need a year or two of experience elsewhere before the Extension Service or Farm Security will pick him up.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

ANTIOCH COLLEGE
YELLOW SPRINGS
OHIO

PERSONNEL DEPARTMENT

September 11, 1946

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Director of Veterans' Services
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

It was particularly gratifying to receive your thoughtful commendation of Emory Judy's co-operative work with the Southern Regional Council in Virginia during this past summer and to know that his services made a real social contribution. I am passing on your comments to Emory and also to President Henderson and others who will be very much interested. As yet, I have not had an opportunity to see Emory since his return to the campus last week, but he had written us earlier how much he was enjoying his work.

I want to thank you for making available to us such a splendid educational opportunity, and I hope we will be able to send you other students from time to time.

Sincerely yours,

J. D. Dawson

J. D. Dawson
Personnel Director

JDD:bc

American Arbitration Association

9 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA • *Telephone* CIRCLE 5-4700
NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

CABLE ADDRESS: "ARBITRATION"

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CANADIAN-AMERICAN COMMERCIAL ARBITRATION TRIBUNAL

September 12, 1946

Dr. George Mitchell
Director of Veterans Services
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Church Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Voluntary arbitration had a most important role in settling industrial disputes during the war. It has an even more important place in this reconstruction period when disputes formerly held in abeyance and controversies resulting from new and varied industrial situations arise to complicate the labor-management front.

The most effective method of settling industrial disputes before they become acute is through voluntary arbitration by highly competent and public-spirited citizens whose standing in the community commands the confidence of both parties in any dispute. When the present unsettled conditions become stabilized, it will be all the more important that labor and management have available the service and experience of impartial public-spirited men as arbitrators.

In order to be adequately prepared for increased demand for private arbitrators in the coming period, the Association is enlarging its National Panel of Arbitrators.

You have been nominated for membership on the Labor Panel, and I hope very sincerely that you will be able to accept.

Before submitting your name for approval to the Committee on Panels, I would deeply appreciate your filling out and returning the enclosed questionnaire. The information contained thereon will guide the Association when inviting you to serve which will be done with proper regard for your other obligations and personal convenience. Arbitrators appointed on our Labor Panel usually prefer to serve on an honorary basis, but where compensation is desired it generally can be arranged by agreement with the disputing parties.

In making your services available as a member of our Labor Panel you will join the esteemed group of civic minded men who help so valuably to keep industrial peace on the home front. We will be highly honored to receive your acceptance.

Very sincerely yours,

Joseph S. Murphy

Joseph S. Murphy
Director of Panels

JSM:JG
Enclosures

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AMERICAN ARBITRATION ASSOCIATION

33 Questions

What the Association is—

How and Where it Functions—

Activities & Projects

AMERICAN ARBITRATION ASSOCIATION

9 Rockefeller Plaza

New York 20, N. Y

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31. How does the Association aid in the settlement of War Contracts?
32. Why does the Association propose standard arbitration clauses?
33. What is the spirit of Arbitration?

1. What is the American Arbitration Association?

It is the only national organization established for the sole purpose of advancing the knowledge and use of arbitration. It is a membership corporation, chartered under the laws of the State of New York. It is a privately organized and financed institution of a scientific and educational nature. It is a non-partisan, non-political, non-profit making corporation. It has no connection with any political or other organization, and operates independently of any official control.

2. What kind of arbitration does the Association advocate?

It advocates the knowledge and use of *voluntary* arbitration. By voluntary arbitration is meant: a) The reference of a controversy to arbitration by the parties of their own free will, without coercion or duress; b) The selection of arbitrators by any method upon which the parties agree; c) The conduct of the proceedings under rules of the parties' own selection, and d) The acceptance by the parties of the award as final and binding.

3. What are some of the basic principles followed by the Association?

a) Arbitration is part of the American way of life. Therefore the Association is in favor of its expansion wherever arbitration will contribute to peace and unity among the people and thus advance the welfare of the nation.

b) Arbitration is an exercise of self-regulation. Therefore the Association is interested in promoting this kind of self-reliance.

c) Arbitration is a voluntary act. Therefore the Association is opposed to the introduction of any form of compulsory arbitration, as compulsion is a basic negation of the voluntary principle.

d) Arbitration is a quasi-judicial process that leads to an award which is a final and conclusive determination of the particular matter in dispute. It should not be confused with negotiation, conciliation and mediation, which are processes of compromise.

e) Arbitration is a parties' proceeding. The Association upholds this principle in every respect, and is opposed to any infringement of the parties' rights.

f) In an arbitration all parties are equal, have the same rights and privileges and duties, and are entitled to fair and impartial awards. Therefore the Association's Rules are devised to protect such rights and to provide impartial arbitrators.

g) The right to arbitrate is basic and belongs to every citizen. Therefore the educational efforts of the Association are directed to the widest possible dissemination of knowledge concerning it. Many persons and organizations cooperate in planning and disseminating such knowledge.

4. When was the Association founded and by whom?

The Association was founded in 1926. Leaders from all branches of industry, trade and commerce, science, and from the different professions, including lawyers, teachers, accountants, engineers and architects, cooperated in its organization.

The Association was created by a merger of the Arbitration Foundation (under the Presidency of Charles L. Bernheimer) and the Arbitration Society of America (organized by Moses H. Grossman) and was brought about mainly by the Association's first President, Anson W. Burchard, by Lucius R. Eastman who became its second President, and by Felix M. Warburg, the first Chairman of the Board. The assets and membership of these two earlier groups passed to the new Association in 1926. While it assumed a new name, it inherited the wisdom, experience and interest of men long associated with arbitration. The Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, from which the Association has derived constant encouragement, has a history of arbitration experience dating from before the American Revolution.

5. What are its functions?

Under its charter, its functions are: a) To advance generally the knowledge and use of arbitration. b) To create, maintain and administer facilities for arbitrations, including the establishment of

tribunals. c) To provide rules of procedure for these Tribunals. d) To act under these Rules as administrator for parties and arbitrators. e) To maintain panels of arbitrators. f) To carry on research, experiment and education in arbitration. g) To collaborate with other institutions or organizations in the advancement of arbitration generally. h) To issue such reports and other publications as may be necessary to the advancement of arbitration.

6. What facilities does the Association provide for carrying them out?

The Association provides two kinds of facilities: a) Tribunal facilities for the use of parties in settling a specific controversy which they refer to arbitration under the Rules of the Association; and b) Educational facilities, including research, experimentation, information and publications, which are available to any persons or organizations interested in arbitration and irrespective of whether or not they have a controversy to submit.

7. Where does it function?

The Association has arbitration facilities for the settlement of economic disputes wherever they may occur in the United States. Members of its panels of arbitrators are located so as to cover conveniently every production and distribution center in each state. The headquarters of the Association are in New York City. It has regional offices in the following cities: Albany, N. Y., Atlanta, Ga., Boston, Mass., Buffalo, N. Y., Charlotte, N. C., Chicago, Ill., Cincinnati, Ohio, Cleveland, Ohio, Dallas, Tex., Denver, Colo., Des Moines, Ia., Detroit, Mich., Indianapolis, Ind., Kansas City, Mo., Los Angeles, Calif., Memphis, Tenn., Milwaukee, Wis., Minneapolis, Minn., New Haven, Conn., New Orleans, La., Oklahoma City, Okla., Omaha, Neb., Philadelphia, Pa., Pittsburgh, Pa., Portland, Ore., St. Louis, Mo., Salt Lake City, Utah, San Francisco, Calif., Seattle, Wash. and Washington, D. C.

8. How is the Association managed?

It is directed by a Board of Directors responsible to the members under By-Laws, adopted in 1926 and amended in 1942. The Board meets quarterly

and upon call of its Chairman. It acts through an Executive Committee of eleven members which meets regularly for the consideration of policies and practices. Between Board meetings the work of the Association is planned by its executive officers, is then submitted to weekly staff conferences and then goes to the Executive Committee. Its chief executive officers are a First Vice President, an Administrative Vice President, a Tribunals Vice President and an Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, together with several department heads. The Association has several standing advisory and administrative committees.

9. What are its present national activities?

It maintains and administers the machinery for four national systems for the settlement of disputes. One is the commercial arbitration system for the settlement of business disputes. A second is the voluntary labor arbitration system for the settlement of labor disputes. A third is an accident claims system for the settlement of personal injury or property damage claims. A fourth is a group of special arbitration systems set up for particular industries, such as the motion picture arbitration system for the settlement of disputes arising between producers and exhibitors; one for the Air Transport Association; and many others.

The machinery consists of panels of arbitrators, rules of procedure and administrative facilities. The Association's facilities have been of particular value to war industries and have become of paramount importance in the cancellation, reconversion and post-war periods as official bureaus and boards are dissolved. Out of this machinery the parties create tribunals wherever and whenever they need them. The Association creates new machinery wherever it is needed.

Among its educational activities are: a) studies for the improvement of arbitration laws; b) the dissemination of the knowledge and practice of arbitration through magazines, textbooks and other publications; c) the development of the practice of arbitration; d) the organization of education and instruction in the knowledge and practice of arbitration.

10. What are its present international activities?

The Association functions within the United States for the settlement of foreign trade disputes that are to be arbitrated in the United States. It also functions through reciprocal agreements with organizations outside of the United States for the holding of arbitrations in the United States under its Rules.

The Association has been instrumental in establishing two other systems of arbitration in the Western Hemisphere. One is the Inter-American System of Commercial Arbitration; the other is the Canadian-American System of Commercial Arbitration. The completion of the Western Hemisphere System provides facilities for the arbitration of any dispute that arises out of foreign trade between the residents of any two or more nations in the Western Hemisphere. Each system is operated under separate and autonomous control. The three services are coordinated and made uniform through the Association which has established research, educational, laboratory and conference facilities for the advancement of arbitration knowledge and standards. It has also established technical facilities for the development of juridical standards. The three systems are further coordinated through the Western Hemisphere Conference on Foreign Trade and Arbitration which the Association organized to exchange information and advance the acceptance of arbitration principles.

11. What services does it render to other organizations?

The Association acts as a general information center and clearing house for arbitration problems. It collaborates with other organizations toward improving their arbitration rules and service. It administers facilities that are set up by trade associations, and operated under special rules. It is an experiment station for solving arbitration problems that are referred to it.

It is the repository for commercial, legal and bibliographical data on arbitration and as such is able to furnish writers, speakers and arbitrators with authoritative source material. It also participates in financing and directing the work of the

Inter-American Commercial Arbitration Commission and of the Canadian-American Commercial Arbitration Commission.

12. Who are eligible to membership in the American Arbitration Association?

Any person, firm, corporation, union, trade association or other organization that believes in arbitration and is willing to advance its use may become a member of the Association. There are no restrictions as to nationality, race, color or religion. Membership is on an annual basis.

13. What are the fiscal policies of the Association?

a) The Association is a non-profit membership corporation. As such, no part of its net income may inure to the financial advantage of any employee, officer, director, member or contributor.

b) Modern accounting methods and monthly audit by independent certified public accountants insure accuracy and the correct application of funds to the respective purposes for which they are allocated by a Budget Committee of the Board of Directors.

c) Financial support is accepted on the basis that, irrespective of the amount, every membership carries but one vote, whether the membership be held by a corporation or firm, a union, or any other organization, or by an individual.

d) No membership or contribution carries with it any express or implied limitation upon the Association's freedom in research or application of its findings, nor upon the strict impartiality of its discharge of administrative duties in connection with Tribunals which are open to all who wish to arbitrate under its Rules.

e) Arbitration fees for similar services are uniform as between parties, irrespective of membership; are published in open schedules as a part of the Rules and may be modified or waived only by formal action of the Association. Parties are guaranteed against the imposition of any unexpected or undisclosed administrative fees.

f) The Association itself pays no fees to members of the panel of arbitrators. If the arbitrator is to receive compensation, it is agreed upon by the parties in advance and paid by them through the Association.

14. How is it supported?

The Association has four sources of voluntary income: a) Annual memberships. b) Administrative fees, fixed according to a schedule set forth in the Rules of Procedure. c) Annual fees paid by organizations for services. d) Contributions for research and educational work and publications.

15. How is its income budgeted and expended?

The income and expenses are estimated and budgeted annually by a Budget Committee which sets up at the end of each year its forecast for the coming year. The forecast is based upon the recommendations of the executive staff. The budget, and any subsequent change therein, requires the approval of the Executive Committee before being put into operation.

16. Who may use its services?

Any persons who are parties to a controversy may use its Tribunal services for the settlement of that controversy upon their agreement to arbitrate under the Rules of the Association and upon payment of the required fee.

The educational and research facilities are made as widely available as possible both to members and non-members of the Association.

By far the largest class of users are those who write into their international trade or domestic commercial contracts, or collective bargaining labor-management agreements, one of the Association's recommended arbitration clauses. These clauses provide for the arbitration of any disputes that may arise under the contracts.

A very considerable percentage of the nearly 25,000 cases which have been referred to the Association's Tribunals were brought to arbitration through the recommendation of the Courts in which suits had been initiated.

While the Association does not undertake to mediate disputes, it does lend its good offices, in behalf of one party who desires to arbitrate, to persuade the other to agree to do so.

17. How are its Panels of impartial arbitrators constituted?

Members of the National Panel are established in more than 1,400 localities, selected by the Association as centers of commercial and industrial activity where controversies are most likely to occur and recur. During the war, these panels have been shifted or increased so as to provide facilities convenient to war industries.

National Panels contain members chosen from the different professions, trades and occupations, so as to give parties a wide choice of qualifications in making their selections. Lawyers, accountants, merchants, manufacturers, architects, engineers, teachers and leaders in every occupational group make up these Panels. In New York City there are more than 100 separate classifications. This diversification is necessary to meet the requirements for arbitrators who can dispose of the great variety of disputes submitted to arbitration.

Special Panels are set up for the use of industrial or commercial organizations. They usually consist of experts in the trade. The Panels thus set up are approved by the industrial group and by the Association. From this Panel arbitrators are chosen to serve only in controversies arising out of these trade agreements and/or for members of that particular trade group. Each group establishes its own facilities. Members of these Special Panels serve under whatever rules the trade or commercial group adopts. These Special Panels usually carry the name of the organization, such as the Air Transport Panel, the Motion Picture Panel, etc.

The Labor-Management Panel is composed of men with the special qualifications required for arbitrators of labor disputes. Not only is a wide range of experience and competence necessary, but the impartial chairman of a tripartite board on which an advocate for labor and one for management sit as the two other members must have a very special quality of impartiality and so clear

a freedom from bias that he will command the confidence of both parties.

In order to facilitate the choice of the impartial member of a board, and to insure the acceptability of a Panel member who is to hear a case as the sole arbitrator, the Association is building a special "cross-checked" panel of men whom official representatives of both organized labor and organized management have cross-checked in advance of their being added to the Panel.

Expansion of this plan will make available for whole areas, such as a city or state, or entire industries, a panel whose members are so well-known to both labor and management that further checking is rarely necessary when one of them is nominated to serve. Substantial saving of time results, thus making possible a more speedy arbitration under an agreed upon arbitrator than can be otherwise arranged.

One major essential of voluntary arbitration is that the parties by mutual choice select their own arbitrator. This principle governs the Association not only in the drafting of its Rules but in its day-to-day administration of those matters which are submitted to the Association for decision in its discretion.

18. Is the American Arbitration Association a judicial body?

It is not. It is an educational and scientific organization for the advancement of arbitration. It does not act in any judicial capacity in any arbitration, but only as an administrator for parties who arbitrate under its Rules. It does not hear or determine controversies, it does not assume or usurp the functions of the arbitrator in any particular. Therefore it is not responsible for the decision of the arbitrator. As an administrator its function under the Rules is to see that the parties obtain an impartial arbitrator, and have a well administered arbitration proceeding, but the hearing and determining of the controversy is solely the function of the arbitrator. The presentation of their respective contentions and proofs is the responsibility of the parties.

The Association maintains a scrupulous impar-

tiality in its own acts as administrator and encourages a cooperative attitude upon the part of all participants in this mutual undertaking to secure a just award.

19. Does the Association or members of its Panels act as Mediators or Counciliators?

No. When a dispute is brought to arbitration it must be assumed that the parties thereto have exhausted the possibility of settlement through direct negotiation, or through the processes of conciliation and mediation. It must be assumed that by then they want a decision, final and conclusive, based on the merits of the case and rendered by one who is completely impartial.

The Association conceives it to be its duty and responsibility to furnish the facilities for securing such a decision.

This policy in no way reflects an adverse attitude toward conciliation or mediation, much less toward direct negotiation which always has been and always will be the best of all ways to settle a dispute.

It does reflect the conviction that the function of an arbitrator cannot be adequately discharged by a man who also acts simultaneously as a conciliator or mediator. In the course of acting as one or the other he is almost certain to come to a conclusion regarding the respective merits of the opposing parties. This conclusion—in an arbitrator—could often rightfully be urged as a bias.

So the Association advises its Panel members to confine their activity in any particular case solely to that of an arbitrator. He may of course suspend or adjourn a hearing at any time to give the parties another opportunity to negotiate a direct settlement, but he should not participate in that negotiation. He may render a "consent award" giving effect to such a settlement voluntarily arrived at by the parties during the course of an arbitration.

20. What is the function of the Association as an Administrator?

As Administrator it acts on behalf of all parties in

any arbitration they institute under its Rules by the performance of executive duties only in the manner and to the degree that the Rules specify. Executive duties requiring the exercise of discretion and authority are performed by officers or committees of the Association. Ministerial duties involved in the routine procedure of an arbitration are performed by Tribunal Clerks.

21. As Administrator what ministerial duties does the Association perform?

Under these Rules, the parties delegate the following ministerial duties to Tribunal clerks appointed by the Administrator: a) A clerk receives a copy of the arbitration agreement, or of the demand made upon the other party for arbitration thereunder and any answers thereto. b) He receives, for the Association, the prescribed arbitration fees. c) Sends out notices. d) Submits to the parties lists of members of the Panel. e) Notifies persons chosen as arbitrators by the parties of their appointment and notifies the parties of the arbitrators' acceptance of office. f) Calls attention of parties to any circumstances disclosed by nominated arbitrators or others which might create a presumption of bias. g) Notifies parties of any vacancies that may occur in the office of arbitrator. h) Acts on behalf of the arbitrators to have oaths administered, to issue subpoenas, receive exhibits and documents; keeps all files, accompanies arbitrators on inspections, keeps the record of the proceeding and performs such other duties as arbitrators, acting within their authority, may direct. i) Carries out the instructions of the arbitrators in arranging time and place of hearings and adjournments, and issues notices thereof. j) Makes the necessary arrangements for taking of stenographic records or for the services of an interpreter, when required by the parties. k) Transmits all documents to and between the parties and the arbitrators when oral hearings are waived. l) Deposits all expense funds and makes payment therefrom upon authorization by the parties or arbitrators and renders an accounting thereof to the parties. m) Transcribes and delivers the signed award of the arbitrators to the parties. n) Furnishes certified copies of the arbitration file to any authorized party for any necessary subsequent court action.

22. As Administrator what executive duties may the Association perform?

a) Determines the locality where the arbitration is to be held when the parties fail to do so. b) Designates the number of arbitrators when the parties fail to agree upon the number. c) Appoints an arbitrator when the parties fail to do so. d) Determines when the office of arbitrator is vacant. e) Takes the appropriate steps whenever the replacement of an arbitrator becomes necessary, to have his successor appointed by the same method as applied in the original appointment. f) Establishes and adjusts administrative fees. g) Extends time limits for good cause. h) Interprets rules upon the application of a party or an arbitrator when the arbitrators fail to agree upon their meaning. i) Amends or suspends rules for their particular case upon the request of both parties.

23. How does the Association render service in the field of Labor-Management Relations?

First, by providing private, non-official, non-partisan, nationwide Tribunals in which labor-management disputes may be impartially arbitrated.

Second, by promoting the widespread adoption of arbitration clauses in collective bargaining agreements so that impartial adjudication of claims and grievances is provided as the final step of the grievance machinery set up by the parties.

Third, by including in the Labor-Management Panel of Arbitrators the type of men who combine the knowledge, experience, and freedom from bias which are the basic essentials of a good labor arbitrator.

Fourth, by providing the parties and the arbitrator with the protection of an administered proceeding under Rules that safeguard all of their interests and remove an arbitration from the danger of degenerating into an invasion of the rights and prerogatives of either or both parties.

Fifth, by providing both parties with the only method so far devised under which a satisfactory mutual choice can be made of an arbitrator acceptable to both, when conditions are so strained that any direct effort to arrive at such agreement is almost certain to fail.

Sixth, by diligent collaboration with those who believe that reason and right should govern in this field as in all others, that democratic principles are as indispensable here as in every other phase of American life, and that compulsory arbitration, perhaps necessary in wartime, is to be avoided when labor and management are free from official restrictions and controls.

24. What is the relation of the Association to Members of the Bar?

a) The Association encourages the participation of lawyers in Tribunal proceedings on behalf of their clients. Whenever it has occasion to suggest revisions in the rules of other organizations, it advocates a similar policy. b) It invites lawyers to serve on its panels of arbitrators as volunteers or for compensation, as the parties may agree. c) Lawyers serve on its Board of Directors, Arbitration Committee and other standing committees; and the membership of its Arbitration Law Committee and a Special Committee on the Bar, is limited exclusively to lawyers. d) One of its predecessor organizations (the Arbitration Society) was created by lawyers, so they have from the beginning helped to plan the present organization. e) The Association collaborates with Arbitration Committees of several bar associations so that at all times the mutual interests of business and the bar may be advanced. f) Lawyers have prepared many of the most useful publications of the Association and various studies have been made by members of the bar. g) The Association collaborates with the bar in its preparation and advocacy of constructive amendments to arbitration law, and in widening the field of practice for members of the bar.

25. What is the relation of the Association to other arbitral activities?

It is cooperative. The Association makes no attempt to monopolize the practice of arbitration. On the contrary it maintains a friendly, cooperative relationship with the various organizations which operate their own facilities for arbitration. It encourages the institution of such facilities in industries that are ready to adopt industry-wide

arbitration. Its services are available to supplement such individual facilities, as in the case of the New York Stock Exchange, the American Institute of Architects, and others in various fields.

26. What is the Educational Policy of the Association?

The educational policy of the Association is to cooperate with existing educational institutions in planning and carrying through instruction and general education in arbitration.

The Association is conducting a survey of educational institutions and public and adult education with a view to ascertaining what instruction is being given in arbitration, where opportunities for expanding that education exist, what kind of instruction and source material is desired, and who are the persons most interested in giving such instruction. Arrangements have been made for the first Inservice course for teachers in New York City schools to be conducted by the Board of Superintendents of the City of New York with the assistance of the Association. Other experiments in education are in process of development.

27. What is its contribution to American Arbitration Law?

The Association has an Arbitration Law Committee which discusses and formulates standards from time to time. These standards are reflected in several of the modern arbitration laws in the United States. With the cooperation and advice of the Arbitration Law Committee the Association has also appeared as *amicus curiae* before various courts which had under consideration decisions affecting established standards.

The Association publishes in its periodicals the only separately assembled reports of legal decisions which affect arbitration, rendered by American and foreign courts. It cooperated in the publication of the leading textbook on Commercial Arbitration (Sturges on *Commercial Arbitrations and Awards,* 1931) and it has issued the only current practical handbook on the same subject (Kellor, *Arbitration in Action,* 1940).

28. What is its contribution to American literature on arbitration?

When the Association was first organized there was practically no American literature upon commercial arbitration; that is, there were no textbooks for its effective instruction, no assembled data for source material, no popular literature and no periodicals. The Association has issued, or cooperated in the publication of much of the standard literature in the field of commercial arbitration, including the following volumes:

Year Book on Commercial Arbitration in the U.S. (1927)

Suggestions for the Practice of Commercial Arbitration (1928)

International Year Book on Civil and Commercial Arbitration, by Dr. Arthur Nussbaum (1928)

Code of Arbitration Practice and Procedure (1931)

Commercial Arbitration and Awards, by Dr. Wesley A. Sturges (1931)

Arbitration in the New Industrial Society (1934) and Arbitration in Action (1940), by Frances Kellor

In the field of labor arbitration there is substantial literature, mostly periodic or miscellaneous in character, a bibliography of which is projected for publication by the Association.

The Association also published a quarterly Arbitration Journal from 1937 through 1942, and since January 1943, has published the magazine "ARBITRATION" and in April 1945 began the publication of a quarterly "INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION JOURNAL."

The Association also issues numerous pamphlets on specialized and timely subjects. A list of its current material appears on the back hereof.

29. What is the nature of the Association's Research Work?

It conducts inquiries in various aspects of arbitration, analyzes new opportunities, makes state surveys of the historical and current development of arbitration, explores arbitration law, procedure and

practice in the United States and other countries, and studies and reports upon the practical application of arbitration to problems of industry and labor.

State surveys of Commercial Arbitration were made in a number of states, through scholarships granted by the Association. These surveys furnish valuable data on the early history of arbitration as well as on its later development and practice.

A special report on arbitration laws and practice in the Latin American Republics was made by the Association at the request of the Pan American Union and was submitted to the 7th International Conference of American States where it was used as the basis for the organization of the Inter-American Commercial Arbitration Commission.

A survey of Arbitration Laws of the Canadian Provinces, made by the Hon. Brooke Claxton under the auspices of the Association, served as the basis for the organization of the Canadian-American Commercial Arbitration Commission. Prior to the outbreak of the war, the Association had cooperated with the International Chamber of Commerce in the publication of several Brochures on the arbitration laws of a number of European countries.

After Pearl Harbor the Association undertook an extensive survey of war contract cancellations after World War I, and the data thus collected enables the Association to make its services immediately available in a practical manner in present war contract termination disputes.

30. How has the Association aided in the war effort?

The Association was the first organization to see that arbitration could occupy an important place in winning the war, and that it could be put into the production line to settle disputes which otherwise would delay vitally needed supplies. Before Pearl Harbor, it organized a National Defense Unit, and after December 7, 1941, a War Service Committee to advance arbitration in production sectors where it could be used to keep men at work and materials on the move. Priority has been given

to any arbitration to settle a dispute that affects war production. Information on the use of arbitration clauses and on the technique of using arbitration is being constantly furnished to management and unions and to parties to commercial and government contracts.

31. How does the Association aid in the Settlement of War Contracts?

First, by having rendered arbitration service in the settlement of disputes arising under contracts carrying its arbitration clause. Such contracts have been in effect since the beginning of the defense program, between private business organizations and a number of the Government-owned Corporations (such as RFC, Commodity Reserve Corporation and other subsidiaries of the RFC; Commodity Credit Corporation and others). Second, by having stimulated business interests to demand the right to arbitrate disputes arising out of the termination of their contracts with the unincorporated agencies of Government, such as the War, Navy, and Treasury Departments, the Maritime Commission and others. Public Law 395 (War Contract Settlement Act of 1944, S. 1718), effective July 21, 1944, empowers every procurement agency or settlement officer of the Government to submit termination disputes to arbitration, notwithstanding any conflicting provision written into the contracts themselves by the procurement agencies.

The new law provides that the "findings" of the procurement agency as settlement officer are not final, but may be reviewed *de novo* on their merits by an Appeal Board or the Courts.

It also provides that an arbitration award rendered under Section 13 (e) of the new Act is final and conclusive upon the United States to the same extent as a negotiated settlement and that it does not require the approval of any settlement review board.

As the importance of speed and equity in the settlement of terminated war contracts is generally recognized and, therefore, recourse to arbitration to determine disputes will be as wide as the procurement agencies will agree to permit, the Association has enlarged its arbitration facilities, and

instituted an information service that is available to all holders of such contracts and to Government officials.

32. Why does the Association propose standard arbitration clauses?

An arbitration clause is an agreement of the parties, made at the time of executing a contract, for the reference to arbitration of any future disputes that may arise out of or in connection with that contract. Such a clause reflects at the outset of making the contract a spirit of amity and of friendship that the parties intend shall not be disrupted in the future. It establishes a basis of good faith by which these parties, when in dispute, find their own way to adjustment. When widely used, such clauses commit whole areas of industry to peaceful settlement of their controversies and strengthen the economic solidarity of the nation. The clause is as follows:

> Any controversy or claim arising out of, or relating to, this contract or the breach thereof, shall be settled by arbitration, in accordance with the Rules, then obtaining, of the American Arbitration Association, and judgment upon the award rendered may be entered in any court having jurisdiction thereof.

In adapting the phrasing of the clause to their particular needs, parties may limit its application to one or more particular types of disputes which they may wish to submit to arbitration, or they may specifically exclude from arbitration such matter as they may not wish to submit. Arbitration will then apply to the matters specified, or to the matters not specifically excluded.

33. What is the spirit of arbitration?

In the foregoing description of the Association something has been left out. This is the spirit of arbitration and how it propels men toward friendship and justice and cooperation.

From this viewpoint the Association is an unique American institution. Never before in history or in any other part of the world has its counterpart existed. Nowhere else could it have been built, for it has been possible only under the American

type of democracy. Nowhere else could self-regulation have been organized into a system of self-discipline having the beneficent foundation of law. Nowhere else have so many men of all kinds and degrees and stations in life come voluntarily together upon so sure a basis of equality in their vital economic relationships.

The preceding *Questions and Answers* show that the Association is a non-partisan, non-political, non-profit organization; that it maintains a national system of voluntary arbitration; that it has thousands of volunteer arbitrators; that it has 30 regional offices; that it has facilities in over 1,400 cities; that it has standard rules of procedure, technique and facilities operated by a national Administrator.

But these are cold, impersonal facts that convey little beyond a sense of mechanics. These are but the outward symbols of the governing principles, beliefs, spirit and material achievements of a great organization. These are but the machinery and technique through which it translates these beliefs and ideals into action. These symbols alone cannot make an organization great or fill it with vision and devotion and high purpose.

The Association has never appraised its services to the nation in terms of the number and variety of cases referred to arbitration under its Rules, but by the widespread use of arbitration to control future controversy. For wherever these commitments exist, parties themselves without the formal intervention of arbitration frequently arrive speedily and amicably at a solution of their differences. It is for this reason that the Association urges the use of arbitration provisions in all contracts, so that future controversies may be anticipated and controlled at the instant they arise.

The origin of the Association lies deep in a fundamental belief in men's ultimate desire to settle their differences amicably and to work and live together equitably and cooperatively. This instinct is constantly at war with the instinct to fight. The Association translates this belief into a principle of democracy, and gives voice to this aspiration for the operation of goodwill and good faith. The right of men to settle voluntarily and amicably their differences under the protection of law but without its coercion is undeniable under American

concepts of democracy. It is through their own incentive and responsibility that this right is exercised; and it constitutes self-regulation in the highest degree when applied in the heat of controversy.

The Association represents not only man's ideal of governing himself, but also his competence to do so. It was not built by theorists but by men who daily write and execute thousands of contracts, by men who risk their lives and possessions in gainful occupations and who encounter the hazards of controversy. These men are supporters, members and Directors of the Association, not for profit but from a profound belief in arbitration as a means of self-regulation in their business relations. And so believing, the Association is to them a living vindication of their beliefs and a stimulus to their faith in themselves.

STANDARD ARBITRATION CLAUSES

Standard Commercial Clause

Any controversy or claim arising out of, or relating to, this contract or the breach thereof, shall be settled by arbitration, in accordance with the Rules, then obtaining, of the American Arbitration Association, and judgment upon the award rendered may be entered in any Court having jurisdiction thereof.

Inter-American Commercial Clause

Any controversy or claim arising out of or relating to this contract or the breach thereof, shall be settled by arbitration, in accordance with the Rules, then obtaining, of the Inter-American Commercial Arbitration Commission. This agreement shall be enforceable and judgment upon any award rendered by all or a majority of the arbitrators may be entered in any court having jurisdiction. The arbitration shall be held in.....
or wherever jurisdiction may be obtained over the parties.

Canadian-American Commercial Clause

Any controversy or claim arising out of or relating to this contract or the breach thereof, shall be settled by arbitration, in accordance with the Rules of Procedure, then obtaining, of the Cana-

dian-American Commercial Arbitration Commission established by the American Arbitration Association and the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, and judgment upon the award rendered may be entered in any court having jurisdiction thereof.

General Labor Clause

Any dispute, claim or grievance arising out of or relating to this agreement shall be submitted to arbitration under the Voluntary Labor Arbitration Rules, then obtaining, of the American Arbitration Association. The parties agree to abide by the award, subject to such regulations as any Federal agency having jurisdiction may impose. The parties further agree that there shall be no suspension of work when such dispute arises and while it is in process of adjustment or arbitration.

Restricted Labor Clause

Except for disputes, claims or grievances concerning (here state matters which are excluded from arbitration) any dispute, claim or grievance arising out of or relating to this agreement shall be submitted to arbitration under the Voluntary Labor Arbitration Rules, then obtaining, of the American Arbitration Association. The parties agree to abide by the award, subject to such regulations as any Federal agency having jurisdiction may impose. The parties further agree that there shall be no suspension of work when any such arbitrable dispute arises and while it is in process of adjustment or arbitration.

Limited Labor Clause

Only disputes, claims or grievances arising out of this agreement and relating to (here specify the matters that may be determined by arbitration) shall be submitted to arbitration. Such arbitration shall be conducted under the Voluntary Labor Arbitration Rules, then obtaining, of the American Arbitration Association. The parties agree to abide by the award made in connection with any such arbitrable dispute, subject to such regulations as any Federal agency having jurisdiction may impose. The parties further agree that there shall be no suspension of work when any such arbitrable dispute arises and while it is in process of adjustment or arbitration.

Current Publications

Questions and Answers on the American Arbitration Association (this issue)

Questions and Answers on International Commercial Arbitration in the Western Hemisphere

Check List for Arbitration Clauses

How to Select an Arbitrator

Commercial Arbitration Rules

Labor Arbitration Rules

Suggestions for Arbitrators

Blue Book of American Arbitration

Foreign Trade Arbitration, Facilities and Services

Canadian-American Commercial Arbitration Rules

Inter-American Commercial Arbitration Rules
a) English — b) Spanish — c) Portuguese

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NMU
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Sept. 13, 1946

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We are equally pleased to have your letter of September 3rd and to know you will send our materials to your field representatives with a letter describing the opportunities at our School for Negro veterans. In your letter to your field workers I hope you will emphasize that whereas registration is particularly heavy at the beginning of the 15-week term, it is possible for veterans to come into our school at any time and to be certified for subsistence at the beginning of any one of our three 5-week periods.

The enclosed catalog, folders and copy of the Labor Herald supplement will be followed at once by a quantity of literature going forward under separate cover.

Should you or any of your representatives want the names of Negro veterans from the South who are now studying with us we will be happy to send them to you so that they can provide information directly on the experiences they are having with us.

We would also appreciate the names of journals, newspapers and other publications to which we might send releases either directly or through your office.

Sincerely yours,

Holland Roberts

Holland Roberts
Educational Director

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P. S. The material is going forward to you via Railway Express.

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A SHORT CUT

Every vet will save from one to two months getting subsistence pay by applying to the VA nearest home for a Certificate of Eligibility. You have to have this certificate to claim the pay off. You can still get it through the Vets Department at the school when you enroll, but you'll save time and trouble if you get it NOW! It costs nothing, and whether you go to school now, later, or at all, the Certificate is good indefinitely. If you get it NOW you'll have it if and when you want it. AND IT'S IMPORTANT to take a photostatic copy of your discharge papers with you when you apply for the Certificate. It's required.

Your Veterans' Advisor at the California Labor School, Room 309, can assist you.

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September
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1946

Miss Anna S. Warwick
Secretary to Mr. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Warwick:

In reply to your letter of September 10, I regret to say that we are not able to furnish you with a copy of the report, "Negro Workers in the Building Trades in Selected Cities" at this time. We mimeographed a thousand copies, and the demands for them have been so great we have left in the office only file copies.

The Division of Trades and Industries of Hampton Institute is considering reprinting the report, and no doubt we will receive a few hundred copies, in which case I will certainly see that your request is filled.

Meanwhile, I might suggest that you borrow a copy from the Atlanta Urban League from which you could type a copy for your use.

My kindest regards to Mr. Mitchell.

Sincerely yours,

Julius A. Thomas

Julius A. Thomas, Director
Department of Industrial Relations

JAT:RAK

Contributions to the National Urban League are deductible for income tax purposes

September 23, 1946

MEMORANDUM TO: All Field Agents and Former Field Agents
FROM: George S. Mitchell

If you turn up someone, I suggest he get in touch with Dix directly.

Dix talked with me in terms of $1,800-$2,000 salaries.

GSM

September 20, 1946

Dear Mr. Dix,

Thanks for your letter. I have told my nearby agents about the possibility you mention, and shall write the three or four men at a distance.

I hope they can turn you up some applicants.

Very truly,

George S. Mitchell

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September 13, 1946

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Wesley Memorial Bldg.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

This is just a note to remind you of our discussion relative to the need of the Boy Scouts of America for a few high grade Negroes to serve in Field Executive Capacities in the promotion of the program among the Negro group.

We are very much in need of several college trained, level headed, mature Negro men who have a keen desire to serve boys through the program of the Boy Scouts of America.

Anything that you can do to steer some of the right kind of men in our direction will certainly be appreciated.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,
BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

Frank Dix

FRANK DIX
Deputy Regional Executive

FD/ef

AW

Please copy and send a copy to each present and past field agent, with note attached, saying

"If you turn up someone, I suggest he get in touch with Dix directly.

Dix talked with me in terms of 1800-2000 salaries. "

GSM

GSM

October 9, 1946

Mr. Homer J. Tucker, Secretary
YMCA
651 State Street
Bridgeport, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Tucker:

I greatly appreciate your kind letter of September 27. It recalls my own pleasant visit to Bridgeport some eighteen months ago to have a look at your Veterans Information Center.

I have been working particularly at the disadvantages that Negro veterans are under hereabouts in getting jobs and the other services rightfully theirs.

I have asked that you be put on the mailing list of the Southern Regional Council.

If you are ever in Atlanta, I hope you will let me know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

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The Young Men's Christian Association
of Bridgeport, Connecticut

651 State Street
Telephone 6-1181

September 27, 1946

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

In a meeting last week of the Inter-Faith Group of Women in Southport, Connecticut, I met your sister, Mrs. Clifford, who told me of the type of work that you are doing in connection with the Southern Regional Council. It was very gratifying to learn of your choice of such a work in the light of the many other opportunities that are opened to you. Much of my work here in the Bridgeport community with the YMCA has to do with intergroup relations, understanding and cooperation on the part of the different races and nationalities and groups.

I have a great deal of faith in the basic progress now being made throughout the South in human relations. I share something of the spirit of your father who, in YMCA conferences over the years, expressed a deep interest and belief that the South would set the pattern for constructive advance in race relations.

I shall be pleased to learn more of the work of the Southern Regional Council as your plans and services develop.

Yours truly,

H. J. Tucker

Homer J. Tucker,
Secretary

HJT:stg

American Arbitration Association

9 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA • *Telephone* CIRCLE 5-4700
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CABLE ADDRESS: "ARBITRATION"

October 3, 1946

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Director of Veterans Services
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This Association is deeply appreciative of your filling out and returning the qualification sheet for membership on its National Panel, and is happy to confirm your appointment by the Board of Directors.

A certificate of appointment will be sent you shortly which you may wish to display in your office as an evidence of your belief in arbitration.

You have done the Association a very real honor in accepting membership on our Panel, and we appreciate your fine spirit of cooperation. I hope that you will at some time give the Association the pleasure of a visit from you at its headquarters, and we will look forward to the opportunity of meeting you.

Very sincerely yours,

Joseph S. Murphy

Joseph S. Murphy
Director of Panels

JSM:JG
Enclosure

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AMERICAN ARBITRATION ASSOCIATION

Suggestions for Members of Panels when acting as Arbitrators Under its Rules

AMERICAN ARBITRATION ASSOCIATION

9 Rockefeller Plaza

New York 20, N. Y

Members of Panels of the American Arbitration Association when arbitrating a dispute apply certain standards and practices which are in keeping with the spirit of arbitration obtaining under its Rules and in its Tribunals. Briefly stated they are as follows:

I. GENERAL STANDARDS

1. The office of Arbitrator:

An Arbitrator is a person designated by the parties (or in accordance with a procedure upon which they have agreed) to decide a dispute which has arisen between them. His duties begin with the acceptance of his designation and they end when he signs his award.

2. Scope of powers of the Arbitrator:

An Arbitrator has authority to decide all matters submitted to him by the parties whether they involve questions of law or of fact, or both. He is not bound by technical rules of evidence nor by precedents in law. His responsibility, however, is as great as that of a judge sitting in a high court of law and he should be actuated by the highest principles of impartial justice and rules of conduct.

3. Limitation of powers of the Arbitrator:

An Arbitrator must decide all matters that are submitted to him, but *may* not decide any matters that are not submitted to him. The Arbitrator is also bound by the procedure prescribed in the Rules of the American Arbitration Association, which has been adopted in advance by the parties and may be altered only by mutual agreement of the parties.

4. Impartiality:

The most important qualification of an Arbitrator is his capacity expertly to judge the matter before him with strict impartiality. His impartiality will be impaired by or, at least, be subject to

question under any of the following circumstances:

a) Any personal, financial, family or business relationship with either party.

b) Any probable pecuniary interest in the outcome of the dispute.

c) Any private understanding with, or obligation to, either party respecting the subject matter of the dispute.

d) Any personal bias or prejudice in favor of or against either party for reasons connected with or independent of the matter in dispute.

Before accepting appointment in a case an Arbitrator should therefore examine his own qualifications as to impartiality and if he has any doubts, he should decline to accept the designation. If any circumstances affecting his impartiality arises during the arbitration, he should immediately disclose such circumstance and should withdraw unless both parties waive the circumstance and jointly request him to continue in office.

II. SPECIFIC DUTIES

1. Preliminary to an Arbitration:

a) An Arbitrator accepts his designation to serve, after having examined his own qualifications as to impartiality.

b) He sets the time and place of the hearing. This is done in cooperation with the Tribunal Clerk of the American Arbitration Association who checks with the parties and sends out notices confirming the arrangements.

2. The Arbitrator's conduct of a hearing:

The Arbitrator is in sole charge of the hearing and has the following obligations:

a) He opens the hearing punctually at the agreed time.

b) At the opening of the hearing he takes an oath of office.

c) He requests the Clerk of the Tribunal to read aloud the Submission or the Demand and Answer.

d) He then calls upon the parties to present their respective cases, in accordance with Rule V, of the American Arbitration Association Rules.

e) He may request additional information or documents and may question parties, attorneys and witnesses.

f) He may, in his own discretion, consent to additions or changes in the matter submitted to him for determination, but *only* when such change or addition is requested by *mutual agreement* of the parties.

g) He may call recesses, adjourn the hearing and set a date for further hearings.

h) Before closing the hearings he must ascertain that all parties are satisfied that they have had an opportunity to present their proofs and witnesses.

i) During the hearing it is the Arbitrator's function to maintain an amicable and courteous atmosphere.

j) When there is more than one Arbitrator, one of them may be designated by the others, or by the parties, to act as chairman, but each Arbitrator should show due consideration for the other Arbitrators and may not arrogate special powers to himself. All rulings during the hearing are decided by majority vote of the Arbitrators.

3. What an Arbitrator should avoid:

a) An Arbitrator should not act as a conciliator or mediator, for his duty is not to negotiate a compromise, but to render a just award on the merits of the case as presented by evidence.

b) The foregoing principle, however, does not conflict with the desirability of facilitating a negotiated settlement of the dispute by the parties themselves. Therefore, adjournments requested for this purpose by both parties should be readily granted, but the Arbitrator should withdraw from such conferences and not partici-

pate in the negotiations. He may with full propriety, however, embody the parties' settlement agreement in a "consent award."

c) An Arbitrator should be careful not to hold —or even create the appearance of holding— private conversations with either party or their counsel. To avoid this he should not, during a proceeding, accept hospitality or favors of any kind (such as luncheon or a lift in a car) from either party, unless the other party also participates in such hospitality or favor.

d) An Arbitrator should not accept any private communication, from either party or his attorney. If he receives such communication, he should refer it, if possible unopened, to the Tribunal Clerk.

e) An Arbitrator should avoid reaching, or giving any appearance of having reached a conclusion before his formal Award is rendered.

4. How an Arbitrator renders his Award:

a) Under the Rules of the American Arbitration Association the Arbitrator has 30 days from the date of closing the hearing in which to render his Award; however, should the agreement of the parties provide some other period of time,— shorter or longer, — that period will govern.

b) When there is more than one Arbitrator, it is necessary that the Arbitrators meet and confer upon their Award. Such a meeting is usually arranged by the Tribunal Clerk, after consultation with the Arbitrators.

c) The Award of the Arbitrators need only be unanimous when the agreement of the parties, or the arbitration law so requires. Otherwise, a majority award is sufficient.

d) The Arbitrator need not state his reasons for, or attach an opinion to, his Award. In commercial arbitrations opinions are rarely filed, but in labor arbitrations they are customary.

e) The Arbitrator transmits the text of the Award (and opinion, if any) to the Tribunal

Clerk who has it transcribed on the Standard Award Form of the American Arbitration Association and returns it to the Arbitrator for signature and attestation if this is required.

f) In making the Award the Arbitrator should keep before him the following requirements: The Award should be brief, complete, definite and final. It should not go beyond the terms of the agreement of the parties. It should decide completely all matters submitted. It should be rendered within the time limit allowed.

g) The Tribunal Clerk then delivers copies of the executed Award to the parties.

5. Compensation of an Arbitrator:

Under the Rules, any arrangements for the compensation of an American Arbitration Association Panel Arbitrator are made through the Association and not directly between an Arbitrator and the parties.

This provision is intended to avoid, among other implications, any suggestion of an employer-employee relationship between a Panel Arbitrator and any of the parties and to maintain a high degree of impartiality and objectivity.

6. Services of Tribunal Clerk:

A Tribunal Clerk of the American Arbitration Association is appointed to serve in each case. His services are available to the Arbitrator for all administrative and clerical activities, such as the verification of dates of hearings, sending out notices, preparing documents, taking charge of material submitted in evidence, transmission of communications between the parties and from the parties to the Arbitrator and similar matters. These services are provided by the American Arbitration Association as Administrator of the Arbitration Rules, in order that the Arbitrators acting under the Rules may be free to devote their entire attention to a hearing and just determination of the dispute before them, unhampered by administrative details.

Current Publications

Questions and Answers on the American Arbitration Association

Questions and Answers on International Commercial Arbitration in the Western Hemisphere

Suggestions for members of Panels (this issue)

Check List for Arbitration Clauses

How to Select an Arbitrator

Commercial Arbitration Rules

Labor Arbitration Rules

Suggestions for Arbitrators
a) Commercial b) Labor

Canadian-American Commercial Arbitration Rules

Inter-American Commercial Arbitration Rules

The American Arbitration Association has an office in Atlanta, in the Mortgage Guarantee Building, 133 Carnegie Way, N.W., and our Branch Manager, Mr. W. G. Wellborn, will be happy to give you any additional information concerning our activities.

Gen

October 18, 1946

Mr. John F. Gregg
3905 Commenwealth Avenue
Detroit 8, Michigan

Dear Mr. Gregg:

I resigned from the job of southeastern regional director of CIO-PAC in June '45.

When I got started in that job about February '44, it was clear that in the South only a tiny percentage of the CIO membership were voters, and I put most of my time in on trying to make poll-tax-paid, registered, informed voters out of the several hundred thousand CIO members in the region. I did not think we had much chance of immediately lining up with us substantial blocks of rural and city non-union voters. We could build a vote of our own; so we went after that. That did not take a lot of public relations. It took a lot of work with local unions.

That was the situation.

If I can give you any more information, I will be glad to.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

3905 Commonwealth Ave.
Detroit 8, Michigan
October 15, 1946

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Regional Director of the PAC
75 Ivy St., Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir,

As a student of Wayne University, I am now gathering material for a proposed research paper concerning the public relations of the Political Action Committee. Specifically, I would like information about the public relations' problems that are peculiar to your region, some of the media which you have used to solve these problems, and what measure of success these devices have met.

Please do not send me a great deal of your literature, for it is available in the library. I would prefer personal experiences dealing with public relations.

It is important that I receive this information as soon as possible.

I am enclosing ten cents to cover postage. Thank you for your cooperation.

Yours sincerely,
John F. Gregg

CYPRESS 5065

CIO

Organizing Committee

79½ POPLAR STREET, N. W.

ATLANTA 3, GA.

VAN A. BITTNER
NATIONAL DIRECTOR

SHERMAN H. DALRYMPLE
SECRETARY-TREASURER

October 22, 1946

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Counsel Director
Veterans Service
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

It was very kind of you to call to see me last week and I am very sorry that I was not in the office.

I appreciate your encouraging words and offer of cooperation. May I thank you very sincerely for extending me this courtesy.

With kind personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

Van A. Bittner

S/a

October 23, 1946

Mr. Paul Kellogg
SURVEY GRAPHIC
112 East 19th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Kellogg:

You asked me to send you some items about the work for improved services to Negro veterans.

I have another survey coming soon on Louisiana which will be sent you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

October 25, 1946

Mr. R. S. Hunt
PHI DELTA KAPPA
2034 Ridge Road
Homewood, Illinois

Dear Mr. Hunt:

Mr. Embree sent me on your letter to him of October 21. I have had an unusually able man at work in Mississippi for me for most of the last ten months. He is Mr. Harry L. Wright, 1244 Pittsburgh Street, Jackson, Mississippi, a Negro ex-sergeant-Major of the Marine Corps. He has been into most of the counties in the State with important Negro population and done what he could to build a workable link between the Negro veteran group and the official veterans servicing agencies. Much of his time has been put into encouraging Negro veterans to apply for job training, farm training, and full-time trade training in schools.

He wired me the other day that the total number of veterans in Mississippi as of October 21 working on job training was 17,428. Unfortunately, all agencies refuse to give figures on a race breakdown, so we have to guess. My guess would be that 10% of that number in Mississippi are Negroes. There is an additional number getting on-the-farm training, and of course there are some men in the colleges.

A small company of white persons have established a chain of white-taught Negro trade training schools over the State. Three are now in operation and two more intended. I understand that the State education officials asked for enough State money to start such schools, but the State refused, and private enterprise has taken over. What reports I have are that the teaching is of good quality. The main tragedy, I should think, is in the probability that when the veterans are through with these schools, the schools will fold, whereas if they were part of the State school system, they would probably live.

Quite recently, a sort of council of Negro veterans groups has been organized in Mississippi.

The cause of the Negro veteran has all along had some earnest support from the State education officials.

I would think that one of the most helpful avenues of improvement would be the new council. Its chairman is Dorsey W. Griffin, c/o Security Life Insurance Company, Farish Street, Jackson, Mississippi. I think its members will be able to reach white leadership in veterans groups, which would be a wholesome and democratic way for improvement to get underway.

To my mind the great benefit is just what you point out, the educational one. Every effort should be spent to get more schooling, and usually I think more trade schooling, for the veterans. I enclose surveys made in Alabama and Arkansas. Others are about ready for Louisiana and Oklahoma, and one is being done for Mississippi.

Please tell us, or tell your friends in Mississippi, how more headway can be made.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

Edwin R. Embree
President

Dorothy A. Elvidge
Secretary and Comptroller

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Will W. Alexander
Charles S. Johnson
Directors for Race Relations

Fred G. Wale
Director for Rural Education

William C. Haygood
Director for Fellowships

October 23, 1946

Dear Mitchell: I think you will be interested in the enclosed correspondence with R. L. Hunt, who used to be an active and liberal teacher in Mississippi, and who is now an officer of Phi Delta Kappa with headquarters at 2034 Ridge Road, Homewood, Illinois.

Very truly yours,

Embree

ERE:RC
encl.

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

PHI DELTA KAPPA
2034 Ridge Road
Homewood, Illinois

October 21, 1946

Dr. Edwin R. Embree
Julius Rosenwald Fund
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Dr. Embree:

One out of four of the Negro veterans in Mississippi has asked for government help in going to school under the G. I. program. So. J. L. McCaskill of one of the Washington agencies told me last week. He told me that of course there are no schools equal to the task, that some rackets were being started.

Is there anything that can be done to give real educational benefits to the veterans under these circumstances? I can think of a lot of reasons why nothing can be done -- and so far have not figured out what can be done!!!!

Sincerely,

/s/ R. L. Hunt

COPY

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND

October 23, 1946

Dear Mr. Hunt: Realizing that Negro G.I.'s would have a hard time in getting their rights to education and other benefits, the Fund launched an aggressive program a year and a half ago which now covers most of the South. George Mitchell working with headquarters at the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia, has a staff of men, colored and white, working in the several states with the veterans' offices and with the schools. This staff has done a great deal to increase the acceptance of Negro veterans into their full G.I. rights. Of course, it cannot transform the educational facilities of a given state, but it can and does supervise the educational offerings, make it clear that veterans can go outside the state if they want to, and in some cases it has stimulated the development of new schools especially in the vocational field.

I cannot give you details for Mississippi. I am forwarding your letter on to Mitchell who may be able to give you some reassuring statements. At any rate, we are working on this general problem as vigorously as we know how and with some results.

Very truly yours,

ERE:RC

/s/Embree

Mr. R. L. Hunt
Phi Delta Kappa
2034 Ridge Road
Homewood, Illinois

MISSIONS COUNCIL
OF THE
CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
287 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

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ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
MRS. WILLIAM H. MEDLICOTT
14 BEACON STREET
BOSTON 8, MASS.

October 31, 1946

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta 8, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

It is a real regret that my effort to set up two or three key-city AMA meetings at which you might speak has not been successful. The pressure of regular fall meetings of all sorts has, I think, been responsible.

The informal Birthday Parties in local churches have been widely planned. From them we expect increased giving and interest. However, we had hoped for more large meetings with wider publicity.

The AMA is most grateful to you for your willingness to share in its Centennial. I shall hope that we may have reason to ask your cooperation in the work of the second century.

Cordially yours,

Sally Medlicott

Mrs. William H. Medlicott
Associate Executive Secretary

SEAM/d

The Board of Home Missions
of the Congregational and Christian Churches
287 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N.Y.

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION

FRED L. BROWNLEE
GENERAL SECRETARY
RUTH A. MORTON
DIRECTOR OF SCHOOLS
CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR OF RACE RELATIONS

October 15, 1946

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Since Mr. Brownlee is on an extended speaking trip on the West Coast this month, I am forwarding to Mrs. W. H. Medlicott of our Boston office your letter of October 11. Mrs. Medlicott is in charge of our Speakers' Bureau.

Very truly yours,

Helen P. Desort

Helen P. Desort
Secretary to Mr. Brownlee

October 11, 1946

Mr. Fred L. Brownlee
The Board of Home Missions
287 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Brownlee:

I greatly appreciate your book, which I have begun reading with much interest.

Mrs. Medlicott has not yet told me when and where I am to be used, if at all.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

The Board of Home Missions
of the Congregational and Christian Churches
287 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N.Y.

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION

FRED L. BROWNLEE
GENERAL SECRETARY
RUTH A. MORTON
DIRECTOR OF SCHOOLS
CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR OF RACE RELATIONS

October 8, 1946

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N E
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Mrs. Medlicott of our speakers bureau tells me that you are to speak for us on the work of the American Missionary Association. She has asked me to send you a copy of my book NEW DAY ASCENDING in which you will find the story of the AMA's first century. This I am doing gladly with my compliments, and the hope that you will find out what you want to know.

With the book goes my personal appreciation for helping us to celebrate our birthday. We are eager that what you say shall close with a thrust into the future. The task which the founders set out to do in 1846 is unfinished. First it was emancipation, then education; now, color caste. John G. Fee long ago wrote to an AMA secretary that it would be much easier to abolish slavery than to eliminate caste.

At the close of World War II this ugly fact stares us in the face all over the world. So long as color caste remains in America, our words about peace and democracy in the councils of the United Nations are as sounding brass or a clanging symbol. I need not say more, for you know this better than I.

Yours cordially,

Fred L. Brownlee

Fred L. Brownlee

flb:dr

A CENTENARY GIFT

for the

1846 — AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION — 1946

In honor of its 100 years of pioneering work, I desire to contribute to the emergency needs of the AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION included in the total Postwar Emergency Program:

$....., check herewith

$....., pledge, to be paid.....
(Date)

$....., bond, series..... (See below)

Name.....

Address.....

..... Church.....
(If credit is to be given)

I desire to give toward the building needs of the A.M.A. schools and colleges:

	Needed	
☐ Dillard	$25,000	
☐ Dorchester	20,000	
☐ Fessenden	60,000	
☐ Tillotson	25,000	
☐ Tougaloo	50,000	
☐ Repairs all institutions	40,000	
☐ Total		$220,000
☐ I desire to give toward the work of the Race Relations Department		$ 80,000
☐ My gift is an undesignated one toward the total postwar needs of the A.M.A.		$300,000

Please make check payable to the AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION and send to 287 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

Instructions for bond: If your Government bond is series E, ask your bank to transfer it into series F in the name of the AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION, a corporation. If your bond is series G, ask your bank to transfer it into series G in the name of the AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION, a corporation, 287 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N. Y.

The Board of Home Missions
of the Congregational and Christian Churches
287 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N.Y.

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION

FRED L. BROWNLEE
GENERAL SECRETARY
RUTH A. MORTON
DIRECTOR OF SCHOOLS
CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR OF RACE RELATIONS

WILLIAM F. FRAZIER
TREASURER
HELEN KENYON
CHAIRMAN CENTENARY GIFTS

October 3, 1946

My dear Dr. Mitchell,

We are deeply grateful that you are willing to be one of the speakers for the Centenary Celebration of the American Missionary Association.

Mrs. Medlicott of our Speakers' Bureau has asked me to send you material about the AMA as several of the speakers have already requested it.

I realize that you may be touching on the AMA only incidentally in your speech, but as we are hoping that an offering will be taken following your talk, I am enclosing the subscription slip that you may see the special objects of the offering, and am sending you under separate cover a summary of the AMA schools and colleges and a clever presentation of the century by decades taken from the Birthday Party Packet for we hope that every church will celebrate with a birthday party.

It is our hope that the chairman of your meeting will make a good presentation of the needs but I am a great believer in the speaker of the evening knowing all about everything and helping along as he sees fit.

Mr. Brownlee is sending you a complimentary copy of his new book, "A New Day Ascending", just as soon as it is off the press. That really is the highlight of our celebration and I know you will enjoy reading it.

Again thanking you for your important share in the celebration, I am

Yours sincerely,

Helen Kenyon

HK:btb

gm

October 31, 1946

Mr. John Roy Carlson
Friends of Democracy, Inc.
157 East 57th Street
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Carlson:

I shall keep in mind your letter of October 28 and shall send you with pleasure whatever I can find.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

FRIENDS OF DEMOCRACY, INC.

FOUNDED 1937 • 137 EAST 57th STREET • NEW YORK 22

TELEPHONE PLAZA 8-2588

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Mrs. Charles H. Tuttle
Jerome Walsh
Walter Wanger
Albert Edward Wiggam

October 28, 1946

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
37 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I hope that you will remember to send me the names of any veterans groups which impress you as predicating their activity on racial or religious poisons. In my forthcoming book, The Plotters, I have mentioned a great many of them but I want to keep up with developments.

Sincerely yours,

John Roy Carlson

John Roy Carlson

JRC/j

A NONSECTARIAN, NONPARTISAN, NONPROFIT ORGANIZATION SUPPORTED BY VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS

gen

November 4, 1946

Mr. R. L. Hunt, Editor
THE PHI DELTA KAPPAN
2034 Ridge Road
Homewood, Illinois

Dear Mr. Hunt:

Here is a summary of a small meeting held at Jackson, Mississippi, a year ago. Another like this was held just last week. One of our field agents was a principal speaker. I have not had a report of that meeting as yet, but you can see the general drift.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

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Cincinnati 21, Ohio.

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2034 Ridge Road, Homewood, Illinois.

PHI DELTA KAPPA

A professional education fraternity connected with leading American colleges and universities of graduate rank maintaining schools, colleges or departments of education of exceptionally high standing

Executive Offices, 2034 Ridge Road, Homewood, Illinois

October 29, 1946

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of October 25 with its information of the work of the Southern Regional Council in Mississippi. I had already felt better on having from Dr. Embree a report of your activities. I have written letters to Mississippi and shall do what I can through the channels which are open to me. I should appreciate being placed on your mailing list to receive any reports of the work in Mississippi. As a member of the Southern Regional Council, it may be that copies would be sent to me anyway.

With much appreciation and all best wishes, I am

Yours very truly,

R. L. Hunt.

R. L. Hunt, Editor
THE PHI DELTA KAPPAN

RLH:mek

gm

November 7, 1946

Mr. Thomas A. Whitcomb
281 Arlington Avenue
Elmhurst, Illinois

Dear Mr. Whitcomb:

Please accept my sincere regrets for the delay in answering your letter of October 3rd; I have just returned to the office from an extensive field trip.

Enclosed are two copies of studies on the GI program published by the Southern Regional Council. In a few days our study of the services available to Negro veterans in Louisiana will come off the press; when it does, I'll send you a copy.

Several other such studies as these enclosed are in process; as these are completed, I'll send you copies.

We are glad to furnish these studies to you without cost. Thank you for your interest in this matter.

Very truly yours,

Harry L. Wright

HLW:w

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CARTER V. GOOD.....Historian
Teachers College, Univ. Cincinnati,
Cincinnati 21, Ohio.

PAUL M. COOK.....Executive Secretary
2034 Ridge Road, Homewood, Illinois.

Gen

PHI DELTA KAPPA

A professional education fraternity connected with leading American colleges and universities of graduate rank maintaining schools, colleges or departments of education of exceptionally high standing

EXECUTIVE OFFICES, 2034 RIDGE ROAD, HOMEWOOD, ILLINOIS

November 8, 1946

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Director of Veterans Services
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for the copy of the bulletin, "Post War Planning for Negro Veterans." I was very much pleased to have from Mrs. Ratliff an announcement of this meeting in response to one of the letters I wrote to Mississippi. I know there are many people in Mississippi who will support the effort for increased educational opportunities for Negroes. Let the good work go on!

Yours very truly,

R. L. Hunt.

R. L. Hunt, Editor
THE PHI DELTA KAPPAN

RLH:mek

Gm

November 18, 1946

Mr. Emory T. Judy
830 Xenia Avenue
Yellow Springs, Ohio

Dear Mr. Judy:

It is fine that you are to make the talk.

It would injure the talk if you dubbed into it anyone else's ideas, but perhaps I can point up something that you were finding yourself.

The only thing I know that will dissolve racial prejudice is association between people of about the same level, across racial lines, in the interest of some purpose common to those who are present. For that, prejudice melts. So it seems to me the part of statesmanship to cherish every movement that gives rise to such association.

In recent years the main such movement in the South has been trade unionism. The church shows signs of a little movement in this direction. The business life of Southern cities has always had some of it. And that's about all. Self-organization of veterans promises another good such source. Negro luncheon clubs on the order of the white civic clubs would be another chance. So would a Farmers Union.

In associations of this kind, people from the two races make a native adjustment. Perhaps it is the stronger for the very fact that the association begins and developes of no one's ideology but out of a mutual need.

Observe that the results are of two degrees of intensity. Where the membership itself is drawn from both races, the gains in lessened prejudice are great but they are diffuse, and as to any two given individuals, one Negro and one white, not deep. But the steering of any such movement requires on the leadership level mutual understanding of the highest order. The relationship of confidence so built among the leaders will stand heavy strain. It will correct rumors. It will draw up trusting fellowship on the part of members from each group. It will set patterns of courtesy built upon respect that will spread.

When you have an interracial problem to solve, it is often well therefore to look around and find the several most pressing mutual interests of people from both races and to try to build an organization that will take on the problem or problems, From there, improvement flows automatically and without self-consciousness. That seems to me the healthiest way.

There are plenty of people who would go about it in other ways.

Good luck, and let me know how you make out.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

gm

November 21, 1946

Mr. Irving Abramson
Servicemen's and Veterans' Division
Congress of Industrial Organizations
1776 Broadway
New York 19, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Abramson:

You will be interested in the enclosed article on Louisiana.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

Ogre

November 22, 1946

Mr. Charles G. Bolte, Chairman
American Veterans Committee, Inc.
1860 Broadway
New York 23, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Bolte:

Here is a just completed survey of services to Negro veterans in Louisiana.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

gm

November 22, 1946

Mr. A. A. Liverwright
American Council on Race Relations
32 West Randolph Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Liverwright:

Here is our latest survey, this time on Louisiana.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

32 WEST RANDOLPH STREET CHICAGO 1 PHONE CENTRAL 3066

A. A. LIVERIGHT
Executive Director

CLARENCE E. PICKETT
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Secretary

November 25, 1946

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of November 22 and the ten copies of your survey entitled, "Services to Negro Veterans in Louisiana". Since Mr. Liveright is out of town this week, I am distributing these pamphlets to other members of our staff. I am sure this material will prove interesting and valuable, especially to our Clearing House division.

Very truly yours,

Hazel M. Wickliffe

Hazel M. Wickliffe
Secretary to Mr. Liveright

Jan

November 26, 1946

The Honorable Edith Nourse Rogers
15 Kearney Square
Lowell, Massachusetts

My dear Congresswoman Rogers:

I stopped at your office door last Friday morning in the hope of seeing you or your secretary, but unfortunately found you both away.

Enclosed is a new survey, this time on Louisiana.

I recall with appreciation your kind expression of interest at the time the Arkansas survey was sent you (August 23, 1946).

It is clear that the key to advance in the matter of services and benefits to Negro veterans in the South is the employment in the various Southern offices of the Veterans Administration of some Negro officials. Experience shows that where this is done the Negro officials find ways in which to improve greatly the whole work of the Agency as it relates to their people. The process is educational, and no great noise is made about it, but the results come along. And if it is done in the Veterans Administration, the example will spread into the Employment Service and the State Departments of Education, and possibly into the State departments of veterans affairs.

Some important gains have been made quite recently. In Virginia the Veterans Administration regional office has opened a second Richmond contact office, this new one located in the Negro business area and staffed with Negro personnel. The branch office of the Veterans Administration at Richmond employs perhaps 175 Negro clerks, 150 of them in a special insurance division. VA has for more than a year conducted in each Southern State at one, two or three Negro colleges Negro-staffed guidance centers. A very few Negro training officers are used by VA - I cannot count more than three or four in the whole South.

In several Southern States a good many Negroes are used by the State Departments of Education in teaching the related training for on-the-job or on-the-farm trainees. The State of Alabama employs at a fairly good salary a Negro supervisor for these men. But, except at Richmond, the branch, regional, sub-regional, and local offices of the VA over the South are almost entirely without any Negro personnel.

I believe that when this hurdle of employment in VA has been cleared, progress will be quite rapid in getting the various educational benefits for the Negro veterans. That is of course the real thing to pull for.

It seems to me that the new Committee on World War Veterans Legislation is in a position to bring about a considerable advance toward fairness in this regard. General Bradley has undoubtedly wished to do the right thing.

You will have an opportunity to bring to bear an influence that could deeply and lastingly affect the civic strength and wellbeing of the country.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

Gen

The Theodore Carswell Hume Memorial Foundation

105 East 22nd Street, New York 10, N. Y.

November 29, 1946.

Dear Friends of Ted Hume,

The Theodore Carswell Hume Memorial Foundation, as you will doubtless recall, is the legal name of a group of friends who have joined together to help Ted Hume's widow and five children.

It was just three years ago that Ted lost his life on a Swedish commercial plane which was shot down by a German flier. He was enroute to set up the great humanitarian service of the World Council of Churches for the needy people of the Continent.

In order that his family should not suffer, we set about to raise the sum of $35,827.59, the amount required to provide Mrs. Hume with $50 a month for each child until the children reached their 21st birthdays. Toward this sum over 275 of you have contributed $31,581.32. It would be impossible for me to tell you how deeply grateful Mrs. Hume is to you for this gift.

What with the children's growing older, it has become evident to us that we should immediately set about raising the remaining $4,246.27, so bringing our work to an end.

Furthermore, the housing situation has forced Mrs. Hume to purchase a home--in Newton, Massachusetts--for which we have advanced her $11,000. Since this seriously ties up part of her resources we wish if possible to lift the total of our remaining gift to her to the sum of the two last-named amounts, or $15,246.27.

Since you have given already, it may be impossible for you to give any more, but we lay the facts before you in the full realization that you will do what you can to help us complete our obligation.

Checks should be sent to the treasurer, Mr. Frank F. Moore, 105 East 22nd Street, New York 10, N.Y. Contributions to the Foundation are deductible from the federal income tax.

Yours faithfully,

Douglas Horton

Douglas Horton
President

Gen

American Veterans Committee, Inc.

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490

December 5, 1946

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear ~~Mr. Mitchell:~~ George,

Thank you for sending us copies of your pamphlet on Services to Negro Veterans in Louisiana. It is excellent and contains much useful information to our work.

Sincerely,

Lou

Louis Harris
Program and Research Director

srk

P.S. Hope you like the Survey article. We are now doing pamphlet for Public Affairs Pamphlets on the Negro veteran. The Atlanta boys have told me good things about your aid to them. Thank you for your help to AVC.

LH

Gen

December 9, 1946

Mr. Joseph Schiffman
43-05 44th Street
Sunnyside
Long Island, New York

Dear Mr. Schiffman:

I have no objection to your using any part of my letter of August 14th.

I still hope you will come by here some time.

The field reports that I mentioned in my letter to you are being edited and sifted and may be printed as a pamphlet.

Meanwhile here are new ones on Arkansas and Louisiana, and we will mail you soon one on Oklahoma.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

43-05 - 44 St.
Sunnyside, Long Island, N.Y.
December 5, 1946

George S. Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council,

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

I am writing you to obtain permission to quote your letter to me of August 14, 1946 almost in its entirety. I should like to use it in my thesis as one of the illustrations of the problems Southern Negro veterans have in their relations with veteran agencies.

My work is nearly finished now. I should like to thank you once again for your help.

Sincerely,
Joseph Schiffman

August 14, 1946

Mr. Joseph H. Schiffman
43-05 44th Street
Long Island City 4, New York

Dear Mr. Schiffman:

I am glad to have your letter of August 10th. You are into a complicated problem.

The way it works out depends partly on community attitudes and partly on administrative arrangements. So far as the Southern States go, believe it or not, in my observation community attitudes are far better this time than last time. There is certainly no general disposition on the part of business men to offer all sorts of jobs to Negro veterans, and that would be the thing most needed from a major change in community attitude, but the men are finding their way into some new jobs, particularly in small service enterprises in the cities. I see no particular evidence that factory employment for Negro veterans is different from employment for Negroes in general in the South.

On the administrative side, the principal agencies are USES, VA, and the various State veterans servicing outfits. With a few significant exceptions, the Southern offices of all these agencies refuse to use Negro employees in professional or clerical capacity. This has a double consequence in veterans servicing. Many of the Negro veterans would get more understanding and energetic help in contacts with Negro service officials. At present, practically all contact officers are white.

Secondly, improvement would be in the general working of the agencies, particularly as regards employment, if they had competent Negro officials working within them and constantly informing the head men and minor officials of the needs of the Negro veterans and of practicable ways of working them out. USES is particularly backward in this regard. I think VA is on the turn to doing better. The State agencies in Alabama and Florida and perhaps in Oklahoma are showing improvement. Elsewhere they are lily-white.

One of the things needing to be cracked is statistics. All agencies profess to keep no race breakdown. Diligence will get guesses from some of them at some places, but that is all.

I went to see the VA people in Washington about figures on job training, farm

training and educational benefits. Every time a branch office begins payment of subsistence to a Public 16 or Public 346 veteran for educational benefit, notice is sent to Washington. Washington punches cards on a 20% sample from each branch office. That does give a race breakdown by VA branches, but no breakdown is made by States, and VA feels that the 20% sample is too narrow when and if distributed out by States to give a fair picture. But close work with VA would give a race breakdown by groups of States and that would be significant.

I am mailing you two or three published items. Additionally, I have a wealth of private reports made to me by veterans, mostly Negro veterans, traveling in the South and interviewing local officials and [illegible] about the benefits. I could not lend you this material, but if you came to Atlanta, you would be welcome to go through it and, in agreement with me, take such notes as would be useful to you. I have been looking for a way to get this material summarized and used. Maybe you are it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

Gen

December 10, 1946

Mr. Julius A. Thomas, Director
Department of Industrial Relations
National Urban League
1133 Broadway
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Thomas:

I greatly appreciate your letter of December 2nd; I send a lot of stuff around, but I don't get many letters from people who have read it. Incidentally, we have done State surveys for Arkansas and Alabama besides Louisiana, and I have others coming up for Oklahoma, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas, and maybe North Carolina. While the story is about the same, we think we get more leverage on the local people by doing it in terms of their own separate States.

I think the Veterans Administration is showing more signs of a crack on employment of Negro personnel than at any time thus far. Your people in Richmond have done a grand job. There are 175 Negroes employed in the Richmond Branch Office. The distribution is by no means what it should be, but that is a good round number. Characteristically, however, the Regional Office for Virginia and Roanoke has no Negroes.

You know that Richmond opened October 29th an additional VA contact office. It is a bit off the main business area (St. Lukes Hall) and necessarily faces some criticism on the score that it is a segregated setup. If it is popular with veterans, the pattern will spread. I asked Mr. Davis to do all he could to get men to use it.

There is talk in Atlanta of VA's employing several Negro training facilities officers.

The primary duty of these men would be to find training opportunities for Public 16 veterans, and apparently when employed, the new

office will be on a Negro college campus at established guidance centers. But, as we both understand, the VA in the South is simply not facing the problem of being fair.

I have been writing to Mrs. Edith Nourse Rogers, 15 Kearney Square, Lowell, Massachusetts. She has the right to inherit the chairmanship of the House Committee on World War Legislation. If you have a League in Lowell, it would be good to send somebody to see her, particularly at home.

Your Southern offices have been of the very greatest help to me. It is refreshing to deal with people who merely want to get ahead with the job and never get worried about jurisdiction.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

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December
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1946

Mr. George Mitchell, Secretary
Veterans Affairs
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Friend Mitchell:

This is just a note to tell you how much I appreciated your recent article, "Services to Negro Veterans in Louisiana". Your observations are almost identical with ours, and, of course, what you are saying about Louisiana applies in somewhat the same manner to most of the Southern states. Many of the Northern states are not doing much better, if that is any comfort to you.

The one thing that depresses me more than any other at present is the fact that the Veterans Administration has employed so few Negroes for professional services. Even in New York we have observed that the number of Negroes in most departments represents little more than token employment. A few weeks ago we went through this issue with the Regional Director, and we are beginning now to get a few more people on the staff. I suppose we will have to keep needling until we get what we know to be right.

I don't know what your plans are about the other states, but I do hope you and your staff will find it possible to do a similar analysis. With this kind of information, we ought to move in on Bradley, Stirling, Hathaway and the rest of them for one more try in getting some things done. I don't know what help General Erskine can give us on it, but as one of the consultants in the Retraining and Reemployment Administration, I know I can put it on his desk. I will be out of town for the next week or ten days, and I hope I can get your reactions to my thinking by the time I return.

Sincerely yours,

JA

Julius A. Thomas, Director
Department of Industrial Relations

JAT:RAK

Contributions to the National Urban League are deductible for income tax purposes

The AVC Bulletin

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE

Editorial Offices • 1860 Broadway • New York 23, N. Y. • Telephone COlumbus 5-7960

December 18, 1946

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, AVC
79 Auburn
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

On page 33 of the December 16 issue of LIFE Magazine a picture caption states that Estemore A. Wolfe, "American Veterans Committee executive," encouraged Negroes to testify in the inquiry on Senator Bilbo's qualifications for the Senate. We are unable to locate Mr. Wolfe's address in our files and we wonder if you by any chance know where he can be reached. Lou Harris of our organization has suggested that I write you.

I would appreciate a reply as soon as possible -- by collect wire, if you know his address -- for we would like to have Mr. Wolfe write an article on his activities for the next issue of our publication, The AVC Bulletin.

Sincerely,

Michael J. de Sherbinin

Michael J. de Sherbinin
Editor

MJS/wg

Answ by phone Dec 20. 46

gm

December 21, 1946

Mr. Jim Patton
National Farmers Union
3501 East 46th Avenue
Denver, Colorado

Dear Jim:

The statements by Russell Smith and Benton Stong to the National Economic Council, released November 2, 1946, are remarkable for their reasoned advocacy of the public interest.

You fellows are might nearly the only people on the scene these days that are thinking right in long range terms.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

Jan

December 21, 1946

Mr. Lawrence I. Rewes
American Council on Race Relations
Room 604
259 Geary Street
San Francisco, California

Dear Larry:

Here are some recent pamphlets we have got out about how they do veterans in this part of the world.

I begin to build up the very faintest hope that within the next year or so, I will get sent to the Honorable the West Coast to find out how you handle things, and take some lessons. If I go, I intend to go en plein famille.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

Don't drink too many "highballs" during Christmas.
Jac

the mondrieis
albany, ga.

FARMERS EDUCATIONAL AND COOPERATIVE UNION of America

3501 EAST 46th AVENUE, DENVER, COLORADO

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

December 26, 1946

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear George:

Thanks very much for your lovely note of December 21. I appreciate it a lot. We will, I hope, continue to try to present those things which are in the public interest.

My very best wishes to you for a good New Year,

Jim Patton

JAMES G. PATTON
President
NATIONAL FARMERS UNION

JGP/ah

A MEMO ON SCHOOL INTEGRATION

Steps in Implementing the Supreme Court's Decision

Prepared for the

NATIONAL CIVIL LIBERTIES CLEARING HOUSE

by a Panel on School Integration:--

Irene Osborne, American Friends Service Committee, Chairman

Philip Lerman, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Margaret Garrity, Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems

Olya Margolin, National Council of Jewish Women

Mary Alice Baldinger, National Civil Liberties Clearing House, Secretary

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A MEMO ON SCHOOL INTEGRATION

"Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the armed forces. It is the very foundation of good citizenship.

". . . We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

-- From the Supreme Court's Decision of May 17, 1954.

* * * \

School authorities will do well to take leadership in building a constructive program of desegregation. The stable elements in the community will welcome such leadership and will give it whole-hearted support.

Establishing Policy

It is most important to establish a clear and concise policy, one which will be understandable to everyone. The policy should affirm the principle of non-discrimination in the conduct of school affairs. However it may be worded, the basic plan should specify that both pupil assignment and personnel handling should be carried out without regard to race. A statement of conviction is a sound idea. As an example of what one community has done, the policy statement of the District of Columbia Board of Education, adopted May 24, 1954, is here cited:

> In the light of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in Bolling v. Sharpe, the Board of Education of the District of Columbia, believing it to be in the best interest of all citizens of the community of Washington, and necessary to the effective administration of an integrated system within the public schools, hereby adopts the following declaration of policy:
>
> 1. Appointments, transfers, preferments, promotions, ratings, or any other matters respecting the officers and employees of the Board shall be predicated solely upon merit and not upon race or color.
>
> 2. No pupil of the public schools shall be favored or discriminated against in any matter or in any manner respecting his or her relationship to the schools of the District of Columbia by reason of race or color.
>
> 3. Attendance of pupils residing within school boundaries, hereafter to be established, shall not be permitted at schools located beyond such boundaries, except for the most necessitous reasons or for the public convenience, and in no event for reasons related to the racial character of the school within the boundaries in which the pupil resides.
>
> 4. The Board believes that no record should be kept or maintained in respect to any pupil not enrolled in a public school on or prior to June 17, 1954, or in respect to any officer or employee not employed within the system on or prior to that date in which information is solicited or recorded relating to the color or race of any such person.
>
> 5. That the maximum efficient use shall be made of all physical facilities without regard to race or color.
>
> In support of the foregoing principles, which are believed to be cardinal, the Board will not hesitate to use its full powers. It is pledged to a complete and wholehearted pursuit of these objectives.
>
> We affirm our intention to secure the right of every child, within his own capacity, to the full, equal and impartial use of all school facilities, and the right of all qualified teachers to teach where needed within the school system. And finally, we ask the aid, cooperation and goodwill of all citizens and the help of the Almighty in holding to our stated purposes.

Pupil Assignment

In order to make desegregated pupil assignments, the city can be re-zoned on a geographic basis without reference to the race of the child. The new zones should be drawn in such a way as to make maximum use of facilities. Efficiency and economy will be the natural results. If racial prejudice or antagonism to integration are allowed to dictate school assignment, policy becomes difficult or impossible to enforce, placing school officials in an untenable position. For these reasons, a liberal transfer policy is unwise.

When boundary lines are drawn on a geographic basis, results will vary in different communities, depending on the pattern of housing. Where there is considerable residential segregation, it may be inevitable that some schools of only one race remain. On the other hand, the practice of gerrymandering may be used as a device to avoid integration. Citizens should be aware of this as a threat to a positive program.

Details will need specific planning in each community. In some cases there are inadequate school buildings which should be abandoned and pupils reassigned elsewhere. Where two schools are close together, they may be combined as one school, with lower grades in one building and upper grades in the other. Often there are special institutions which can be merged at once (e.g. teachers college, technical school, or facilities for the handicapped).

There are, of course, some school systems which do not use a plan of enforced districting, or which have secondary schools specialized on a curricular basis. Whatever system is used, the rules should apply without regard to race.

Staff Integration

Integration of teachers should take place along with integration of pupils. Teachers should be hired and promoted on the basis of merit, and placed according to the needs of the system, irrespective of the race of the teacher or the student. There are numerous instances of interracial staffs around the country, and many where the staffs were integrated along with pupil integration. Personnel-wise, it is the soundest policy, since it insures the best qualified person for each job. With the nation-wide shortage of teachers severe as it is, the South cannot adequately staff its schools without the services of Negro teachers. Staff integration is therefore indicated both for the needs of the schools and out of fairness to Negro teachers.

Meeting Opposition

One of the questions most often asked is how to handle cases of outright resistance, such as the student strikes which occurred in a few cities. The best answer is provided by the experience of cities which have met the problem. It is notable that in Baltimore and Washington, the strikes were short-lived and met with no success. In those cities, school officials, police and press took a firm stand against the demonstrations, reaffirming policy and opposing the tactics of the strikes. Social action, religious, and welfare groups organized quickly to defend the integration policy. This is in contrast to the story in Milford, Delaware, where the state authorities hesitated and backed down, and no community organizations came to the rescue. The result was a long period of trouble. The lesson is clear that success depends on a firm and positive stand.

Public Relations

School authorities should give special attention to public relations at the time of desegregation. To do a good reporting job, press representatives need ample factual material as well as some interpretation of what the schools are trying to do.

A school administrator who does a careful and honest job of working with the press will find that it pays dividends in terms of public understanding and goodwill.

The school program should likewise be interpreted to city officials, police, and leading community agencies. Conferences with the chief of police are particularly advised, so that the police will be fully aware of a responsibility to act impartially and in the interest of law and order at all times.

CITIZENS CAN HELP

Part of the American belief is the right of every child to an education, an education which will meet his needs as a person and which will be available to him regardless of his financial resources. Out of this belief grew our public and private school systems. Our money has built and maintained our schools. Our money and time must still be given if we wish to continue a solid program of education. The schools are ours, and the responsibility of keeping the schools is ours.

Today more than ever before it behooves us to make known our interest to our local and state officials so they can discharge honorably the responsibilities with which we, the citizens, have entrusted to them. They cannot know our desires unless we tell them what we want.

We must have now a positive program of study and action to safeguard our schools and to insure an orderly transition period from segregation to desegregation - a transition period which will be a pleasant experience for our children and not one which will be harmful to them.

This is not the goal of just one or two or a few of us. This is the goal of almost everyone in every community. It needs serious consideration. Talk to your friends, your neighbors. Their interest in preserving the schools is the same as yours. See to it that your voices are heard. You make up the bulk of your community. Now your voice must be heard if your community and your schools are to serve their true purpose.

To be heard you must talk together, meet together, learn together how your schools and community are managed. You will want to become better acquainted with your community and the people who make up your community: work with the organized segments of your hometown. Learn with the churches, the synagogues, the schools, the civic clubs, the community centers, the professional associations and fraternal organizations what your major school problems are.

Study the strengths and weaknesses of your school system. Discover how the system is organized and financed. What is the employment status, the tenure and the qualifications of Negro and white teachers? What is the proportion of Negro and white teachers? Of Negro and white students? What are your school boundary lines and how are they determined? Are the citizens kept informed of the planning of the school board? Are Negro and white teachers meeting separately or together to work out their problems?

Learn the practice and policy of other state and city organizations, e.g. libraries, hospitals, employment offices, colleges and universities. What is the official attitude and practice of church groups, civic associations and other institutions in your community in regard to desegregation?

After you have acquired the factual information which bears on a program of desegregation, talk with your responsible officials so that together you can

arrange an orderly desegregation of the schools. Be prepared to make some recommendations about how the process should be carried out. Urge other outstanding citizens in your area to do likewise. Encourage the organizations already established to do the same. Work with the press, so they can help to build an informed citizenry. Encourage widening segments of the community to give serious thought to the subject.

AND IN CONCLUSION

What, then, do we know about the job ahead of us? What guideposts are available to give the citizen a sense of sureness about what he is doing? By way of summary, we offer here a few of the conclusions which emerge from the record of experience.

1. Experience in desegregation of schools has been extensive in recent years, demonstrating that the job can be successfully accomplished, contributing to better schools and more democratic communities.

2. Desegregation should begin with official adoption and announcement of a policy of non-discrimination, affecting both pupil assignment and personnel action.

3. Opposition can be effectively met by a firm and positive stand. Constructive elements of the community can and should be organized in support of a forthright policy.

4. Desegregation is a responsibility not only of school officials, but of all citizens who have an interest in a good school program.

5. Citizens can help by taking the lead in study and planning, by making their views known to the public and to the responsible officials.

6. In every community, there are resources that can be tapped for help in doing the job, resources in terms of people, organizations, and specialized services.

7. Problems do not solve themselves. People solve problems. In the words of Arnold Toynbee, "We cannot just fold our hands and let history rip." The problems we are facing are, in fact, human problems which human beings can and will solve.

Those who believe in the American concept that all men are created equal and therefore entitled to equal protection of the laws should now assume their citizenship responsibilities by actively participating in the implementation of the Supreme Court Decision -- the law of the land. The economic, political and social wellbeing of our nation and its communities depends on an intelligent and informed citizenry. An adequate education for all children is, therefore, essential. Those who have faith in our Nation and its people welcome the opportunity to take a step forward in democratic living.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

* * * SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON DESEGREGATION * * *

(Because of space limitations, the following listing is restricted to a group of selected reference books and pamphlets.)

1. ASHMORE, HARRY S., "The Negro and the Schools" (University of North Carolina Press, 1954, p. 228) Summary of the findings of 45 scholars in the field of bi-racial education in the United States. An emphasis is on statistical analysis of schools and population.

2. "Answers for Action: Schools in the South," Atlanta, Ga., (Southern Regional Council, 1954, 31 pp.) Questions and answers that pertain to problems and practices in desegregation. Brief, concise, practical.

3. INGRAM, DOROTHY, "An Experiment in Intercultural Education," California, (Journal of Elementary Education, Vol. XXII, No. 2, Nov. 1953, pp. 88-94) Describes how a Negro school in Southern California was converted during a period of 3 years into a fully integrated school, 75% Negro, and an integrated teaching staff under a Negro principal.

4. "Integration of Washington Schools," Washington, D.C. (American Friends Service Committee, 1954, 13 pp.) Questions and answers on desegregation; suggests policies that will make transition efficient and acceptable.

5. JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION, Summer, 1954, Vol. XXIII. Fourteen articles on history of integration and current problems.

6. McCULLOCH, MARGARET C., "Integration: Promise--Process--Problems," Nashville, Tenn.; (Fisk University, Race Relations Dept., American Missionary Assn., 1952, pp. vi-77) Deals with integration in the various fields where segregation now exists. Contains basic statements which apply specifie cally to educational integration.

7. "Questions & Answers: The Schools and the Courts." Atlanta, Ga. (Southern Regional Council, 1953, p. 16) Explains how question of integration was brought to the fore by appeals to the courts; summarizes principal arguments advanced for and against segregation and points out the changes that are likely to take place in the schools depending on what the Court decides.

8. "Segregation and the Schools," New York, (Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 209, 1954, 30 pp.) Summarizes the Ashmore report, "The Negro and the Schools." Will be particularly useful for brief orientation to facts in the situation.

9. WILLIAMS, ROBIN AND MARGARET W. RYAN, "Schools in Transition," (University of North Carolina Press, November 20, 1954)

10. "Southern School News," issued periodically by the Southern Educational Reporting Service, 1109--19th St., South, Acklen Station, Nashville, Tenn. Set up especially to report factually and objectively on integration education. Free copies on request.

11. GRAMBS, JEAN D., "Education in a Transition Community," (National Conference of Christians and Jews, 1954, 124 pp.) A compendium designed to assist community organizations and leaders in preparing for school integration.

12. "Resource Units on Intergroup Relations - Desegregation in the Public Schools." (Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1954, 4 pp.) A resource unit for teachers and community leaders, listing material and education ideas to assist in preparing the school and community for integration.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

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May 24, 1955

Mr. Lewis Jones
Rural Life Council
P. O. Box 67
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Lewis:

Man you did it! I am fifty-two and I never saw a manuscript change so much from one draft to another. For page after page of this new one you are hitting on all fours.

She has a few rough spots yet. I will try my hand at editing out some of them and will send it back to you. For instance, I think we could compress some of the latter part of the Ratchford bulletin from North Carolina. (How amazingly apropos it is!) And I think the transition from history along about pages 24, 25, and 26 to the modern changes drags some. But those are matters of editing.

One thing I raise that I think would contribute a lot to action. Can you find some extension bulletins about communities that have voluntarily gone over to decent tenure? And load in two, three, or four paragraphs about such communities?

Another small point is that I think there are many more states besides those you listed. Iowa and Idaho and what have you, they have issued bulletins about their problems of land tenure. I am pretty sure Kentucky has, and I think South Carolina has, though they may be old. I should think somebody in one of the libraries available to you could turn up all the references. Don't load for the learned look -- I would only list the ones that look like they were behaving modernly.

You rejoice me in this smooth hard meaningful prose.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc & incoming ms. to HCF ✓

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June 14, 1955

AIRMAIL

Mr. J. H. Calhoun
237 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

COPY

Dear Calhoun and George:

I received a call yesterday from H. C. Nelson of Norristown, Pennsylvania, who has succeeded in thwarting efforts to extradite a Negro from Norristown to Georgia.

According to Mr. Nelson, the man was framed on an attempted rape charge in Statesboro, Georgia, and although no one appeared against him and he could not read and write and pleaded not guilty, a confession which he had been told to sign by the sheriff was introduced and without more he was sentenced to 20 years on the chain gang. After serving 7 years, he escaped and was found in Norristown and efforts were made to extradite him.

Mr. Nelson has succeeded in securing his release on the technical grounds that the Georgia authorities did not conform with the uniform extradition proceedings. However, they will be able to get him as soon as they correct their procedural error.

He is interested in reaching the alleged victim to see whether it would be possible to get an affidavit from her indicating that these charges are not true. He feels that if someone could make the effort to reach her and talk to her, there is a possibility that the woman could be convinced that she should sign an affidavit clearing the matter up.

This is worthy of attention, and I suggested to Mr. Nelson that he write you with the idea that you might be able

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to give him some assistance in reaching the woman in question. The case sounds as if it is most meritorious, and I hope that you will be able to assist Mr. Nelson in keeping this boy from being returned to prison.

Sincerely yours,

Bob

Robert L. Carter
Assistant Counsel. /pch

RLC:plh

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

6/28

GSM –

Of interest re: equal penalties study.

HCF

W.-Sal. TUE MORN June 14 1955

Negro Crime and Punishment

ONE of the most interesting commentaries apropos the annual meeting of the North Carolina Negro Law Enforcement Officers Association in High Point is the mere fact that such an organization exists. A couple of decades ago there could be no such organization for the simple reason that there were no Negro law enforcement officers in the state. The report that some 75 officers from 43 North Carolina cities and towns attended the High Point meeting is an indication of how far we have come within recent years in extending the rights of employment and civic responsibility to Negroes in this particular field.

Another interesting feature of the High Point meeting was the stand which the association took in connection with the Negro cases tried in the court. The group adopted a resolution asking that a more careful consideration be given Negro offenders by the courts.

While specific facts and figures are not at hand, it is the commonly reported observation of court attendants that both judges and juries frequently deal very lightly with the defendants in all-Negro criminal cases. The association pointed out that a Negro may get 30 days when tried for assault with deadly weapon upon another Negro. At the same time a white man tried for a similar assault upon another white man would mostly likely draw a sentence of two years or more. It might be added that even in many murder or manslaughter cases the Negro offender often gets off with a comparatively light sentence if his victim also was a Negro.

There are, of course, mitigating circumstances in many all-Negro cases which may not apply in similar cases involving white defendants. But while such circumstances should be taken into account, two important points in this connection should not be overlooked. One is the constitutional principle that all citizens are entitled to equal protection of the laws. The other is the truism that all human life is sacred. A convicted slayer is no less a murderer if his victim is a Negro; the state law which punishes murderers should be applied in his case with full force and effect.

As an organized group, the state association of Negro officers may be able to exert enough influence in time to effect a change both in court and public attitudes toward the crimes of Negroes against members of their own race. In this effort they should have the cooperation of interested white citizens and public officials. When such crimes are more often evaluated in terms of their gravity without regard to the racial membership of the offenders, Negro crime rates in North Carolina may show a substantial decline.

LAW OFFICES
OF
HERBERT C. NELSON
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW

24 ARDMORE AVENUE
ARDMORE, PA.
MIDWAY 2-2342

503 SWEDE STREET
NORRISTOWN, PA.
PHONE 5-5791

July 18, 1955

JUL 20 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Reginal Council
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for your recent letter relative to Mr. Clifford Jenkins. I am contacting Mr. Hallowell as you suggested.

Yours very truly,

H. C. Nelson

Herbert C. Nelson

HCN:ecb

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ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

July 18, 1955

JUL 21 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

I acknowledge receipt of your letter of July 16 with reference to the appointment of a permanent Secretary-Treasurer. No comments seem to be required at this time as to the person who will ultimately fill that post.

I am interested in Morris Abram's suggestion that we might do well to reconsider the independence with which we have tried to surround that office. There may be excellent reasons for giving up the view of the Secretary-Treasurer as something of a check on the rest of the staff and the entire organization. I have not heard that side. But, in the absence of argument to the contrary, I am rather disposed to our present policy.

One of the few things about the South Carolina Constitution which have received the praise of competent critics are the provisions that the Comptroller General of the state and the various county auditors

should be appointed rather than elected. (Of course, in practice, the state very quickly got away from constitutional requirements,) but the theory was that these financial officers should be in position at all times to check upon the activities of their fellow officers. I believe the Director of the Budget in the national government, although appointed by the president, is completely independent of both presidential and congressional control--an independence which he has frequently exhibited.

It may be that a great gap yawns between the county, state and federal governments on the one hand and SRC on the other but I feel reassured to think that we are following as closely as we can the patterns which have been set in handling public affairs.

This conviction on my part, always subject to change upon fuller discussion, in no way weakens my warm endorsement of the idea of your having an administrativ e assistant who would relieve you of budgetary and other details. Indeed, I was hopeful that when Mrs. Hamilton came to us she might develop capacity for that kind of work. I would go a step further than, apparently, you would. You refer to someone acting on details <u>in your absence</u>. I prefer to relieve you of as many details as possible even when you are in Atlanta.

The ideal set-up, it seems to me, is for you to have as much time as possible for the mere task of thinking, reflecting, consulting, planning. Most of my mistakes have been made from taking snap judgment and acting without proper deliberation. And I think the more time you have for weighing the merits of policies which are original with you or which come to you in the form of suggestions from others, the more solid will be your conclusions.

So, I will be all for the general idea of the administrative assistant.

Best regards,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:EJG

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

Protestant Episcopal Church

CHURCH MISSIONS HOUSE, 281 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

July 19, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Ph.D.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. Room 432
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your registration card and ~~check~~ cash for the National Conference on the Churches and Social Welfare to be held in Cleveland, November 1st to 4th. From the Conference Office you will be receiving your credential card, program, and section assignments.

Attached is a current list of all Episcopal delegates, by Diocese. The completed list will be sent in September.

Special events for Episcopalians are:
Wednesday, November 2nd, Dinner, Parish House, Trinity Cathedral, Euclid Avenue and East 22nd.
Thursday, November 3rd, Corporate communion and breakfast, Trinity Cathedral. (Details later)

did all

It will be helpful to us and of interest to the other delegates to know your various affiliations, local and national, in church and community activities. We are enclosing a sheet for you to fill in and return to us in the stamped addressed envelope, also attached.

If you have not returned your housing card to the Housing Bureau in Cleveland, please be sure and do so to assure your hotel reservations.

The staff of the Department look forward to seeing you in Cleveland.

Sincerely,

A. R. Pepper m

Director, Department of
Christian Social Relations

ARP/tg
Encl.
signed in absence
from office

532 Forest Lane,
Rock Hill, S.C.

July 20,1955

Dear George:

My good wife, returned this evening from an all day session of the S.C. Congress of PTA at Winthrop College. I think you will be interested in her reaction.

She tells me that they spoke about everything under the sun...except the problem of segregation. Unable to control her reaction to the lack of any programming on segregation....Sylvia tells me she upped to her feet and asked "Are we not going to discuss the most important problem facing PTA to-day? Dr.George Mitchell told us that both Negro and white PTA should meet and discuss problems facing schools and parents to-day.What does this Institute think about this?"

Sylvia continued "there was several gasps and no replies" Finally a lady rose from the audience and said "We don't want violence in our State. We should meet with Negro PTA and talk about our problems." Another man rose and said "We want to preserve the public school system.We want segregation but we cannot seem to solve our problem. We do want the schools kept open."

J.G.McCracken, Legislation Chm.was presiding over the panel.No comment was made by him or the other panel participants.

So ends the report on the Institute.

Sincerely,

Bob

R.R.Suritz,

Dr. George Mitchell,
S.R.C.
Atlanta, Ga.

PTA Parley To Hear Panel On Legislation

The three-day summer institute of the South Carolina Congress of Parents and Teachers at Winthrop College reached its mid-way point today.

Approximately 200 delegates from Parent-Teacher Associations over the state are attending. Theme of the institute is "Your PTA Can Do Big Things."

The fourth major session was scheduled to begin at 2:15 p.m. today with a panel discussion on "Your PTA Can Do Big Things in Legislation."

J. G. McCracken, superintendent of schools in Spartanburg was to preside over the panel. Members were to be B. M. Coble of Columbia, executive secretary of the South Carolina Education Assn.; Guy Barn, superintendent of schools in Columbia; Ray Williams, an Aiken attorney; and Mrs. Royce McKee of Greenwood, council president.

The institute will close tomorrow after an address by Mrs. Ralph Hobbs of Cataula, Ga. at 11:45 a.m. Mrs. Hobbs is publicity chairman of the national PTA congress and past president of the Georgia Congress of Parents and Teachers.

Mrs. J. Howard Stokes of Florence, president of the South Carolina congress, will preside over the fifth session of the institute tonight. It will be a symposium on findings of the 1955 national conference.

Participating will be Mrs. H. Sanford Howie of Greenville; J. C. Holler of Columbia; L. P. Hollis, Greenville; C. L. Powell and E. R. McConnell, Spartanburg; C. A. Weinheimer, Charleston, and Mrs. Allen D Eidson, Lanes.

Tomorrow group conferences are scheduled at 8:30 a.m. and district meetings at 10:30 a.m.

Presiding at group conferences will be Powell, citizenship; Mrs. T. W. Graham of Florence, membership; Mrs. Howard G. McClain, mental health; and Mrs. Howie, parent education.

See By Today's Herald Want Ads

...Vine ripened tomatoes for sale.

...Bathroom fixtures wanted.

...Pigs for sale.

Eve. Herald
Rock Hill, SC
July 20/55

INSTITUTE PROGRAM
Winthrop College - July 19-21, 1955

INSTITUTE THEME: Your P.T.A. Can Do Big Things

Tuesday - July 19

8:30 - 11:00 AM Registration

11:00 - 12:30 AM District Meetings

Lunch

2:30 PM FIRST SESSION

Presiding: Mrs. J. Howard Stokes, President
Devotional: Mrs. Allen D. Eidson
Group Singing: Dr. L. P. Hollis
Plan for Institute: Mrs. T. J. Mims

Panel: Tooling For Big Things

Introduction of Subject - Mrs. J. Howard Stokes, President

Congress Publications as a Tool - Mrs. J. M. Bull, State Chairman, Congress Publications

National Parent-Teacher as a Tool - Mrs. J. C. Dowling, State Chairman, National Parent-Teacher

The State Office as a Tool - Mrs. Wm. Fred Ponder, State Office Secretary

Discussion Period

Supper

6:45 PM Group Conferences

Budget and Finance: J. G. McCracken
Health & Summer Round-Up: B. B. Leitzsey, Jr.
Hospitality & Room Representative: Mrs. J. A. Henry

8:45 PM SECOND SESSION

Presiding: Mrs. J. Howard Stokes
Parent Teacher Prayer: In Unison
Group Singing: Dr. L. P. Hollis

Report: National Convention

Recreation:

Wednesday - July 20

9:00 AM THIRD SESSION

Presiding: Mrs. J. Howard Stokes
Devotional: Mrs. Allen D. Eidson
Group Singing: Dr. L. P. Hollis

Symposium: Overcoming Blocks That Keep P.T.A. From Doing Big Things

Inadequate Interpretation - Mrs. B. T. Whitmire
Inadequate Program - Mrs. T. W. Graham
Unfavorable Attitudes and Concepts of Administrators and Teachers - Dr. A. C. Flora

Discussion

Lunch

2:15 PM FOURTH SESSION

Presiding: Mrs. J. Howard Stokes, President
Lord's Prayer: In Unison
Group Singing: Dr. L. P. Hollis

Panel:
Presiding - J. G. McCracken, Legislation Chr.
Participants - P. M. Coble, Executive Secretary SCl
Guy Varn, Supt., Columbia Schools
Ray Williams, Attorney
Mrs. Royce McKee, Council President
Mrs. Davis Batson, Safety Chairman

Supper

7:00 PM FIFTH SESSION

Presiding: Mrs. J. Howard Stokes, President
Devotional: Mrs. Allen D. Eidson
Group Singing: Dr. L. P. Hollis

Symposium: These Things We Can Do - Based on 1955 Findings of National Congress

Participants:

Mrs. J. Howard Stokes	J. C. Holler
Mrs. H. Sanford Howie	L. P. Hollis
Mrs. Allen D. Eidson	Cecil L. Powell
Mrs. T. N. Fortson	E. R. McConnell
	C. A. Weinheimer

Thursday - July 21

8:30 AM Group Conferences

Citizenship	Cecil L. Powell
Membership	Mrs. T. W. Graham
Mental Health	Mrs. Howard G. McClain
Parent Education	Mrs. H. Sanford Howie

10:30-11:30 AM District Meetings

11:45 AM SIXTH SESSION

Presiding: Mrs. J. Howard Stokes, President
Devotional: Mrs. Allen D. Eidson
Group Singing: Dr. L. P. Hollis

Address: Your P.T.A. Can Do Big Things

Mrs. Ralph Hobbs,
National Chairman, Publicity

Adjournment

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Southern Regional Council

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July 20, 1955

JUL 22 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I wanted to report to you - rather belatedly - on how the Pembroke visit came out for Jaipaul. While President Wellons was extremely helpful to Jaipaul, I gather that Mr. Locklear took a fairly passive role in Jaipaul's visit; some other Indian chap came through quite handsomely. There was some unfortunate incident on the drive to the airport in which I fear that Jaipaul insulted some Indian chap to the point where Jaipaul wound up getting out of the car and hitch hiking a ride to the airport. Knowing Jaipaul I am quite inclined to believe that his conduct was quite cutting and sharp to a relatively unsophisticated person who was quite unprepared for what he assumed was an attack upon his own ego. Jaipaul was not the most sympathetic or considerate person you could have met and I am afraid he was just unequal to taking full advantage of the unusual opportunities made available to him through the Pembroke visit. I don't know whether you had any repercussions from the visit but I did want you to be posted on the situation as I learned it from Jaipaul.

I am sorry that after all the work you put on it that the arrangements did not work out better than they did. But as I say, the fault lay with Mr. Jaipaul, not with any of the kind people whom you suggested. I have written to President Wellons separately to thank him for his kindness to Jaipaul, but have been rather hesitant to write to Locklear for fear that he may have a bad taste in his mouth about the whole thing. I presume he heard from the Indian chap that had the mishap with Jaipaul on the way to the airport.

All the best to you, I am

Cordially yours,

H. Philip Mettger

EMILY AND ERNEST WOODRUFF FOUNDATION

POST OFFICE BOX 4418

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

July 20, 1955

JUL 22 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your letter of June 10 addressed to Mr. Philip Weltner has been forwarded to us and although your work is of great value to the South, its objectives are outside the scope of the charter of this Foundation. For this reason, we regret to advise that the Trustees are not in position to consider your application.

Yours very sincerely,

L. L. McCullough
Secretary

LLM/hd

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DR GEORGE MITCHELL=

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 63 AUBURN AVE NORTH ATLA=

AFTER CAREFUL CONSIDERATION I REGRET THAT I CANNOT ACCEPT THIS OFFER AT THIS TIME THOUGH RECOGNIZING ITS GREAT IMPORTANT PLEASE KEEP SEEKING A PERSON OUT PLEASE ALSO CONSIDER WHAT SERVICE OR CONTRIBUTION I COULD MAKE IN A SHORTER RANGE PROJECT LATER ON• ON THE BASIS OF MY OWN BACKGROUND EXPERIENCE AND POTENTIAL LETTER OF CLARIFICATION WILL FOLLOW=

ROBERT B JOHNSON 705 WALLACE ST PHILA 23= 705 23=

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JOSEPH L. CLARK
1421 FOURTEENTH STREET
HUNTSVILLE, TEXAS

Chg for

July 28, 1955

AUG 1 1955

Dear Mrs. Crate:

Referring to our phone conversation, I am glad you had an opportunity to talk with Mrs. Almeta Robinson. I wish I knew your reaction. I must have not been present when she attended the meeting of the Commission. I do not remember her. However, personally, I shall be agreeable to whatever decision is made with respect to her availability.

As I said over the phone, I do not believe good will result from referring the matter back to the Committee. At some appropriate time, if you feel so inclined, you could thank the Committee for the work it did and go on from there through another channel. Two members of the Committee, you know are on the staff of Texas Southern University, and in addition, one of them is past president of the Negro State Teachers Association and the other one is currently serving in that capacity. It would be difficult to find two Negroes in the state who understand more clearly or who are more closely identified with the affairs of Negro education in Texas, on both the college and public school levels than they are. Moreover, they are also keenly aware of the cross-currents of Negro politics in the state. Mr. McLeod, the other member of the Committee, a Sociologist, long actively identified with the affairs of the Texas Commission, is also familiar with recent developments and has wide acquaintance among both white and Negro groups. Dr. Banks has been on the front line of educational developments and racial adjustments in Texas and the South for the past twenty-five years. Any who are inclined to criticise him in these areas, in my judgment, do themselves no credit.

On the basis of these facts, and after careful consideration of all applications, and interviews with all applicants, except Dr. Edmonds who withdrew his name, the unanimous decision of the Committee was the nominate Dr. Banks, though he was not an applicant and would obligate himself for only a limited time during the critical period of the integration difficulty. Now that he has been eliminated, I feel that we have failed to make use of the services of the one person who could have been more effective than any man in the state in bringing discordant elements together and in hastening statewide integration with the least of friction. In their long and consistent loyalty to the program of the Texas Commission, Dr. Banks and Dr. Barnwell stand alone among the Negro men of the state.

Being fully aware of the more or less impotent situation at Austin, Dr. Banks would have been helpful in working out a pattern of action and in implementing the Commission's immediate purposes. He disclosed to the Committee briefly a plan which he had in mind to begin doing this. I am not arguing for a reconsideration of Dr. Bank's nomination. I omly

hope that the Commission may still have his good offices in the work that is before us.

In this letter, Mrs. Crate, I am not speaking for the Committee, but merely saying to you some of the things I should have been gladto say in explanation of the nomination had it come before the Executive Committee or the Board of Directors. Personally, I do not feel that the present leadership in the Austin office will ever rise to the demands of the present emergency, and with an Associate Director who is unfamiliar with the details of the situation, we will indeed be in an ineffective position.

I need not reassure you of my high personal esteem, and my readiness to be of any service within my power.

Cordially and sincerely yours,

Mrs. Jas. S. Crate
Houston, Texas

J. L. Clark

CC:
Dr. G.S.Mitchell

P. O. Box 59,
Hendersonville, N. C.

August 2, 1955

Mrs. M. J. Lyells,
1104 Lynch Street,
Jackson, Miss.

Dear Mrs.Lyells:

Thank you for your letter of July 29th, with enclosures. Glad the meeting came off well. I knew you were considering several applications for position of Associate Director, but did not believe you would take final action without my knowledge and approval. I note that even now, Mrs. Burt has been asked to serve only on a temporary basis. That is good. You will see my reason as you read on.

Saturday of last week I had a long visit with Marion Wright at his home in Linville Falls. We discussed the situation throughout the South, with particular reference to the role of the Southern Regional Council. We then devoted considerable time to a consideration of Mississippi. I told him of my frustrations and disappointment during the past year. Also, that I felt more than ever the need of some male professional leadership, preferably a white man of Protestant background who could cope with the forces now operating in our area. You know of course that the Citizens Councils are having a state-wide meeting in Jackson on August 16th, with U.S. Senator Eastland and Judge Tom Brady, author of "Black Monday" as their speakers. They now insist their objective is, not alone to keep the Negro out of the white school, but away from white society generally. Once the state elections are over, they will mobilize their attacks against the NAACP where the legal suits have been instituted.

By a happy co-incidence, there has just come to my attention an application for the SRC job. Mr. Paul B. Wilson is recommended to us by Dr. John H. Allen of the faculty of Mississippi Southern College. You will remember that Allen was present at our Hattiesburg meeting in the spring. In my opinion, we should consider this application seriously. Frankly, I have never gotten over my disappointment when we failed to hold on to Mr. Dickson, that Methodist minister. At any rate, it would seem to me that an interview with Wilson is in order, even if we pay travel expenses. Copy of this letter is going forward to Atlanta for their consideration

National Civil Liberties Clearing House

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ALAN BARTH

ELEANOR BONTECOU

•

Executive Director
MARY ALICE BALDINGER

FR
what say?

August 9, 1955

yes
AUG 12 1955

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

Is there any chance at all that the Southern Regional Council could pay our standard subscription price -- $25 per organization -- to help cover production and mailing costs of the Clearing House materials?

We have been sending all our stuff to a total of 12 people for the Southern Regional Council -- yourself, Frederick Routh, and Harold Flemming, plus nine others in different cities.

Naturally, we try to send our materials to as many interested people as possible, as part of the Clearing House informational program, but costs per mailing do mount up in the course of a year, and I am currently working on getting in enough subscription payments to keep us going into 1956. Whatever you can do to help will be much appreciated.

All the best,

Sincerely,

Mary Alice

Mary Alice Baldinger,
Executive Director.

MAB:ldl

INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

732 TWENTY-THIRD STREET, N.W. WASHINGTON 7, D.C.

JOHN B. GEORGE
Executive Director
E. JEFFERSON MURPHY
Director of Programs

August 11, 1955

AUG 13 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am very sorry that I have not been able to write you sooner as I promised, but I have been trying to discuss my status with various members of the board so I could give you a definite answer. I am afraid that you will have to forget me for the job and look elsewhere. As I told you, I have committed myself for at least another year with the Institute and it would be impossible to find someone to replace me in less than six months to a year.

There is strong indication also that my salary will be increased again before the year is out, and I am very enthusiastic about the Institute and our work.

I consider it a great honor that you thought of me for the job as your assistant in SRC. As you know, I have admired you and SRC for many years now and I would have been very proud to have been associated with you and the organization. I will be hoping strongly that you do find someone who will be a credit to the organization and who will help you in carrying on the very excellent work you have been doing. I will keep my eyes open for someone for the job with you but so far I have no ideas at all.

My wife and I have moved to another apartment in Washington, located at 1747 F Street N. W. Our telephone number is NAtional 8-3617. If you are ever in Washington long enough to come by and have dinner with us, or spend the night, we would be more than pleased to see you.

Thank you again for considering me for the job, and come to see us when you are in Washington.

Very sincerely yours,

E. Jefferson Murphy

E. Jefferson Murphy

EJM/rar

from 87.2

RABBI CHARLES MANTINBAND

Note to Enclosed.
I think we ought
to follow thru on
this man, in Miss
or Elsewhere — He'd
probably come South,
if his expenses
were paid.

over

Had a good
visit with Carl
Sandburg this week.
Look for his poem
on the race question
in Colliers - Sept 2
issue - it's topp

Speaking of Robbin

Back in miss
Sept 1 —

THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY
STATE COLLEGE, PENNSYLVANIA

COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE
DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS
AND RURAL SOCIOLOGY

AUG 15 1955

August 8, 1955

Rabbi Charles Mantinband
Post Office Box 59
Hendersonville
North Carolina

Dear Rabbi Mantinband:

I was very happy to receive your letter; especially since you showed so much interest.

I should like very much to talk with you, but I regret that I have no plans for going South in August. Perhaps there is some other way or time that we could get together. I shall be most happy to work out some arrangement that could be to our mutual satisfaction.

Sincerely yours,

Paul B. Wilson

Paul B. Wilson

PBW/sw

CONGREGATION B'NAI ISRAEL
P. O. BOX 1326
HATTIESBURG, MISSISSIPPI

RABBI
CHARLES MANTINBAND
808 MAMIE STREET

AUG 3 1955

P. O. Box 59
Hendersonville, N. C.

August 2, 1955

MEMO TO: George Mitchell or Fred Routh

Here are the latest developments. With all due respect to Mrs. Burt of Clarksdale, I feel we should not take on another woman as an executive, however capable she may be. When I saw Dr. William Otis, president of Alcorn A & M College in June, (this is the school that recently voted Mrs. Lyells "outstanding alumna of the year") he had some interesting things to say about the Negro leadership in our state. Otis is a very solid man, having been on the Tuskegee faculty for over twenty years and is now in Helsinki representing this country at an international conference.

Please let me hear from you. As long as Mississippi insists on keeping me in office, as president, the only way I know how to function is to deal realistically with a situation. I have spoken my piece to Fred Routh on more than one occasion.

Greetings and all good wishes.

As always,

C. Mantinband

Charles Mantinband

My Hendersonville address - all August - is

315 - 4 Av W
c/o Col Berry
Phone 3646

C
O
P
Y

THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

State College, Pennsylvania

College of Agriculture
Department of Agricultural Economics
And Rural Sociology

July 26, 1955

Rabbi Charles Mantinband
Hattiesburg, Mississippi

Dear Rabbi Mantinband:

Dr. John H. Allen of Mississippi Southern College has informed me that the position of Director of the Council on Human Relations in Mississippi is open. I am very much interested in a position on the Council and shall be available for employment in September.

I am a native Virginian, and except for my army service and my graduate work at Penn State I have lived in Virginia. I was graduated from Virginia Polytechnic Institute with a BS degree in rural sociology in 1952; from the Pennsylvania University with a M.S. in rural sociology in 1954. I have completed all requirements for the Ph.D. in rural sociology except my thesis, which I am now writing.

My graduate work has included both teaching and research. While my graduate study has pertained mostly to opinions of rural youth of Pennsylvania with special emphasis upon some factors assumed to be associated with various levels of education, I feel that the study will prove beneficial in my special field of interest, which is primarily that of race relations.

Enclosed you will find a vita sheet. I shall be glad to furnish you with a transcript of my educational record and any additional information you may require in considering my application for a position on the Council on Human Relations in Mississippi. I am available for an interview at your convenience.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) Paul B. Wilson

PBW/sw
Enclosure: VITA

COPY

VITA

I. Background

Name: Paul Brenner Wilson
Born in Isle of Wight County, Virginia, 1926
Married in 1946; one child, 7
Health; good
Religion: Protestant (Baptist)

II. Experience

A. Non-Academic:
Packer and shipper of meat, P. D. Gwaltney Co., Smithfield, Va.

Army: 1943-1945; overseas (Africa and Italy)

Room and Mail Clerk, Hamilton Hotel, Washington, D.C.

B. Academic:

Graduate assistant in rural sociology, Pennsylvania State University, 1952-55, under Dr. Roy C. Buck, Professor of Rural Sociology.
B.S., Virginia Polytechnic Institute, M.S. Penn State University.
~~Me~~
Member Alpha Kappa Delta, Rural Sociological Society, Southern Sociological Society, Pennsylvania Sociological Society.

Duties have included teaching and research, interviewing, supervising, codifying, classifying, statistical analysis.

III. References:

Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania
Dr. M. E. John, Head of Department, and Dr. Roy C. Buck, Professor of Rural Sociology

Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, Virginia
Dr. L. B. Tate, Professor of Rural Sociology

Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Wake Forest, N. C.
Dr. James E. Tull

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE CHURCHES & SOCIAL WELFARE

Cleveland, Ohio November 1-4, 1955

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Suffragan Bishop of Michigan
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The Rev. Gordon R. Olston
Executive Assistant to Bishop and Canon Missioner

Missouri

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Director, Grace Hill House, St. Louis

Newark

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Chaplain, Youth Consultation Service, New York, and Instructor in Christian Ethics, General Theological Seminary
The Rev. William H. Kirk (Canonically resident Diocese of Missouri)
Headworker, Union Settlement, New York

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Past President, National Council of Negro Women

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE CHURCHES & SOCIAL WELFARE

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West Virginia	Mrs. Victor Shaw Vice-President, Community Chests & Councils, and Secretary, Family Service Association, New York

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE CHURCHES & SOCIAL WELFARE

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Assistant Secretary, Division of Health and Welfare Services

POST WAR PLANNING

for

NEGRO VETERANS

• • •

Galloway Memorial Methodist Church

Jackson, Mississippi

November 15, 1945

THE G. I. BILL

By DR. GEORGE S. MITCHELL

The problem we are to talk about today is another one of those for which the real solution is full employment. It will not be my business to discuss full employment but rather to mention two things that can be done whatever happens on that, to make the aftermath of war a less costly experience to us all.

The first is the matter of using a reosonable proportion of Negro personnel in the many agencies that are trying to help Negro and white veterans. In the South we take it for granted that a middleclass job with pleasant working conditions is a white person's job. And I think too, it is often simply from habit and lack of thought that we have staffed with white people so many jobs that serve colored people. Typically, in the Red Cross, in Veterans Information Centers, in Emplyoment Service offices, in Veterans Administration contact offices, your waiting Negro veterans confronts a counter behind which stands a row of white officials. One of them is to interview him. The veterans will tell you privately afterwards that while the man did not actually say, "Boy, what can I do for you?" the tone was the same for politer words. We are asking those fellows who come usually out of poverty, out of wretched houses, with poor schooling, to spill the inside story of their situation to official interviewers. In how many cases can a fully helpful contact be made? The boy gets the bare essentials of information perhaps, but it stands to reason that solution of his problem needs a kind of conversation in confidence and sympathy that he will seldom get.

Most Federal agencies have gradually accustomed themselves to using a proportion of Negro personnel. Most of them know how to handle it. State and local agencies don't. And that adds to the difficulty of serving Negro veterans. If you find a place where a Negro interviewer is obviously needed and you begin to find people who can do something about it, you run into private local personages. They are sometimes hard to persuade. Here and there where Negro interviewers are being used, results are good and no complaints are heard.

The matter of Negro staff in this instance is not one of simply getting jobs for additional colored people. On these services to veterans, it is a simple matter of efficiency.

While I do not think that the question of Negro staff is a major one, I do think it is important, and I think that we should all continually urge attention to it at each point.

The second thing is vital. I have gone pretty caerfully through the benefits under federal legislation. As you know, they range all the way from a college education to a free flag from the postmaster for draping the coffin of a veteran who dies. The great benefit is education. Public attention has been fixed on high school and college training. These are to be prized, and we should all urge our schools and colleges to warp

their programs to fit the greatest possible number of the veterans, and we should urge every veteran who has a reasonable chance of succeeding at formal schooling to go back for more. Yet, after all it is a trickle only that will go back to school or college. The great mass of veterans in the Southern states will have left school with a fifth or sixth or, perhaps, an eighth grade education. If they had jobs before they went into the service, they were unskilled jobs. Now that they are back and have had a month or two at home, if left alone they will drift into common labor and stay there the rest of their lives.

The South needs skill, and the passion of the veterans is for self-improvement. By a stroke of fortune, the veterans' legisation offers an arrangement which can get scores of thousands, even hundreds of thousands, of these young men and women up into skilled or semi-skilled lines of work. It is called on-the-job training. When Congress wrote generous provisions for boys going back to school or college, it could hardly fail to provide some benefit for the boy who cannot or would not take institutional training. So it is laid down that if the boy finds a job in a private place of business—store, laboratory, filling station, factory—which is approved by the proper state authority as offering a rounded course of instructions, the boy will draw not only his learner's pay from his boss, but GI pay in addition. I shan't go into the technicalities of pay scales. Generally speaking, the deal is that the boy gets journeyman's pay while he is learning the trade. That is generous. It is tailor-made to fit our needs.

This program has some pitfalls. Precautions have to be taken to prevent its use as a means of underpayment of trainees. Precautions have to be taken to prevent businesses which cannot really teach a trade from getting men for blind-alley jobs. The accrediting agency usually takes care of these by failing to approve businesses and training programs which are designed to exploit the veteran.

If a reasonable proportion of all veterans, and of Negro veterans in particular, come out of this whole experience with a trade or a semi-skilled occupation, that in itself will send word down the grapevine that America is being fair.

It is going to take a sizable administrative and popular effort to get job training known and used. To reach every business, small and large, up and down each state, busy state and federal officials must be burdened with more business—this time about job training. We must get the veterans themselves to demand it. There will be knots to unravel in every community. I don't know any better jobs for groups such as this meeting here today than to begin unraveling these knots.

There are many things the veterans will need. Others who will talk today will explain to you what they are. I should like you to remember these two positive things you can do in your own home town.

On The Job Instruction Offered GIs

Veterans Who Left School Early Have Fine Chance

By GEORGE S. MITCHELL (Director of Veterans' Services Southern Regional Council, Inc., for ANP)

ATLANTA, Ga. — Everybody knows that the veterans coming back after this war get a good crack at high school or college education. Hardly anybody knows that the veteran who can't or won't go in for full-time education under the GI Bill can get help from it toward learning a trade while he works. This is called on-the-job training. For farmer-veterans, it is called on-the-farm training.

Managing the training end of the program is up to the states——usually the state department of education. For formal apprenticeship training, it is often the State Department of Labor. The GI pay, of course, comes through the Veterans Administration.

If a veteran wants to work and learn a trade, he has to find himself a job at a place of business which is or can be approved by the state officials for job training. The boss undertakes to teach the boy or girl the skill in question. Sometimes trade-school-training on the side is required. The boss pays learner's pay; the Veterans Administration then can give the trainee enough extra per month from the GI pay to bring the combined rate to or toward the rate for a skilled man. Veterans are beginning to take up this deal in all sorts of trades, learning to be everything from butchers to bank clerks.

For veterans who quit school early and who are ambitious to get above common labor rates, this looks like the chance.

The local regulations are important. Each veteran who wants job training will have to find out what he can get. Many men who have applied have not been able to find an employer who would take them on and teach them the skill that they want. Regulations about learner's pay are seldom tight enough. Inspection to see that the veteran is really taught the trade is seldom adequate. Still, an ambitious fellow can often with the help of job training begin to make his future look a whole lot brighter than casual common labor.

Farm training is going along slower than job training. It will offer, state by state, GI pay to veterans who will be taught in schools and on the farm the new skills that make the difference between a good living and a poor living on the land.

In most cities and towns officials in the agencies servicing veterans will tell you that not many of the men and women are coming in to ask for this kind of training. The evidence is they don't ask for it because they don't know about it. If you are interested, the way to begin is to get in touch with one or the other of the veterans' servicing agencies in your town. It may be the veteran information center, or your draft board, or USES, or the Veterans' Administration or the state veteran agency, or any of the veterans organizations.

The surest way for a veteran to build security is to learn a skill that other people will pay for. If he can get to high school, trade-school, or college, he should. If he can't, he would be smart to try his best to work out job training.

(Reprinted from Norfolk Journal & Guide, Feb. 9, 1946.

1.

Louisiana Weekly

THE LOUISIANA WEEKLY, Saturday, February 9, 1946

If Vets Don't Want School, They Can Get Job Training

By George S. Mitchell, Director of Veterans Services, Southern Regional Council, Inc., for ANP

Everybody knows that the veterans coming back after this war get a good crack at high school or college education. Hardly anybody knows that the veteran who can't or won't go in for full-time education under the GI Bill of Rights can get help from it toward learning a trade while he works. This is called on-the-job training. For farmer-veterans, it is called on-the-farm training.

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For veterans who quit school early and who are ambitious to get above common labor rates of pay, this looks like the chance.

The local regulations are important. Each veteran who wants job training will have to find out what he can get. Many men who have applied have not been able to find an employer who would take them on and teach them the skill they want. Regulations about learner's pay are seldom tight enough. Inspection to see that the veteran is really taught the trade is seldom adequate. Still, an ambitious fellow can often with the help of job training begin to make his future look a whole lot brighter than casual common labor.

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"White Trash" Is Offense in Atlanta

Atlanta, Ga., Feb. 6—Calling a person "poor white trash" is a criminal offense in Georgia, according to Judge Bond Almand of Fulton superior court.

It's not only what you say, but when and where you say it, Almand ruled in upholding a Fulton Criminal court conviction of student Curtis Clarke, accused of a misdemeanor offense for allegedly referring to a white woman passenger on a crowded street car as "poor white trash."

Interpreting the historical meaning of the term as it is commonly known in the south, the judge said.

"This court is of the opinion that the words 'poor white trash' as the meaning is commonly un-

Palmetto Leader
5-19-46
Columbia, SC

On The Job Instruction Offered GIs

VETERANS WHO LEFT SCHOOL EARLY HAVE FINE CHANCE

By George S. Mitchell (Director of Veterans Services Southern Regional Council, Inc., for ANP)

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THE WEEKLY REVIEW

If Vets Don't Want School, They Can Get Job Training

(Director of Veterans Services, Southern Regional Council, Inc. for ANP)

By GEORGE S. MITCHELL

Everybody knows that the veterans coming back after this war get a good crack at high school or college education. Hardly anybody knows that the veterans who can't or won't go in for full-time education under the GI Bill of Rights can get help from it toward learning a trade while he works. This is called on-the-job training for farmer-veterans, it is called on-the-farm training.

Managing the training end of the program is up to the states—usually the state department of education. For formal apprenticeship training, it is often the State Department of Labor. The GI pay of course, comes through the Veterans Administration.

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For veterans who quit school early and who are ambitious to get above common labor rates of pay, this looks like the chance.

The local regulations are important. Each veteran who wants job training will have to find out what he can get. Many men who have applied have not been able to find an employer who would take them on and teach them the skill they want. Regulations about learner's pay are seldom tight enough. Inspection to see that the veteran is really taught the trade is seldom adequate. Still, an ambitious fellow can often with the help of job training begin to make his future look a whole lot brighter than casual common labor.

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Vets Who Don't Want School May Get Job Training

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On-The-Job Instructions Now Being Offered GI's

Atl. Daily World
5-18-46

BY GEORGE S. MITCHELL

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Tampa Bulletin 2-9-46

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9-46

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EX-SERVICEMEN GIVEN

THE TAMPA BULLETIN SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1946

VOCATIONAL TRAINING

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By George S. Mitchell
(Director of Veterans Services, Southern Regional Council, Inc., for ANP)

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ON THE POLITICAL HORIZON

Hampton

Dewey

Lee

DID JULIUS ADAMS know whereof he spoke, when in a recent column in a New York publication, he said not to be surprised if Adam Powell called a press conference and announced his retirement from politics and not seek reelection to Congress? Is it true that Adam's health is causing him grave concern and he finds that preaching-writing-politicking is too much, even for Adam? Such a move would give Adam a graceful exit, one he could well make without tasting the displeasure of hundreds of Negro voters who had such high hopes for the "Gentleman from Harlem." He has held two high offices—the gift of the "people" and he has reached the zenith of his career—perhaps at an age too early for him to appreciate what it means. Should he retire, he can be satisfied to think back over a hectic career, when public emotion swept him to dizzy heights from which he looked down on the rest of the world. Another Alexander sighing for new worlds to conquer.

★ ★ ★

As usual, the flurry and bustle over votes for Washington came up in this Congress with much promise, but now it is "Gone With the Wind." Votes for the District has been argued in every Congress for the past fifty years, and each year it gets the same brush-off. Why? Well, approximately one-third of Washington's population is non-white. And that means that a heavy bloc of Negro votes would change many "local customs" by which some whites have grown wealthy and Negroes deprived of their rights. So it is always the threat of voting Negroes in the District that shunts the important issue aside. One of these fine days, Congress in a fit of ignorance (which it frequently experiences) is going to forget itself and pass a measure giving votes to the District. And when that happens, there will be so many changes in and around the capital, old-timers will whirl in their graves.

★ ★ ★

Dewey, Stassen, Salstonsall, Lodge, Vandenberg—WHO? It has been the policy of the Republican Party to drop any unsuccessful candidate and not give him a chance to redeem himself once he has been defeated for the office of President. Will this rule be exercised against Tom Dewey, the last presidential candidate of the GOP? Dewey's record in New York, where he has yet to win over the Negroes of Harlem, has more than favored Negroes—his legislation, his appointments all have given Negroes more than a fair break. Channing H. Tobias, former YMCA executive, stepped into the picture and threw a monkey wrench into Dewey's plans when he denounced the candidate for not doing something about the FEPC. What does Dr. Tobias think now? He is no longer with the YMCA and can speak more freely. What about the present situation in the matter of the FEPC and the folk who promised it? There has been talk that the New York anti-discrimination law does not have teeth in it. If the law was passed, teeth can be put in now. Sam Leibowitz, who rode to fame as the defender of the Scottsboro boys and whom a noted Elk leader once referred to as "next to Jesus Christ" is criticizing the bill. Leibowitz is now a New York judge. Could it be that Mr. Leibowitz would lead the fight to put teeth into the bill? Mr. Dewey deserves another chance.

Up in Minnesota, a Negro editor yells blue murder against Stassen. He got his licks in early and criticized the Governor for failing to do things when he was in power in that state.

Salstonstall of Massachusetts, a wealthy blueblood, has done a good job in the Senate where he succeeded young Henry Cabot Lodge, scion of a distinguished and wealthy New England family. Lodge is a name well known in the United States Senate.

Vandenberg is standing forth now as stronger material than he was in 1940 when his name first was mentioned, but he is eight years older now—perhaps eight years wiser too.

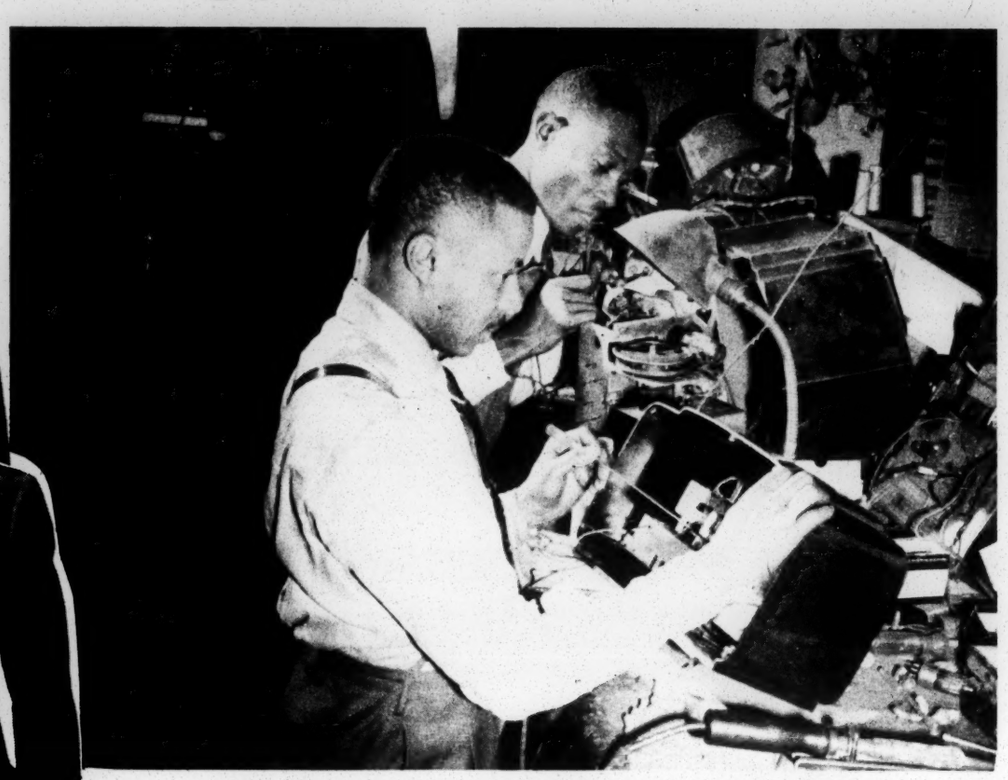
On the Democratic side of the fence, there is a yes and no proposition. Truman has been reported as saying he wants no part of another term in the White House. Leaders of groups now tell Negroes to vote principles and issues—not the party—so it is going to be an interesting campaign leading up to the 1948 presidency. And in between, the Congressional elections will pep up the drooping political parties when they get under way this November!

★ ★ ★

Indicative of the attitude of the thinking Negroes is the speech made on Sunday, March 3, by Canada Lee, a New Yorker, at the Capital Press Club dinner honoring Lionel Hampton in Washington. Canada, who has been a jockey, a prize fighter, an actor of stage, screen and radio, is a product of New York's streets—he came up the hard way without the benefit of too much formal education—Canada has been fighting his way up, up, up all the way through. Said this exponent of the new Negro, "We are tired of hearing a lot of babble about what I am going to do. We heard that from our loud-mouthed Congressman before election, but what has he done since? Not a single Negro newspaperman admitted to the Congressional Press galleries. What is he going to do about this?" Yep, New Yorkers want to know, and they are not going to be satisfied with pointing fingers at Rankin. Again, "Mene, mene, tarkel upharsen." And the preachers among us know what it menas, "Thou hast been weighed in the balance and found wanting."

GSM wrote it

Apr, 1946



• Learning radio and electric appliance repair at Sam Jackson's Radio Shop, James D. Elliott (front), and Montes Hill. Elliott was a corporal in the Army, Hill a private.

Veteran in Search of a Peacetime Future

By DR. GEORGE S. MITCHELL
Director of Veterans' Services
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

MANY VETERANS ARE MISSING out on their best way to benefit from the GI Bill of Rights. Everybody knows that under the GI Bill you can get help toward a college education or toward a high school diploma. A lot of veterans do not know, that they can also get help in learning a skilled or semi-skilled trade.

GI Benefits

Much more needs to be done to get all of the veterans who can, to finish high school or go on to college. But millions of veterans did not finish grammar school and are not interested in full-time education ,even with GI pay. The GI Bill benefit for these men is job training, or where they can get it, apprenticeship training.

How It Operates

The GI Bill leaves it to the states to plan the educational program for veterans. Job training is education. So the states are arranging for job training, usually through their Departments of Education. Thus job training differs from state to state, but the broad outlines are the same.

The veteran wants to earn as he learns. He must find an employer who will employ him and will agree to teach him and pay him at a learner's rate. The place where he goes to work must be approved by the right state agency. The employer has to arrange this approval. When he is taken on by an approved employer, he applies to the nearest office of the Veterans' Administration for a certificate which will start his GI pay. The GI allowance is drawn on, to raise the total pay to or near the rate for a man who already has the skill the veteran is learning.

Pay-Rate Relations

The rate of pay from the employer is subject to the approval of state officials. At the veteran's skill increases it should go up. Whereas the supplement from GI allowance will go down, but the total will usually hold at approximately the rate of a fully trained worker. For instance, if in a given town the going rate for a body and fender repairman is a dollar and a quarter an hour, a veteran who is learning this skill with an approved firm would draw, say, sixty cents an hour from his employer and as much of his GI allowance as would bring him up to total monthly pay at a rate of a dollar and a quarter an hour.

• Busy at the buzz-saw, making sandwich trays, is Willie Leon, Atlanta, who is learning the cabinet-maker's trade in Alexander's Craft Shop. A former private in the Army, with 33 months service.
Photographs Courtesy Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Job Training Skills

Job-training can be arranged for all sorts of skills. Each state has lists of business firms already approved. They include many kinds of metal work, automobile repair, printing shops, sign painting, shoe repairing, electric motor mechanics, upholstery, meat cutters, electric linemen, salesmen, policemen, bank clerks; indeed, they cover almost any job that takes months or years to learn. The length of time the veteran can draw GI pay depends on the length of time usually needed to learn the skill he wants and the length of time he is entitled to GI pay. If the veteran has a service-connected disability, the Veterans' Administration will often make special efforts to get him job training.

On-the-Farm Training

This kind of training-while-he-works is becoming available state by state for farming. Contracts to cover on-the-farm training are being worked out now between the States and the eVterans' Administration. The Veterans' Administration pays the States for their part of the teaching, so much per month per person, who elect on-the-farm training. Generally speaking, on-the-farm training will be open to farm owners, tenants, croppers, or hired hands. The farmer promises to teach the veteran. Also, the veteran will get a minimum number of hours a year of teaching in vocational agriculture at the nearest suitable school and teaching visits to him at the farm by trained people. In some states this is already available through the Smith-Hughes vocational agriculture teachers.

Things to Watch

There are some things to watch about job training and on-the-farm training. Rates of pay to the veteran by his employer are often not standardized and are open to abuse. Too little checking is done to see that the veteran is really taught the skill he seeks. Furthermore, many veterans who want job training have a hard time finding an approved employer who will take them on. And of course, nobody guarantees that after the veteran learns a trade, he can or will get a job that will use what he knows.

A More Assured Income and Future

Many veterans either have never had a job or have had only unskilled blind-alley jobs. These men want to get into better-paying jobs which have a future. They don't know enough now, to hold down the kind of job they want. Job training offers the chance to make the jump from common labor rates to the kind of income on which they can plan for homes and families.

It is up to the individual veteran to go after job training. The thing to do is ask about it at the nearest Veterans' Information Center, or at the draft board, or the United States Employment Service or any contact office of the Veterans' Administration. So far, few of those who could benefit by job training are asking for it. It's available, and it's worth pushing to get.

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QUAKER CITY CLEANERS, 819 12th Street, N. E.
QUAKER CITY CLEANERS, 1618 9th Street, N. W.
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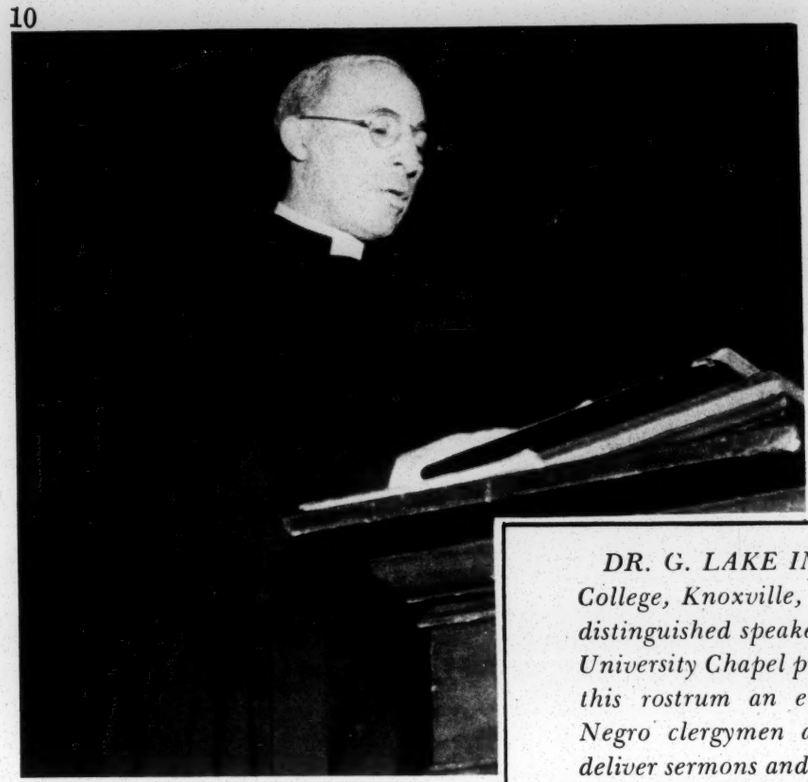
MIMEOGRAPHING
GENERAL SECRETARIAL SERVICE
1011 YOU STREET, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
MIchigan 2080
M. E. HARVEY, Mgr.



The Andrew Rankin Memorial Chapel Howard University

DR. G. LAKE IMES, President of Knoxville College, Knoxville, Tenn., is one of the several distinguished speakers appearing on the Howard University Chapel program during the year. From this rostrum an equal number of white and Negro clergymen and educators, each Sunday, deliver sermons and addresses, the equal of which are rarely duplicated by the average pulpit.

Among the Chapel Speakers during the 1945-1946 period were—Rev. William E. Carrington, School of Religion, Howard University; Dr. Thomas W. Graham, Oberlin College; Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, President, Howard University; Dr. John H. Johnson, St. Martin's Episcopal Church, New York City, and Dr. John W. Darr, Wesleyan University. **Photos by Fletcher**

RELIGION IN ACTION SERIES, No. 1

"THANK GOD for colleges where race relations is a practical every-day experience. Lived every day and thus the Sunday service is but the epitome of this activity." Thus spoke the Rev. G. Lake Imes, President, Knoxville College, Tennessee, on Race Relations Sunday from the rostrum of the Howard University Chapel.

Addressing an audience of students, faculty members, and a group of persons who regularly worship in the Chapel, Dr. Imes' opening remarks carefully delineated the program of the Chapel, conducted under the skillful guidance of the Acting Dean of the Chapel, the Rev. Melvin H. Watson.

Religion today is taking a forward step in a practical translation of its concepts and program into every-day life activities. Particularly in the area of racial understandings, the church is more forthright in the position and more practical in its actions than is sometimes realized.

Thus it is significant that the Andrew Rankin Memorial Chapel is one of the outstanding examples of "Religion in Action." While the primary

DEAN WARNER LAWSON, directing the Choir. Pictured is one section of the Choir, alert to his delicate handling of a difficult passage. Cosmopolitan in its makeup, students are represented from many States. Left to right are: Doris Brown of Chicago; Inola Burns, Tulsa, Okla.; Marion Schultz, Springfield, Ill.; Phyllis Simons, Washington, D. C.; Mildred Thomas, Wisconsin, and Doris Williams, of Washington, D. C.

Nea[illegible]

[illegible]O IN [illegible] ECONOMY

[illegible]al Problem, [illegible]ourt-Brace),

[illegible]S. Mitchell

[illegible]ans Services, [illegible]onal Council

ONE OF [illegible]ORY'S dramas being enacted all around us is the growth of Negro America from the status of laborers and farm hands to the many-sided abilities of participants in the modern economy. The war speeded this process. How, and within what limits and against what obstacles, is the [illegible] of Dr. Robert Weav[illegible]

Though the fir[illegible] the lesson that [illegible] er would be [illegible] glow and [illegible] time what [illegible] fore. In [illegible] color bar bent a little; in shipbuilding and ordnance, a good deal; but many months after Pearl Harbor we had no consistent pattern for tying into the war effort the great reserve of Negro industrial labor.

State and Federal Governments, long accustomed to complaisance in matters of Negro trade education, muffed their chance to teach ahead of time the skills that would be needed.

As the labor market tightened between 1940 and 1944, Negroes did make their way into war work. In four years over a million Negroes entered civilian jobs. The number of those holding skilled jobs doubled. The changes were spotty, with Northern and Western cities showing the greatest growth in Negro employment, but a number of [illegible] boom cities changed [illegible]erns perceptibly. [illegible] goes most carefully [illegible] in selected industri[illegible] shipbuilding, and [illegible]sportation, to bring out [illegible] roles of management, [illegible]ized labor, and government [illegible] or hindering Negro p[illegible]

As to [illegible] conclusion is that [illegible]ion, careful planning [illegible] administration can [illegible] industrial practices [illegible]orking people [illegible], get th[illegible]ighest [illegible]

[illegible]ains for [illegible] con[illegible] they [illegible]

The industries [illegible] use of Negro [illegible] ly not the in[illegible] expand in [illegible] trade education [illegible]petent public and private administration in the field of employment will be needed if America is to enable ambition and ability to find reward in opportunity for all its citizens.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Southern PACKET

A Monthly Review of Southern Books and Ideas
Edited by George Myers Stephens.* Published in *Asheville

Volume IV JANUARY, 1948 Number 1

CONTRIBUTIONS *by the Negro writer—both in literary and scholarly works—make a survey timely in a journal of Southern books and ideas.* THE PACKET *is fortunate in securing such a student of the field as Dr. Gloster, head of the Communications Center of the Department of Language and Literature at Hampton Institute. His book,* NEGRO VOICES IN AMERICAN FICTION, *is being published in March by the University of North Carolina Press.* —THE EDITORS

The Negro Writer and the Southern Scene

By Hugh M. Gloster

FROM the early years of Negro authorship in the United States, colored writers have given engrossing attention to the Southern scene. This preoccupation has been inevitable, because the South is the region in which most American Negroes have sought to realize our national dream of freedom and equality.

The pioneer literary efforts of Negroes were chiefly refutations of the concept that the natural and proper status of the black man is that of a slave. One of the first Negro writers to strike a blow for freedom was George Moses Horton, a North Carolina slave whose white friends promoted the publication in Raleigh of *The Hope of Liberty* (1829), which was expected to realize sufficient profit to purchase the author's freedom and passage to Liberia. In "On Liberty and Slavery," a poem in this volume, Horton protests against his chattel status:

Alas! and am I born for this,
  To wear this slavish chain?
Deprived of all created bliss,
  Through hardship, toil, and pain!

The dissatisfaction with bondage and

yearning for freedom expressed by Horton became major emphases of antebellum Southern Negro writers, some of whom eventually participated in the Abolitionist movement. Representative publications illustrating these dominant themes are David Walker's *Appeal* (1829), an antislavery tract; William Wells Brown's *Clotel* (1853), a novel; Frederick Douglass's *My Bondage and My Freedom* (1855), an autobiography; and Frances E. W. Harper's *Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects* (1854).

Although the Civil War brought the Emancipation Proclamation and enfranchising legislation, Negroes did not actually gain the rights accorded them by law. The treatment of Negroes in literature frequently paralleled their treatment in life. Popular writers like Thomas Nelson Page idealized the plantation as a state of blessed happiness and described ex-slaves as wretched misfits pining for the good old days "befo' de war." Going a step further, Thomas Dixon, eulogizer of the Ku Klux Klan, portrayed freedmen as swaggering brutes daring to insult white people and wishing to dominate the South.

Booker T. Washington, the most influential Negro leader from 1895 to 1915, forgave abuses, accepted segregation, and eschewed political agitation. Furthermore, Paul Laurence Dunbar and several other postbellum Negro authors usually avoided the ugly and tragic phases of racial experience by imitating the Page patterns or the accepted romantic traditions. The majority, however, defended the Negro, described his difficulties, and asserted his right to democracy. For example, Charles W. Chesnutt, a skillful fiction writer who perpetuated plantation sentimentalities in *The Conjure Woman* (1899), stressed the consequences of prejudice in a volume of short stories, *The Wife of His Youth* (1899), and in three novels, *The House Behind the Cedars* (1900), *The Marrow of Tradition* (1901), and *The Colonel's Dream* (1905). Between 1900 and World War I, a long list of Negro authors followed Chesnutt in focusing upon injustice. By exaggerating the merits and palliating the failings of Negroes, some of these pro-Negro spokesmen were as guilty of tedium and distortion as Page and Dixon. Nevertheless, they told a side of the story that the traducers of their race did not reveal.

After World War I, colored writers flocked to Harlem, Mecca of the Negro Renascence of the 1920's. Because national interest in black Manhattan attained fad proportions during this period, many authors stressed exotic and primitive aspects of jazz-mad Harlem in order to cash in on the unprecedented popularity of their race and community. Despite the Harlem vogue, the most important publication of the Renascence period was Jean Toomer's *Cane* (1923), a frank treatment of Dixie Land by a Southerner who abandons squeamishness and prejudice in the handling of interracial complications. Renascence novels that deal with the South include Walter White's *The Fire in the Flint* (1924), a protest against lynching; Arna Bontemps' *God Sends Sunday* (1931), a story of a pleasure-seeking jockey; and George Schuyler's *Black No More* (1931), a rollicking satire disclosing the fantastic results of a discovery which could turn Negroes white. Renascence poetry, which reveals increased independence and self-revelation, also reflects interest in jazz and the blues. The verse of Langston Hughes and Sterling Brown contains authentic recording of Southern Negro folk experience.

The stock market crash of 1929 and the subsequent depression ended the Harlem craze, and Negro writers again directed major attention to the South. Largely because of the spread of proletarianism and liberalism, Negro authors tended to become increasingly candid and

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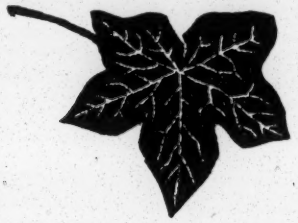


realistic in treating racial subject matter. The principal fictional transcripts of the South during the 1930's were Bontemps' *Black Thunder* (1936), an account of the abortive Virginia slave insurrection under Gabriel Prosser in 1800; Hughes' *The Ways of White Folks* (1934), an expose of unpleasant aspects of black-white relationships; and Richard Wright's *Uncle Tom's Children* (1938), a graphic presentation of the hardships of the downtrodden masses of the Mississippi delta. Fictional portrayal of Negroes close to the Southern soil was also done by Zora Neale Hurston, George Wylie Henderson, George W. Lee, and Mercedes Gilbert. In *These Low Grounds* (1937) and *O Canaan!* (1939) Waters Turpin wrote family chronicle with Eastern Shore Maryland and rural Mississippi, respectively, as initial backgrounds. The poetry of the period by Frank Marshall Davis, M. B. Tolson, Robert Hayden, David Wadsworth Cannon, and Margaret Walker exhibits developing capacity for self-criticism.

The years during and since World War II have witnessed further leveling of racial barriers that impede the Negro writer. Perhaps the most noteworthy recent development is illustrated in Georgia-born Frank Yerby's *The Foxes of Harrow* (1946) and *The Vixens* (1947), best-sellers which focus upon white characters in nineteenth-century Louisiana and were published without reference to the race of the author. These two novels signalize the release of the Negro writer from restrictively racial subject matter and his growing power to treat competently not only the various aspects of Negro experience but also the broader life of this country and the world.

Most Negro professional writers make New York City their headquarters. Within recent years, however, centers of literary activity have developed in Washington, Atlanta, Nashville, Hampton, and other college communities. This movement, which is providing a good opportunity for idea exchange and teacher inspiration, is exemplified at Howard University, where Alain Locke and Sterling Brown are stimulating professors, and at Atlanta University, where Langston Hughes is encouraging interest in creative authorship. The progress of these cultural centers is being accelerated by the disposition of Southern publishers, particularly the University of North Carolina Press, to print deserving contributions from Negroes, and by the inclination of many white writers to accept Negro authors as full-fledged colleagues on the Southern literary scene.

In view of current trends, we may reasonably anticipate that in tomorrow's South both white and Negro writers will honestly portray the experience of the region, interpret racial difficulties in universal terms, and provide a comprehensive representation of life.

Early Alabama Imprints

EARLY ALABAMA PUBLICATIONS: A STUDY IN LITERARY INTERESTS. By Rhoda Coleman Ellison. University of Alabama Press, 1947. x11, 212 pp. $4.00.

Reviewed by PHILENA A. DICKEY

THIS ADDITION TO THE GROWING LIST of books and articles on the history and development of printing in the South is the result of careful research by a well qualified native of Alabama. Under the heading literary interests reflected in newspapers; periodicals; books and pamphlets, she contributes a valuable link in the South's history of the printed word under pioneer conditions.

In addition to the descriptive matter contained in the book there is a valuable bibliography which, taken together with her previous publication, noted before in the *Southern Packet, Checklist of Alabama Imprints, 1807-1870,* in which the locations of files of Alabama publications are noted give the reference librarian and historical student valuable aid in many fields.

Miss Dickey is head of the Sondley Reference Library in Asheville.

Handbook on the Negro

NEGRO YEAR BOOK, 1947. Edited by Jessie Parkhurst Guzman. Department of Records and Research, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. 708 pp. Price $4.50.

Reviewed by GEORGE S. MITCHELL

PERIODICALLY DURING THE LAST THIRTY-five years Tuskegee Institute has set out in a reference volume the progress of the Negro people in America. The nine earlier books recorded the rungs of Jacob's ladder, those long passed and those to which hands were just reaching. The older volumes, and this new one, came from a remarkable office at Tuskegee, where every item about the Negro's growth found its due file. Mr. Monroe Work as director and editor was until his death in 1945 a people's historian.

This latest volume covers the period from 1938 through 1946. With a new staff, it does a new job. It describes the Negro's status as a citizen of the world. For the United States it runs through the population figures, gives the facts on education and religion, on jobs and farming, on the intricate interrelationship with white people in government, in law, in housing, in the war effort, and carries further the old theme of Negro progress into new fields. Among these it treats particularly Negro achievement in the arts and sciences. A goodish third of the book is left for a rich review of Negro life in modern Africa, in Europe, and in the West Indies.

Statistics galore, but readable ones; a Who's Who for many important names hard to find elsewhere; a directory of organizations; and at the end, a remarkable annotated bibliography with around a thousand entries; plus a thorough index.

When read straight through, it's no small part of an education by itself. And because of the interest its contributors evidently found in writing, it flows readily into the reader's mind almost anywhere it is opened.

Dr. Mitchell is executive director of the Southern Regional Council, with headquarters in Atlanta.

Mississippi Social History

THE NEGRO IN MISSISSIPPI, 1865-1890. By Vernon Lane Wharton. The University of North Carolina Press, 1947, pp. xi, 298, $3.00.

Reviewed by A. A. TAYLOR

THE NEGRO IN MISSISSIPPI, 1865-1890, is a valuable contribution to the historical literature of the period. It is a realistic consideration of the interactions of social forces which have determined for decades the character of important bi-racial relationships in the State of Mississippi.

It depicts the slavery background of Mississippi Negroes and traces their course "from slavery to caste as a method of social control." During the transition the Negroes' increasing population achieved legal freedom, citizenship and the rights to vote and to hold office. For a brief period, they functioned as voters and office-holders. Then, abandoned by political sponsors, they were excluded "from the polls by intimidation, by fraud, by legal complexities, and finally by constitutional trickery."

Meanwhile they suffered from ignorance, congestion, poverty and economic exploitation,—the last resulting, to some extent, from the conditions of State prisons and the convict lease system. Too often, they were victims of recurrent outbursts of violence, particularly during the chaotic period immediately following the Civil War and also during "the years of unpopular military and Republican government . . ."

Nevertheless, the blacks demonstrated their worth as free laborers, and made definite, if slow, advances in the spheres of economic opportunity, education, religion and social life. They produced, moreover, four or five able, intelligent and honest political leaders.

"By 1890," as a result of developments,

"almost all white men in Mississippi agreed that the Negro was in his place, and that, at all costs, he should be kept there." But there were then irrefutable evidences reflected by the nature of some bi-racial contacts that the race problem in Mississippi had not been solved.

The documentation of the monograph shows excellent and extensive use of both primary sources and secondary works. The discourse is adequately objective, affording, at the same time, logical interpretation of material so admirably presented. The work should be valuable for both the student and the general public.

Dr. Taylor, author of *The Negro in South Carolina During the Reconstruction, The Negro in Tennessee 1865-1880, The Negro in the Reconstruction of Virginia,* and contributor to historical and sociological journals, is professor of history and dean of the college at Fisk University.

Poetry Books of 1947

POEMS OF THOMAS LOMAX HUNTER. The Dietz Printing Company, Richmond, Va. 1946. 147 pp. $2.50.

TIP SAMS AGAIN. A selection of poems by Cotton Noe. University of Kentucky Press, Lexington. 1947. 225 pp. $3.00.

RESTLESS WILDERNESS. By Helen Martha Wilson. The Book Mart (21 *Wall Street, Asheville*). 1947. 40 pp. $2.00.

Reviewed by RICHARD WALSER

THOUGH SOUTHERN POETRY HAS BEEN known to step into and out of the various movements of English and American verse from time to time, the fact remains that the mainstream has followed the traditional patterns popular since the 1860's. Except for a sporadic deviation like that of the Tennessee agrarians, romantic trends have prevailed in spite of a few lusty iconoclasts. The three volumes listed at the head of this review do not interrupt the romantic tradition.

Hunter's book is a collection of poems written during the course of a long life. Though there is little of the modern mood in the volume, it must be admitted that the traditional forms are treated with ease and, occasionally, excellence. Hunter has a natural gift for the humorous which he seldom employs. Most of the poems are on the usual concerns of love, nature, and people—all viewed with a kindly benevolence. One is not surprised to find frequent sonnets and rondeaus from Hunter's pen; he will be amazed, however, at some forty *ballades,* forms requiring versatility and patience. The *ballade* is used for a variety of subjects, from the most serious to the ludicrous. The tinge of old Virginia is evident throughout.

Cotton Noe has selected verses from among his recent poems and from seven of his already published works, and we are led to believe that the ones chosen are those by which he wishes to be remembered. The entire book has a glow of reminiscence and reflection, of people and friends recalled with pleasure and pride, of old-time occurrences and conditions recollected with warmth and feeling. Noe does not disavow his regionalism; his characters are Kentuckians, the "humble folk," as Noe calls them. They have such names as Thin Britches Dick, Wagoner Joe, Umbrella Jim, Junebug Johnny, and Fiddling Mose; and if the verses which relate their oddities are somewhat prosodically uneven, so are these Kentuckians somewhat eccentric. In spite of their abhorrence of labor to gain money, they possess a high degree of integrity and American individualism.

Helen Martha Wilson's small volume is composed mostly of passionate love lyrics, taking the reader from fulfillment to abject loneliness and frustration. The sonnets, characterized by an almost embarrassing frankness, are lush and sensuous; but withal they are composed by one with a feeling for words and imagery, for the sly turn which surprises and delights. Miss Wilson is a young Georgian now living in Asheville. We should like to see her verses written in a more unruffled temper.

Mr. Walser is assistant professor of English at North Carolina State College, Raleigh. He is editor of the anthology published in January at Chapel Hill entitled *North Carolina in the Short Story.*

With Perry in Japan

A SCIENTIST WITH PERRY IN JAPAN: THE JOURNAL OF DR. JAMES MORROW. Edited by Allan B. Cole. University of North Carolina Press. 1947. 307 pp. $4.00.

Reviewed by MILLARD WARD

THIS IS AN AGREEABLY WRITTEN ACcount of the experiences of a young South Carolinian on the expedition under Commodore Matthew C. Perry which opened Japan to intercourse with other nations. The report was meant to be included in the official narrative which the Commodore published in 1856, but for some reason did not reach him in time, and has remained almost unknown until its appearance now, ably edited and in attractive format, from Chapel Hill.

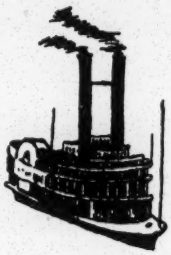
Although educated as a physician, Dr. Morrow was familiar with plantation life, and he joined the expedition as an agriculturist. His duty was to exchange a fairly extensive collection of seeds, food plants, and farm implements of the United States for similar specimens from the Orient, especially the all but unknown country of Japan. That he performed it conscientiously and successfully is clear from the matter-of-fact, day-to-day entries in his journal.

The account, having been written as a report to the Navy and State Departments, contains no literary flourishes or high coloring, yet is perceptive, human, and steadily interesting.

The illustrations, little explained in the text, are all obviously contemporary with it, and may be supposed to be the work of the artist and the daguerreotypist who officially accompanied the expedition. They are clear and full of informative detail.

The editor, Mr. Allan Cole, has added an introduction and notes to clarify any obscure references in a narrative so well done by its author that it needed little actual editing.

Mr. Ward is a free lance writer whose adventure story, *Rebel Guns and Yankee Guts,* in the January issue of *Argosy,* is laid in Japanese waters during the American Civil War.



On Seas of Thought

VOYAGES AND CARGOES. By Carroll Mason Sparrow. University of Virginia Studies: Volume Three. The Dietz Press, Richmond, Virginia. 1947. 246 pp. $3.00.

Reviewed by WILLIAM S. WEEDON

TO THOSE WHO KNEW CARROLL MASON Sparrow as "a mind forever Voyaging through strange seas of Thought alone," this slender volume awakens memories of a unique and vivid personality and of an intellect whose insight and shrewd penetration were apparent in the most trivial daily routines. To his students and former associates, it brings once again, with a breath-taking clarity, the fresh inspiration and ready wit of a man whose breadth of interest and wealth of understanding are scarce to be found in our age of specialized enquiry.

To those to whom the privilege of such acquaintance was denied, this book will provide an intellectual stimulus which is rarely to be discovered in any mere collection of essays by one man. Like the writings of W. K. Clifford (which Professor Sparrow much admired), this is no mere storehouse of odd musings and miscellaneous facts; it is a vigorous example of the "speculative" faculty, refined by wide reading and rigorous mathematical training, at work upon a variety of human concerns. His own statement, that "Not in wonders but in the wondering mind is the real romance," has seldom been more perfectly illustrated, since Hellenic times, than in this collections of essays.

Dr. Weedon is in the Corcoran School of Philosophy at the University of Virginia.

Louisiana Poet-Priest

CHAHTA-IMA: The Life of Adrien-Emmanuel Rouquette. By Dagmar Renshaw LeBreton. Louisiana State University Press. 1947. 442 pp. $4.00.

Reviewed by GEORGE E. SIMMONS

PERHAPS TOO LITTLE ATTENTION HAS been paid in the United States to American authors who have written in a Continental language. Mrs. LeBreton brings forth one whose contributions have remained relatively obscure, because they were mostly in French, and claims for him a notable place among this country's men of letters. He is Adrien Rouquette, poet-priest of Louisiana, who distinguished himself as a missionary among the Choctaw Indians.

She has a two-fold purpose in this full-length portrait of Chahta-Ima, the Choctaw-like priest: "That of contributing a chapter to the story of American civilization and at the same time initiating the rehabilitation of Louisiana nineteenth-century French writers." She depicts him as a profound patriot who, in "L'Antoniade," holds that religion and patriotism are inseparable, and that prayer and contemplation are the "highest patriotic action." In establishing the hermitage-chapels in the Choctaw-inhabited forests he sought "in the wood the truth about men, the truth about things." Mrs. LeBreton writes appreciatively of his only two published volumes of lyrical poetry, *Les Savanes* and *Wild Flowers,* particularly the former, in which "L'Arbre des Chactas" tends to "dwarf the other poems among which it stands as the tree itself dominated and obliterated the landscape."

This thoroughly documented work includes material from manuscript collections which is now published for the first time. Evidently the study was done painstakingly and with a devoted but not always uncritical attitude toward the subject. The result is a life-like picture of a man who, whatever his rank among American writers, was an interesting, significant and admirable person.

Mr. Simmons is head of the journalism department of Tulane University.

Recent Southern Titles

BIOGRAPHY

MORE POST BIOGRAPHIES. Edited by John E. Drewry. University of Georgia Press. 1947. 392 pp. $3.50. Reprint of short sketches from the Saturday Evening Post.

DRAMA

DAWN IN CAROLINA. *By Frances Guignard Gibbes* (Mrs. Oscar L. Keith). The State Commercial Printing Co., Columbia, S. C. 1946. 128 pp. $2.00. A poetic play about the S. C. Huguenots of colonial times.

ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY

LAW AND CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS: HOUSING. *School of Law.* Duke University Press. 1947. 205 pp. Paper. $1.00.

EDUCATION

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS. Edited by Edgar W. Knight and Agatha Boyd Adams. University of North Carolina Press. 1946. 461 pp. $4.00.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHATTANOOGA — 60 Years. *Gilbert E. Govan* and *James W. Livingood.* University of Chattanooga. 1947. 271 pp. $3.00. A history.

HISTORY

REVOLUTION BEFORE BREAKFAST. *By Ruth and Leonard Greenup.* University of North Carolina Press. 1947. 266 pp. $4.00. The Peron government in Argentina.

LITERATURE

ON THE COMPOSITION OF PARADISE LOST. *By Allan H. Gilbert,* University of North Carolina Press. 1947. 185 pp. $3.50. A scholar's analysis based largely on context.

NEGRO

THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES: A BIBLIOGRAPHY. *By Paul B. Foreman and Mozell C. Hill.* Bulletin of the Oklahoma A. & M. College, Stillwater. Feb. 1947. Books, monographs, pamphlets, and primary periodical references. A select reference and minimum college library resources list.

PHILOSOPHY

ST. AUGUSTINE'S DE LIBERO ARBITRIO VOLUNTATIS. *By Carroll Mason Sparrow.* Dietz Press. 1947. 149 pp. $3.00. A translation of the famous dissertation on free will.

POETRY

BARS FROM BILIBID PRISON. *By Charles Brown.* Naylor Press. 1947. 129 pp. $2.75. Poetry connected with the Japanese Philippine occupation.

SOUTHERN STATES

ARKANSAS. *By John Gould Fletcher.* Univerversity of North Carolina Press. 1947. 421 pp. $5.00. A descriptive history of the state.

SAM MCGOO AND TEXAS, TOO. *By Paul Patterson.* Mathis, Van Nort & Co. Dallas 1, Texas. 183 pp. $2.00. Exploits of colorful Sam McGoo and his friends, in best Texas cowboy style.

STRANGE CUSTOMS OF THE OZARK HILLBILLY. *By G. H. Pipes.* Hobson Press. 1947. 44 pp. Paper. $1.00. Sketches of the backwoods society.

The LITERARY LIFE

By GENEVIEVE AND GEORGE F. SCHEER

The Civil War seems to hold an endless enchantment for readers of all ages everywhere. Currently the Number One best-seller is a Civil War novel. One of the most popular non-fiction works is concerned with the face of R. E. Lee, and another, with the multitude of skirmishes, battles, and marches of both armies in the long struggle.

Now the Confederate Navy is catching the imagination of authors. Last fall *Gallant Rebel,* fictionalized biography by STANLEY F. HORN of the skipper of the raiding ship, *Shenandoah,* made a swashbuckling appearance. Another treatment of the *Shenandoah* and her thrilling odyssey will appear in a novel by HOUSTON BRANCH and FRANK WATERS scheduled for spring by Farrar, Strauss. Called *Diamond Head,* it tells the story of the *Shenandoah* through the exploits of a hero who makes his way north from Richmond, goes to England, and eventually reaches the Pacific. At about the same time that *Diamond Head* is released, *Rebel Raider,* edited by H. A. GOSNELL, will be launched from Chapel Hill. It is the story of the ship *Sumter,* told in the words of her fighting, writing commander, Raphael Semmes; editor Gosnell has stripped Semmes' out-of-print autobiography of dated, extraneous political material to reveal a fast-moving, high-spirited sea story.

Spring, then, will find the ghosts of the Confederate fleet a-sail again in many an armchair throughout the land.

* * *

A hero of Confederate cavalry, Wade Hampton, is described by his biographer, MANLEY WADE WELLMAN, in terms which author Wellman admits are lyrical: ". . . a man who killed bears with a hunting knife and could lift their 400-pound carcasses across his saddle—who with seven followers chased 68 Yankees pellmell out of Fayetteville . . . who saw his beloved son shot dead before his eyes and wiped away tears to fight on and drive back superior numbers of the enemy . . . who owned 3,000 slaves in 1861 and could command a decisive vote of Freed Negroes when he campaigned successfully for governor of South Carolina in 1876 . . ." Mr. Wellman sends out an SOS for any manuscript or anecdotal material which might round out his ten years of study of a planter turned officer who became a great conciliator of Reconstruction.

Oasis in the Bozart

The Southern states, characterized by H. L. Mencken in the 20's as "The Sahara of the Bozart" have more subscribers than New England, according to a recent circulation report of *The Saturday Review of Literature,* the principal national weekly devoting itself primarily to reviewing books. The figures by states are as follows:

New England		Southern States	
Maine	443	Virginia	1,567
New Hampshire	353	West Virginia	440
Vermont	298	North Carolina	878
Massachusetts	4,472	South Carolina	361
Rhode Island	510	Georgia	620
Connecticut	2,261	Florida	904
		Kentucky	619
Total	8,337	Tennessee	632
		Alabama	511
		Mississippi	275
		Arkansas	244
		Louisiana	502
		Texas	1,807
		Total	9,360

A comparison by the standard geographical divisions which would exclude the Mississippi Valley states and Texas but includes Delaware (177), Maryland (1,263) and District of Columbia (2,463) makes the South Atlantic total 8,673.

A Sincere Invitation

to share in Southern books and ideas each month as a *Packet* subscriber comes to you with this complimentary copy.

The 1947 BOOKLIST SUPPLEMENT *included free while the supply lasts.*

$1 per year; three years $2

Address 48 Walnut St., Asheville, N. C.

A Survey of Veterans Services For Negroes in Florida

By Wesley R. Brazier

Field Representative, Veterans Services Division
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

OF FLORIDA'S nearly 2,000,000 people, 27 percent are Negroes. Of the 250,000 who went into the armed forces in World War II about 51,000 were Negroes. All but a few thousand of both races are back now, as veterans.

This survey concentrates on the Negro veterans, and reviews the services available to them in Florida in the fields of claims, employment and education.

Service Agencies

The major agency is the Veterans Administration. It has two regional offices in the State. The one at Pass-a-grille covers the area from St. Petersburg North and the Miami office covers South Florida. Field offices open for everyday contacts with the veterans are located at Jacksonville, Tallahassee, Tampa, Orlando, St. Petersburg, Ocala, Daytona Beach, Gainesville, Pensacola, Sarasota, Ft. Myers, Marianna, Palm Beach, West Palm Beach, Panama City, Key West, Martin and Sanford. In these offices veterans do business directly with the government about claims, medical care and a long list of miscellaneous services arising out of their legal status as veterans.

The Federal machinery on these matters is supplemented by what is done by the State and the counties. Florida set up in 1945 a State Service Office governed by a State Veterans Commission. The Commission is a policy body of seven veterans appointed by the Governor. The State Service Office maintains a home unit at Tallahassee and a principal administrative officer stationed in the Veterans Administration building at Pass-a-grille. It has also Assistant State Service Officers covering five districts for white veterans and four districts for Negro veterans. For the four Negro districts Negro staff is used. All of the State Service Officers are paid entirely from State Funds. Additionally, under the Florida legislation, each of the 67 counties may appoint and pay one or more county service officers. Fifty-seven counties have such officers. Five of the counties have part time service officers and the other five have no such officers. Four of the counties employ Negro service officers.

Both the State and county service officers are engaged in answering inquiries as to the veterans' rights and needs and in pushing along the paper work involved in claims and services from the Veterans Administration and other agencies. Apparently the staff working under the State Veterans Commission is without direct authority over the county service officers, although in practice it exerts some coordinating pressure.

Finding a job is of course mainly done through private channels. Probably 90 percent of the hirings in Florida, as elsewhere, take place without the intermediacy of the Employment Service. Since November 1946, this has been a State-operated agency subordinate to the Florida Industrial Commission. Veterans are entitled to special attention from the Veterans Employment Service which, while working within offices of the State Employment Service, retains a direct Federal link with the U.S.E.S.

Employment

Employment has held up well throughout Florida and neither civilians, nor veterans, are besieging the Employment Service for jobs of any kind at any price. Placements of veterans in January totaled 4,662. The Florida Employment Service publishes no figures as to the placement of veterans by race. Neither does the agency furnish figures as to a breakdown of professional, managerial, clerical, sales, skilled, unskilled and laborers for all placements by race.

Claims for unemployment compensation including those of veterans for readjustment allowance (available to them for 52 weeks at $20.00 a week) are processed by the Employment Service and paid by the Unemployment Compensation Division. The peak of payments of readjustment allowance to veterans in Florida was reached in September 1946, when 23,651 veterans drew this money, and 3,972 were receiving the self-employment supplement. Under the law those receiving the readjustment allowance were getting it because jobs suitable to their abilities had not been found. By February 1947, the number drawing readjustment allowance had gone down to 19,450.

The Unemployment Compensation Division does not publish readjustment allowance figures on a race breakdown, so it is impossible to say officially what

percentage of those unemployed were Negroes. Private estimates place the figure at roughly a fourth of the 19,450 who drew the readjustment allowance in February 1947.

Florida Employment Service provides Negro-staffed sub-offices at Jacksonville and Miami. The sub-office in Miami has a staff of nine Negroes including the Negro manager. For the month of January this sub-office had 1,834 referrals and placed 1,376 of whom 333 were veterans. The white office for the same month had 3,551 referrals and placed 1,761. The total number of individuals serviced by the Negro office was 6,029 of whom 1,564 were veterans. In January, only 93 Negro veterans were drawing the readjustment allowance through this office.

The Jacksonville sub-office has a staff of three whites and six Negroes. Latterly it has been servicing 4,000 people a month, of whom a third are veterans. The percentage of Negro veterans drawing the readjustment allowance through the Jacksonville sub-office is markedly higher than in Miami. Local officials explain this in terms of the greater difficulty in Jacksonville of finding jobs which use the Negro veterans' highest skill.

Education

The GI educational benefit, while largely financed through the Veterans Administration, is supervised for the State by the Florida Department of Education. All types of educational training for which veterans may receive subsistence from the Veterans Administration, is supervised for the (in case of institutional training) may be paid likewise by VA must be approved by the State Department of Education.

Training at colleges is proceeding for something over 1,200 Negro veterans and about 10,000 white veterans. The Florida Agriculture and Mechanical College at Tallahassee is the only State-supported institution of higher learning for Negroes. It has about 550 Negro veterans enrolled. Three privately maintained Negro colleges (Bethune-Cookman at Daytona Beach, Florida Normal at St. Augustine and Edward Waters at Jacksonville) have all the rest. Of the 1,200 enrolled at these four colleges more than 575 are taking work below college level, mostly vocational training.

The Veterans Administration has put unusual effort into college training for Negro veterans in Florida. It partly supports a Negro-staffed guidance center at Bethune-Cookman college, and has stationed five Negro assistant training officers at three Negro colleges. These officials provide contact for student veterans and supervise the payment of the subsistence allowances.

Florida shares the backwardness of other Southern States in provisions for full-time vocational education. The total number of white veterans enrolled at such schools was not obtainable. For Negro veterans it is about 450. Some 11 strictly vocational training schools are available for white veterans, while Negro veterans may get this training at Jacksonville, Tampa and Miami aside from the above named colleges. Florida also offers a Diversified Cooperative Training Program, which provides vocational training to white veterans in 27 ordinary high schools and to Negro veterans in five ordinary high schools.

Job Training

The GI Bill of Rights opens for veterans a broad opportunity for training on the job. Employers who are willing to teach skilled or semi-skilled operation to veterans and can get approved for this purpose by the State Department of Education may take them on at the regular rates for learners, and the veterans so employed will have their actual earnings supplemented from GI subsistence pay. The combined payment cannot exceed the standard rate for men who know the particular trade being learned, and VA has an overall ceiling on the total earnings. As employers raise their pay to match partially acquired skills the subsistence diminishes accordingly. The program is founded on the belief that as the veterans of this war were away in the service for just those years when they would have been learning civilian skills they are entitled to government help to enable them to carry their present day responsibilities while they get the skills they want.

The crux of on-the-job training is the willingness of the employers to take the men on and teach them well. It is therefore a program which varies greatly as between communities and as between States. To date, the Florida Department of Education has approved some 10,000 training establishments. The number of trainees per establishment averages about two. Thus, the total number receiving on-the-job training in Florida is somewhere around 20,000.

Negro veterans have a lot of difficulty in getting on-the-job training. Many employers are reluctant to alter established race patterns in their plants or businesses and white workers are often jealous. It is no remedy to say that Negro veterans should find work with Negro business, for although Negro business is developing rapidly in Florida it cannot provide places for more than a small fraction of the Negro veterans. In these circumstances the placement of Negro veterans in on-the-job training obviously calls for special knowledge and keen interest on the part of officials in the several agencies—principally the Veterans Ad-

ministration, the Employment Service and the State Department of Education. These agencies print no figures that will tell the tale. Negro veterans are about 24 percent of all the veterans in Florida. No person informed about on-the-job training in Florida supposes that Negro veterans have more than 5 percent of the on-the-job training places in the State.

In the month of January the Florida Institute of Occupational Training and the Veterans Administration entered into an agreement whereby veterans will be given related training courses for on-the-job training. The Institute was set up under the State Department of Education to assist veterans and others who do not attend regular schools in the State. The Institute will prepare and conduct courses of study in line with the experience of trainees. Supplementing the work of the Institute will be the Florida public schools systems with coordinators employed for this purpose and under the supervision of the State Director of Veterans Education. The Veterans Administration will pay tuition-money for related instruction and necessary student supplies.

Negro veterans face the possibility of being largely left out of the related training program due to the hardship they face in getting on-the-job training.

Under this program the veterans will be required to put in two hours twice a week in classroom work. To justify such classes the Veterans Administration and the State Department of Education have fixed a minimum for the number of veterans attending and the hours put in by both instructor and students. A veteran will not be required to take the related training if he is getting adequate training where he works.

In cases where supplementary classroom work is needed the employer will be expected to make arrangements for the veterans to take related training.

Farm Training

On-the-farm training offers tantalizing opportunities in Florida. While the State moved into the program rather slowly, it has pushed it well in recent months. Some 4,200 veterans are now enrolled for it in Florida. Georgia and Alabama, each with over four times the farm population of Florida, have only about twice as many on-the-farm trainees.

Negroes make up 26 percent of Florida's farm population, but only about seven percent of the Florida veterans getting on-the-farm training are colored.

The program has been best developed in the general farming country in Northern and North Central Florida. It is available for limited numbers in most of the South and West Florida counties.

On-the-farm training offers classroom and field instruction by vocational agriculture teachers. The number of teachers has of course had to be increased greatly to provide a teacher for each 20 students. The tuition-money paid the State by the Veterans Administration for this instruction covers the salary of a teacher at about $350 a month. The veterans themselves run their places in accordance with approved farm plans, and the classroom teaching is geared into their farm work. Subsistence is paid the veteran at the usual rates of $65 for men without dependents and $90 for those with dependents.

In most Southern states where a large part of the Negro farm population is composed of farm laborers and sharecroppers, Negro veterans have had difficulty in getting on-the-farm training because under its standard arrangement the men must either own or have leases on good full-time farms. Sometimes a sharecropper can surprisingly turn up overnight with a lease which makes him a tenant eligible for the program; but usually such men cannot meet the requirements. The program theoretically includes the possibility of instruction in some specialized agricultural skill under a good farmer. Thus its officials can approve training situations for landless men wishing to become skilled in some special branch of farming.

Florida has, comparatively speaking, far more specialized opportunities in agriculture than are to be found in any of the other Southern states. It has also a considerable group of farm laborers tied to no particular piece of land and ready to work anywhere. It would appear therefore that Florida has an unusual chance with the development of this second part of the on-the-farm training program to train for needed skills considerable numbers of veterans including Negro veterans.

In point of fact, training courses for Negro farm veterans are to be found in only a dozen counties, only one or two of which are in the areas where the citrus and truck crops offer unusual skills.

It is also true that all but a few of the nineteen Negro vocational agriculture teachers working in this program have been permitted to teach only ten veterans each. This arrangement has the effect of reducing the salary level of the Negro teachers to around $200 a month. Some do a little better by teaching 12 or 13 students. This also has the effect of reducing the number of Negro veterans who can take part in the program.

Veterans Organizations

Most Southern states are capitalizing on the part being played by various national and local veteran organiza-

tions in reaching veterans who otherwise would be left out of the program. Florida is no exception with its American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, American Veterans Committee and the Disabled American Veterans organizations.

The American Legion in Florida has the largest membership of both white and Negro veterans—more than 30,000. Recent changes in Legion policy made it possible for Negro veterans to become members. To do so, the Legion combined all the newly-established Negro posts into a separate set-up known as the 11th district. Prior to the 1946 state convention which passed resolutions to accept Negro veterans, there was in Florida a Colored War Veterans Organization with a membership of more than 5,000. Most of these veterans are now members of the American Legion.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars also let down the barriers to Negro veterans. The membership of the organization is more than 25,000. The number of Negro veterans and posts could not be given officially but it was estimated that more than 200 Negro veterans in Florida are members of the VFW.

The American Veterans Committee does not follow the non-discrimination policy established by the national organization. In two principal cities in Florida there are separate chapters for white and Negro veterans. These chapters have an understanding whereby they will come together at a called meeting to discuss problems of mutual interest. It was estimated that there are approximately 500 white veterans and less than 100 Negro veterans in the seven AVC chapters in the State.

The Disabled American Veterans with three Negro chapters in the State and a little better than 75 members complete the number of national veteran organizations available to Negro veterans in the State.

Negro veterans have been rather slow in affiliating themselves with veteran organizations. Several veterans contacted stated that they didn't know of a national organization in their community available to them. Others felt that since they hadn't been contacted by one of the organizations they were not wanted as members.

Recommendations

1. The Veterans Administration should employ a reasonable proportion of Negro professional and clerical workers in its two regional offices, contact offices and units.

2. The Veterans Administration should set up in densely Negro populated sections additional contact offices having Negro personnel. Attached to some of these offices should be guidance centers where veterans under Public Laws 16 and 346 can be processed.

3. The Governor should appoint at least one Negro veteran to the State Veterans' Commission.

4. The State Service Office should be given the necessary power and funds to extend its services over the cities and counties. Such a step would assure veterans in lagging counties of being serviced.

5. Facilities in the three Negro vocational trade schools should be expanded to take many more veterans. Additional well equipped vocational trade schools should be set up to accommodate the thousands of veterans who otherwise will fail to use their educational benefits.

6. The successful experience with Negro personnel in the two Employment Service offices serving Negroes at Miami and Jacksonville would appear to add justification to the use of Negro personnel elsewhere in the Florida Employment Service and particularly at Tampa where a separate office servicing Negroes is staffed by whites.

7. The State Department of Education should employ a full time official whose duty it would be to locate establishments willing to train the thousands of Negro veterans desirous of on-the-job training.

8. Officials in charge of on-the-farm training should allow Negro agriculture teachers to train the maximum number of veterans as is being done by white agriculture teachers.

9. The on-the-farm training program should be made available to Negro veterans in more than the 12 counties where Negroes now are getting it. For veterans who do not own or cannot rent land emphasis should be placed on training for some specialized branch of farm work.

10. The state supported college for Negroes although doing a fine job in squeezing in more than 1450 students of which 550 are veterans is unable to take care of the 800 or more veterans who were turned away because of limited training facilities. These men should be provided with the schooling they want.

11. The various leading veteran organizations should employ a full time organizer to interest Negro veterans in becoming affiliated with some veterans' organization.

12. The Employment Service, the Veterans Administration, the State Department of Education and other agencies dealing with veterans should provide themselves with records showing the degree to which their services are reaching Negro veterans.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Ave., Atlanta 3, Ga.
April, 1947

SERVICES TO NEGRO VETERANS IN THE SOUTH

The thirteen Southern states will shortly have some 600,000 Negro veterans of World War II. They are the cream of our young Negro manhood. They are healthy; they have schooling, experience, travel, and a foundation of skill. In a few years time they will be the active leaders of the Negroes in the South. They are ambitious, mature, and reserved. They are mostly determined that early in their lives they will have the normal rights of other Americans to work, to vote, to enjoy themselves.

The next two, three, or four years are the ones in which this body of leaders -to-be will be setting their opinions. If the S outh and the Nation gives them a break, they will repay it with a full measure of responsible, orderly, civic ambition which has characterized Southern Negro leadership in the past. If they are disowned and neglected, as all too generally they are being disowned and neglected in the South today, we shall have built needlessly and extra barrier of bitterness, suspicion, and stunted ambition, the effect of which will be felt in the South for a full generation.

It is an old habit in the South when effort is asked of us to plead, "We are too poor; we are too backward; we cannot do this extra thing that is asked." On this matter of veterans, poverty has little relevance. The Federal Government stands ready to pay nearly all the freight.

The great benefit is education and training. The argument behind this benefit is that when the war took the men away it took them for just those years when most of them would have been in college or high school or learning a trade or getting started at farming for themselves. This gap Government now enables veterans to fill. For one or two years, or even longer, they are entitled to generous benefits while going to school or college or learning a trade or learning to farm too.

The other great benefit is preference for jobs. All branches and all levels of Government offer this preference. Public employment agencies boast a special service in placing veterans. Private employers, so far as I can hear, have seldom been criticised for any shortcoming in giving jobs to veterans first. Fortunately, we are still in a post-war boom that offers in most places an abundance of employment. Negroes are under the usual difficulties in getting desirable jobs and that will be discussed later.

The South has special reasons why we need to scrape from the educational benefits allowed to the veterans every possible gain. We are plunging ahead in industry. That alone calls for remaking of our habits and institutions for education. At the same time our agriculture is about to undergo

an incr se in mechanization which conservative officials think will cut from under them jobs of a million or a million and a half Southern farm breadwinners in the course of the next eight or ten years.

To meet these two great changes we have an ill-adpted educational system. Federal aid to education is called for immediately to apportion fairly the cost of schooling for Southern children. Public and private education at the college level for white Southerners is nothing to boast of, and for Negro Southerners it is far worse. But most of all we need a widespread network of good technical and trade schools. We have only the beginnings of this for white and next to nothing for Negroes.

It is here that the educational benefit for veterans fits in. Only a trickle of the veterans, Negro or white, will go into college, though as everyone knows both white and Negro colleges are already full to overflowing all over the country. It is a still smaller trickle of the Negro veterans who are going into regular high school, but scores of thousands of Negro veterans are asking for trade or technical training. The same is true of course in a greater number for the white veterans. Town after town in the South is suddenly finding itself in need of a building, teachers, and equipment for trade training in auto mechanics, cabinetmaking, brickmasonry, sheetmenal work, shoe repair, drafting, radio and electronics. Present facilities are overflowing. Inadequate equipment is being moved into bad space, and barely competent teachers are being hired to start new trade classes for veterans. This is going on in country towns as well as in cities. The veterans do not want regular highschooling; they want trade training. The reasons may be connected with reluctance to go back into classrooms filled with youngsters, or with the feeling that as they have lost years from their lives, they had best now take the shortest course to better earnings. And I am sure this is the case with many of the Negro veterans who are anxious to complete a skill they began to learn in the armed forces. This insistent demand for trade training by veterans is certain to force into being all over the South new technical schools and classes. Presumably the veterans will be through using them in another three or four years, but by then industry's call for men with technical training and agriculturess release of a million hoehands will provide students aplenty.

The present situation for Negroes is not encouraging either on the score of employment or education.

On employment, jobs are aplenty but at low pay and in unattractive work. In town after town it is being found that Negro veterans are being offered old line Negro jobs at twelve, fifteen, eighteen or twenty-odd dollars a week. A large proportion of the men can show private or army experience at work better than common labor, and they are therefore entitled to draw the twenty dollars a week readjustment allowance for fifty-two weeks. This is "rocking chair money". In some Southern places it is charged that officials of the employment service have refused to recognize claims of Negro veterans

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to higher skills, and on the offer of a ditchdigging or portering job have removed the men from the Fifty-two Twenty Club. Use of the twenty dollar a week benefit at this time is very widespread. The men argue that the benefit is there to enable them to wait for an opening at their highest skill, and that they would be foolish to work at a poor job for less than or little more than the twenty dollars a week they can draw for loafing. Occasionally a canny man takes what job he can find, and says he is saving his readjustment benefit for harder times. Many officials in charge of educational or training programs will tell you frankly that they cannot get Negro veterans interested in these programs in large numbers as long as the twenty dollar benefit is still being drawn. These officials say they are waiting until the men have used up their fifty-two weeks. Then education and training will be sought.

Often this is an excuse for inaction. Other communities have demonstrated that if officials go ahead and offer training and educational benefits that are worthwhile, these opportunities will be crowded. Likewise, no tales are told of Negro veterans refusing better type and wellpaid jobs in order to continue to loaf on the rocking chair.

Negroes face other discrimination in employment from prejudice in general, from prejudice specifically applied in apprenticeship training, and from inefficient and prejudiced administration in local offices of the employment service. In addition, large areas of the agricultural South simply do not afford more than a very few jobs for whites or for colored in the new lines of work that the men want to follow.

Prejudice in general is only slightly modified by the fact that the Negroes asking for better type jobs are veterans. Some gain there is. Men are making their way into trades and shops they couldn't get into before because they are veterans. Once employed they are usually liked and they usually stay. In my observation the gain that is significant here is in comparatively new lines of work where patterns are not set. Small shops with one, two, or three employees are frequently better about using Negro veterans than big industries where racial lines are settled. The service and repair businesses are nearly everywhere affording the best field for these men.

Denial of entrance to formal apprenticeship for Negro veterans in the South is a scandal in itself. Practically speaking, the only opportunities are in those cases where strong Negro locals of craft unions exist. That generally means carpenters, plasterers, or brickmasons. A few Negro veteran apprentices can be found in such cities as Memphis, New Orleans, and Augusta. Even in those cities white veteran apprentices outnumber Negro veteran apprentices by fifty or a hundred to one. Generally, over the South Negro veterans are simply not being accepted as apprentices in electrical work, sheetmetal work, plumbing, machinists work, the building trades or other established crafts. Administrative responsibility here is divided between State Apprenticeship Training Councils legislatively established, and the Federal Apprenticeship Training Service. Neither the State Councils nor the Federal Service

will provide any figures as to Negro apprentices.

The various offices of the United States Employment Service handle matters of Negro employment in various ways. There are two patterns, both involving segregation. The usual one is either a separate building or a separate part of the main building to which special place Negroes having business with the employment service go. It will be staffed with white receptionists, white clerks and white interviewers. In some cities in Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia and one or two other states, the special office for Negroes is staffed with Negroes. This arrangement is everywhere statisfactory to the white officials, is considered a gain by the Negro community, and appears to be giving good service to Negro users of the office. Certainly many Negro veterans required to transact business with all-white officials are dissatisfied with the service they get.

Generally, the head officials of local USES offices will tell you that they are careful to make no distinction in race on referrals and that notices of skilled vacancies are sent to both the Negro office and the white office. Some officials will contend that qualified Negroes are regularly sent out for interview at places where skilled vacancies are known. Subordinate officials and Negro candidates for employment will give you another story. The best offices, from the point of view of finding good employment for Negroes, are undoubtedly those that use Negro officials.

It is my observation that the employment service has a lot to learn in simple matters of housekeeping. Far too many of the segregated Negro offices are in space that is inadequate or dingy or dirty. This is usually in considerable contrast to the space for white, but even that is often not much to brag about. In many Southern offices it will be found that the white quarters abound in notices of high-type jobs urgently needing to be filled. On the Negro side such notices are seldom posted and often there is not even a place for posting. The white side will have seats aplenty. The Negro side will have seats for a few. The rest stand in the room or in the hall or out by the garbage cans. White entrances are on main streets; I have found many Negro entrances from back alleys. Often the official address of the employment service used in Information Center and other directories will be the white office. A Negro who doesn't know by the grapevine where to go will suffer delay and embarrasment by appearing at the white office and being directed around to the back.

The matter of housekeeping and the important matter of fair use of Negro personnel in the office could and should still be handled while the USES is a Federal agency. If and when it is returned to the States, continuing effort will be needed to correct these abuses.

The program of GI educational benefits is not in particular good order for many veterans. It is in far from satisfactory order for the Negro veteran.

Available institutional training is almost everywhere overcrowded. In the late spring of this year a committee at Tuskegee wired out to Negro colleges and schools to get the figures. Twenty-two Negro colleges reported an enrollment of 4,235 veterans; 3,451 veterans have been denied enrollment because of lack of facilities; only 682 because of inadequate training of the veterans themselves. 304 secondary schools report an enrollment of 1,264 Negro veterans, refusal of 1,452 others because of lack of facilities or lack of previous education. A ll but seven of the 304 schools said they did not have adequate practical industrial facilities to take care of the needs and desires of the returning veteran.

For formal academic training the possibility is that Southern colleges, white and Negro, can find ways to carry their loads. It will take expansion in plant and staff, but usually the resources can be found. On trade and technical education, although the white institutions are few and seldom good, they are sufficiently scattered to make it possible for a number of white veterans to get institutional trade training at or comparatively near their home towns. In most of the Southern states Negro veterans have a choice of only one, or possibly two, trade training schools. These will usually be at a distance, and now they are overcrowded. It is everywhere a complain that on sixty-five dollars a month, it is not easy to live away from home. I estimate that 28,000 Negro veterans are now receiving institutional training in twelve Southern states; the corresponding estimate for white veterans is 129,000.

Signs begin to appear of widespread local effort to get Negro trade training courses going. Many such courses are started to fulfill the law and enable receipt by city school systems of tuition money from veterans in training. Such manual training courses masquerading as trade training need, and doubtless in the future will get, tight inspection and rapid improvement. Despite these new courses, and they are still comparatively few and crowded, Negro veterans in the mass are not now able to get institutional trade training in the South.

Job training has its woes, but it has promises too. All over the South this program has been loosely and inadequately serviced by the state agencies that have it in charge. Many of the complaints about abuse both in rates of pay and in quality of training are true. This applies to white and Negro veterans alike. The State set the program up in haste and afforded incredibly small amounts of money for supervision and follow-up. Now that respectable loads of job trainees have been built up, the States realize that they have a bear by the tail. Some of them are begging the Federal Government for funds with which to supervise; some are finding the money by executive action. Some are hoping that the VA will do the job for them.

Whatever be the faults in general, the program has great possibilities and is particularly advantageous for Negro veterans. Most of these men have little schooling, and cannot be induced to go into institutional training. Negro veterans who find places as job trainees are a selected group. They stick on their jobs. They are there under the employer's agreement to teach them a

trade. I for one am willing to blink at the first few months of confusion in administration while these men enjoy this additional access to the better classes of work, and I do not think complaints of abuse as to the teaching of skills applies to more than at most one-fourth of the men. As to wages, I doubt if abuse is any more widespread there. In both these matters improved administration is sure to be forthcoming.

On-the-job training is by a good deal the most helpful offer to Negro veterans. It is still hard to open in many towns. This is partly because Negro veterans are still not asking for it as widely as they might, and also because as the administration of the program has been almost everywhere an exclusively white affair, on-the-job training opportunities for Negroes are simply not being sought with the diligence that would be shown if Negro officials were widely used in the program. In town after town it has been shown that where a committee of leading citizens, Negro or Negro and white, works at the problem, a large number of additional job training opportunities for Negro veterans can be found. With the rarest exceptions your white official concerned with job training will accept as refusal an employer's indication of reluctance to use Negroes. Negro officials know their way through rebuffs of this kind.

Here again statistics are lacking. Thus far in my own experience the officials of principal offices of the Veterans Administration throughout the South have refused to give any figures as to proportion of Certificates of Entitlement for on-the-job training issued to white and Negro veterans respectively. I have found no State educational agencies that would quote figures as to job trainees broken down by race. The Federal Government and the State Governments need this information as an indication of how well they are reaching Negro veterans with this basic program. So long as they refuse to give the figures, interested members of the public can only guess. My guess I make on the basis of fresh field reports from veterans traveling throughout the South in close touch with this program. On the basis of what they tell me, I would say that the total number of veterans getting the job training benefit in one form or another in twelve Southern states is 102,200, and the total number of Negroes included in this group is 7,700, whites are 94,500. Negro veterans are about one-third of all Southern veterans. Today they have less than one-twelfth of the places as job trainees.

On-the-farm training likewise offers great possibilities although the program has got off to a slow start. Negro veterans are at a disadvantage in getting the benefit of it, because for administrative reasons it has generally been limited to full owners and tenants, and a large proportion of Negro rural veterans come from families that are not land owners or renters, but are rather sharecroppers or laborers. The various State contracts with the Veterans Administration now provide the possibility of on-the-farm training for landless men, but so far the problem of a cropper or a laborer getting on-the-farm training is like the problem of getting the camel through the eye of a needle. It does happen that in this extremely decentralized program, local county officials can contrive arrangements that will answer this need, but that

is the exception. In actual numbers, perhaps 3,500 Southern Negro veterans are getting on-the-farm training; whites are about 24,200.

Here are certain recommendations for improvement of Services to Negro veterans in the South:

(1) Sharp expansion of facilities for college-level academic education. In this connection North Carolina's new plan is of great interest.

(2) The founding and concerted supervision of a widespread network of good trade and technical training schools.

(3) Improvement of the work of the Employment Service through a wider use of Negro personnel, fair referral practices, and modern standards of administrative housekeeping.

(4) The habits of the Veterans Administration in its Southern offices as to use of Negro personnel are in direct denial of standing executive orders that should control the entire Federal Government. At the very least, the Veterans Administration should promptly employ large numbers of Negro contact officers and training officers. Also, the office of each deputy administrator and each regional director should immediately take on a Negro assistant.

(5) The various State Veterans Servicing Agencies are almost without exception lily-white outfits. Further, most of them have special links with existing old-line veterans organizarions, and many local offices serve informally as recruiting places for veterans organizations. State Veterans Servicing Agencies perform a valuable function. Generally, I think in the South their local offices are willing to be helpful within limits to Negro veterans. Their work would be greatly improved as it affects Negro veterans by the employment of a fair proportion of Negro officials.

(6) Job training needs more money for supervision. On any past showing of the Veterans Administration there is little grounds for supposing that if this program were directly supervised by the VA, Negroes would be treated with much more fairness than under State administration. Whoever handles it should use adequate numbers of Negro officials. Also, it needs more related instruction. Inevitably, in its operation it becomes to some extent an engine of recruitment for new training opportunities. Thus far this job has been fairly well done for white veterans and scarcely done at all for Negro veterans. The task of recruiting training opportunities should be formalized.

That task will not be well done in the South unless Negroes are given an opportunity to put their abilities and ingenuity and loyalty into it.

(7) On-the-farm training needs speeding up, needs to be offered far more widely than it is at present and needs to be opened to much greater numbers of landless farm veterans than are getting it at present.

(8) Negro veterans need much more self-organization than has yet appeared among them. Only two or three new national veterans organizations have shown an interest in them. If the old-line organizations will open themselves to the Negro veterans on a basis that will seem fair and genuine to these men, that is quite possibly the best gain. Evidence points to progressive loosening up of the old-line organizations, but in many States and cities the World War II veterans are by no means satisfied as to the appeal of these organizations. As to what national group veterans would be best advised to join, I do not offer an opinion. It is easy to see, however, that they gain quickly from almost any form of self-organization. This gives them a body of representative negotiators, and in the present situation of veterans services in the South, these agents of Negro veterans outfits are getting substantial improvement in administration right and left.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia
July, 1946

23- Mitchell, G. S. - "Sweet Water Tree"

Race Relations Sunday Service

At

Mt. Zion Methodist Church

5 Glebe Street

February 8, 1948, at 4:00 P. M.

MR. JOHN HARRIS, CHAIRMAN

PROGRAM

Hymn ---------- Congregation

Invocation ---------- Rev. Frank P. Anderson

"God So Loved the World" (Stainer) -- Avery ArCapella Choir

Scripture Lesson ---------- Rev. B. F. Sumpter

Memorial, Dr. C. S. Ledbetter ---------- Bishop J. E. Kearney

Offertory, "Swing Low Sweet Chariot" - "Great Day"
(Spirituals) ---------- Avery ArCapella Choir

Introducing Speaker ---------- Mr. John F. Potts

Address ---------- Dr. George Sinclair Mitchell

Benediction ---------- Rev. B. F. Sumpter

LIFT EVERY VOICE AND SING

Lift ev-ry voice and sing, Till earth and heaven ring,
Ring with the harmonies of Liberty;
Let our rejoicing rise, High at the list-ning skies,
Let it resound loud as the rolling sea—
Sing a song full of the faith that the dark past has taught us
Sing a song full of the hope that the present has brought us;
Facing the rising sun of our new day begun,
Let us march on till victory—is won.

—2—

Stony the road we trod, Bitter the chast-ning rod,
Felt in the days when hope unborn had died,
Yet with a steady beat, Have not our weary feet,
Come to the place for which our fathers sighed?
We have come over a way that with tears has been watered,
We have come, treading our path thro' the blood of the slaughtered,
Out from the gloomy past, Till now we stand at last,
When the white gleam of our bright star is cast.

—3—

God of our weary years, God of our silent tears,
Thou who has brought us thus far on—the day,
Thou who hast by Thy might, Led us into the light.
Keep us forever in the path we pray—
Lest our feet stray from the places, our God, where we met Thee,
Lest our hearts drunk with the wine of the world
We forget Thee.
Shadowed beneath Thy hand, may we forever stand,
True to our God, true to our Native Land.

COPY

February 18, ~~1950~~ 1948

Mr. Robert McC. Figg
Broad Street
Charleston, South Carolina

My dear Mr. Figg:

I had occasion to be in Charleston some days ago and Mrs. Albert Simons and I discussed the various issues raised by Mr. Truman's message on civil rights and by the earlier Report of the Committee on Civil Rights. Mrs. Simons suggested that I write you, giving in summary the views of the Southern Regional Council on this critical matter.

First, as to the Council. Its nature and purposes are set forth in the enclosed leaflet.

We have studied with care the Report of the President's Committee. In planning for a Conference on Civil Rights in Atlanta on February 27, we have prepared the enclosed digest of the Report. The whole matter, of course, lies close to the heart of our concern for the well-being of the South.

As the controversy mounted in the days just before the recent Tallahassee meeting of the Southern Governors' Conference, we tried to take a long view. The more we discussed it, the plainer became what appeared to us the right answer. The obtaining in the South of a greatly improved respect for popular civil rights must be largely an administrative problem, most critical at the local level. I do not see how a mainly Federal machinery for protection of civil rights could succeed in an atmosphere of hostility and bitterness. If a job is to be done in reality and not merely on paper, it must be done with responsible good will on the part of Southern officials and with the loyal cooperation of a very large part of the population of the Southern States.

In following that, we came to see that the controversy could be shifted from dissension into the constructive task of building fundamental civil rights if exceedingly responsible voices could be heard from the South undertaking to apply the administrative energies of the South to strengthening the basic rights of the people of the region.

After a hasty consultation of leading figures of the Council, we wired each of the Southern Governors present at the Tallahassee meeting as follows:

"Surely the statesmanlike thing for the South to do in the civil rights controversy is to declare an honest intention to provide speedily the fundamental civil rights which the nation and the world expect from us. These include protection from physical violence, the right to citizenship (including service on juries), equality of opportunity in education, health, housing and travel, and persistent efforts to get fair play in private employment. Should also include access to state and local administrative employment in at least the degree of fairness shown in this regard by Southern offices of Federal Agencies. If the Governors speak responsibly to this effect, the nation will gladly let the South implement these rights itself. More, the nation will help with funds. That way lies sound progress, the other nothing but bitterness. We of all peoples understand the lesson of history on this sort of thing. Responsible citizenship can do no less than this."

Governor Thurmond courteously acknowledged the wire three or four days ago.

In my own observation in the States of the upper South over the last two or three decades, the tradition has become pretty well established that the office of Governor carries with it an extra-constitutional role as protector of the rights of the Negro population. The Council has hoped that this tradition could find extension generally over the South. It has, of course, appeared in every Southern state from time to time, and Governor Thurmond has on several occasions, as we know, acted and spoken courageously in that spirit.

The action of the Tallahassee Conference of Governors in postponing decision on the civil rights controversy for forty days gives opportunity for the governors to take a constructive stand and thus to begin the unfolding in the South of a positive program of this kind.

I do not have the honor of your acquaintance, but I trust in Mrs. Simons' judgment that this whole matter will be of interest to you. I know that integrity and moral purpose are deep in South Carolina. Her influence and her leadership in an undertaking of this kind would be far-reaching for the good of the whole South.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures

File: "Some Wrote" May - '48

Mitchell, G.S.

I never like to launch into a Southern problem without having history in mind. My father taught history for many years, and read deeply in Southern history. He is fond of summing it up by saying that the three great driving ideas of the Nineteenth Century were liberty, democracy, and industry. Early in the century, the South set its face against all three. For liberty, we chose slavery; for democracy, we chose rule by a planter aristocracy; as against industrialization, we deliberately exalted agriculture. So we lost the better part of a hundred years. Our strains and trials today are a part of the effort to bring ourselves abreast of the progress the rest of the country has made.

Once, as we all know, our country divided on an issue of liberty. In separate sections opinion formed into two extremes. Statesmanlike compromises were proposed, and hardly heard. We went on to war. Who now will doubt that all of the United States would have been a richer and basically a freer country if a small proportion of the cost of war had gone into ending slavery by purchase and emancipation?

Out of the wreckage of war came finally a compromise. The South went back to work, within a legal framework of freedom, but with very many of the traditions and discriminations of a slave-society living on. Freedom, and education, and industrialization, and modern agriculture have in the course of

time brought a large part of the population of the South into the modern society. Still the region as a whole clings to a system of segregation, enforcing it in travel, in housing, in religious life, and in education.

The discriminations traditional in the South are more and more resented in the rest of the country, and in the rest of the world. Much opinion within the South is already prepared for long forward steps in lessenning discrimination and segregation. I take it that all of that one-third of the Southern people who are Negroes are united in their desire for gains of this kind. So are many white people. Yet the evidence is scanty that the great body of white opinion in the South is prepared to assist speedy transition to a situation in which segregation would be removed.

In such an impasse it is the job of a democratic people to find agreement. No one should look for agreement which will end all disagreement. Progress comes from the continuous assertion of the needs of disadvantaged groups. No compromise will be satisfactory to the more ardent supporters of each side of the argument, and no compromise on these issues should last far into the future.

With that as background, I take up some possible bases of agreement in this matter of regional education.

First. Observe that as to higher education for Negroes, the South already has in operation what amounts to a partial system of regional universities. Private philanthropy, in the main, has already built a network of four or five great Negro universities, which draw their students from all over the South. This arrangement has been moderately assisted in recent years by the growth of out-of-state aid from public funds. I was handed the other day in Florida a bulletin describing out-of-state aid there. In the regular school year 1946-1947 thirty-five Negro students received Florida funds for attendance at institutions outside the state. For summer study in 1947 an additional 214 were thus aided. The sums were small, running from $142.00 up to $470.00. They were calculated to equalize the cost of attending out-of-state colleges at which the wanted courses were available with the cost of attending Florida institutions at which the courses were not available to Negroes. Many of the students thus aided chose the larger Southern institutions for Negroes; more, I think, used the money to get training in New York or Michigan or wherever else in the country they could gain admittance for the work they wanted. I don't know the figures for other states, but I think that, with one or two exceptions, all Southern states now make allowance for out-of-state aid. The net result is to advantage these Southern Negro students with work at very high-grade institutions.

Second. Regional universities would be a boon to white education. I could name Southern State universities which are now struggling to contrive graduate and professional training in subjects in which with anything like present resources they cannot do a serviceable job. At the same time, it is likely that across their borders another State's university will have perfected a course of training which is of good standing. Surely it is wrong to try to present within each State the whole rainbow-range of professional studies which are now needed for the further progress of the region. Regional support would give the faculties, the libraries and other facilities needed for the South to do first-rate work at one, two, or three places within it in each subject.

Third. The South is not today monolithic in opposition to unsegregated higher education. You are aware of the breaks in the line in Maryland, Delaware, and Arkansas. Kentucky has recently taken a significant step. There the law which since 1902 has required strict segregation in all colleges was modified in the legislature which ended only three or four weeks ago. The effect of the new law is to permit the governing body of any institution having authority over health education to do as it pleases on the matter of admitting Negroes. This will enable colleges and hospitals to open their doors to Negro students of medicine, dentistry, and nursing. It applies to public as well as to private institutions.

The Kentucky law points the way to a possible system of local option. As we all understand, some parts of the South are much further along in racial attitudes than others. Were the Kentucky model to be widely followed the central issue in this present controversy would be removed from the area of statewide politics, where change is difficult, into local decision. Numerous progressive local decisions would give the South experience of an open educational arrangement. Thus far it has nearly always been found that experiences of this kind build their own good-will. The South has an abundance of private institutions which might make this change. I recommend as well worth the attention of us all the study of our own State laws with a view to so altering them as to permit local freedom in decisions as to admittance to higher education.

Fourth. It would be a tragedy if Federal sanction were given to segregated arrangements already so obviously becoming outmoded. It would be a double tragedy if such sanction were given without time limit. The legislation is before the Congress just now, and we can't know how it will come out. I would hope that if it even indirectly sanctions complete separation the authority for such a structure would have a stated time of expiration.

Fifth, much more consultation of Negroes.

Finally, and in summary. Regional education is a good idea. Good for the whole South. Segregated regional education, if required by today's vocal and

organized opinion in the South, should be so arranged as to lend itself readily to conversion to that highest form of education which meets the definition of a University. I take it that any institution calling itself by the noble name University which denies admittance to persons qualified to learn is something less than its name implies.

24- Mitchell, GS - Personal

C. CLAYTON POWELL
Basileus

MALCOLM CORRIN
Vice-Basileus

CALVIN E. KING
Keeper of Records and Seal

JOHN W. MAXWELL
Ass't. Keeper of Records and Seal

CALVIN SINGLETON
Keeper of Finance

Psi Chapter
Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, Inc.

CLARENCE G. LITTLEJOHN
Editor

LOUIS M. HOLMAN
Chaplain

RAYMONDE ODOM
Keeper of Peace

CHARLES C. RELEFORD
Dean of Pledgees

GEORGE BROWN
Ass't. Dean of Pledgees

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
December 3, 1948

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED
DEC 6 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

This letter comes expressing the gratitude of each brother of Psi Chapter to you for appearing on our Achievement Week Program on Friday, November 12, 1948.

Your message was timely and did much to make the students in the college community think along the way.

Again we express our sincere thanks to you and we shall be looking forward to your coming again.

Yours truly,

Calvin E. King
C. Clayton Powell, Bas.
Calvin E. King, K. R. S.

CEK/ccs

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

GEORGE S. MITCHELL

63 Amherst Ave. N.E.

Atlanta 3. Ga.

File

Please try to return!

Returned by
John Popham

C
O
P
Y

December 14, 1948

Mr. Fulton Oursler
Navarro Hotel
112 Central Park, South
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Oursler:

Paul Williams asked me to write you about the Southern Regional Council.

The main job of the Council is to get the South to see that prejudice and bitterness are in part shadows cast by poverty and inequality. Much of the South still thinks that our conflicts are "natural" and will be eternal. The Council believes our conflicts can be greatly lessened if we contrive better circumstances for all our people. We have, therefore, worked to get before the people of the South the facts about where our shortcomings are and to explain how they can be remedied.

We have not made a head-on attact on ract prejudice. We have worked with and through people who don't have it, serving to that degree to give an example of its absence and to spread that example into as many communities as possible; but the object of working together without it is to get for the whole South material conditions which we think will dry up most of it. Thus we press for whatever will get the South health and housing and schools and jobs and good farms.

Except for this formula we have no set remedy. In the field of health, we are for more doctors, more dentists, more nurses, more hospital beds, and a higher standard of care; it seems to us quite secondary to argue about whether we can best get these things through private effort or through state or municipal or federal aid. In the field of employment, we want more, and more rewarding, industrial and commercial enterprise in the South. In agriculture, we have worked for maximum opportunity for whatever proportion of the people now in southern farming wishing to stay in it. In housing, we want the slums of our cities, towns, and of the open country replaced with livable structures; and so long as the price can be afforded, we are not advocates of either public or private financing. In schools, we want an equal opportunity for every child.

The Council is made up of 3,000 dues-paying members, all of them living in the thirteen southern states. While we have never counted, we think our membership is about half white and half Negro. Most of those who belong to it are responsible people. They are teachers in schools and colleges, they are college heads, they are ministers drawn from all denominations, they are businessmen, farmers, and plain citizens. They are thoughtful people, all of them grieved by the oppression and injustice which they know lives in the South, and all of them working in their own communities to lessen the burden. They have formed state divisions of the Council in South Carolina and Florida and Alabama and Kentucky and Mississippi and Tennessee. The state divisions have their own programs, in line with the Council's general purposes. We have a formal link of affiliation with state interracial commissions in North Carolina, Georgia and Texas, and we work similarly with the Department of Race Relations of the Virginia Council of Churches. Thus we are closely in touch with organized

private statewide bodies in all the southern states except Louisiana, Arkansas and Oklahoma, and we have influential membership in each of those three. None of the southern states as yet has the official state-aided commissions on race relations which are now becoming common in the northern and western states, and these groups linked to the Southern Regional Council fulfill as best they can on a voluntary basis that role of adjustment.

Our staff here in Atlanta at the Council's main office is drawn from both races. So far as I know the South, the whole area does not contain more than four or five other such offices in which Negro and white employees work together without distinction of any kind. The same rule applies straight through to meetings of the Council's members in local communities. Our people come together on the basis of equality to talk about their common needs and to plan ways of bettering things.

Notwithstanding our own convictions, we have never made it a point to be so far in advance of surrounding custom that our people lose effectiveness in pushing for change. In any city in the South, we have always been able to bring together effective local citizens of our temper who would be well received in the mayor's office or by the chief of police. In country places we can reach court house officials. In state capitols we get considered attention from governors and their subordinates. We are on good terms with the leading newspapers of the South. Indeed, many of their editors are our vigorous supporters.

With most of our members perhaps, religion--and not the Council's pamphleteering--is the real teacher. We are, therefore, close to the consciences of most of the great religious groups in the South. We have links also, as I have said, to people in business and in agriculture and to the labor movement.

For so small an organization, clearly without any mass pressure of its own, it would be untruthful to claim spectacular accomplishment. We have had a hand in many things, and we are glad to give to others who have worked too the credit for the good that all have done. I can list some of these things at which the Council has worked particularly hard:

1. Lessening outbreaks of racial violence. The old Commission on Interracial Cooperation, whose work in the South spanned the period from 1920 until the Council succeeded it in 1944, concentrated its effort on the crime of lynching. It carefully collected the facts about each lynching and gave out a truthful story. It early saw that women could do more than men to turn public opinion against lynching, and it organized the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. This group, under able leadership, for years brought to the public's mind the horror with which southern white women regarded that crime. It is commonly accepted in the South that that long, earnest and courageous campaign was by a good deal the most important factor in bringing down the lynching figures from the twenty and thirty a year which were common twenty years ago to the few which we have today. The Council picked up this work and continues to organize local people to prevent lynchings and to get the people of the South to realize the enormity of each one that does occur.

   On this matter of preventing violence, the fact that the Council's membership is a network of people who are friends across the barriers of race is the main

thing. Successive generations now have been trained to know the signs of incipient violence, to know whom to go to for the facts, to know whom to go to with the facts, and to be relentless in pressing for the public action which can prevent outbreaks. Back of that, of course, lie the years of building local confidence which reaches across race lines. People who have worked together quietly in their home towns to get street pavements and garbage collection and school buses and school buildings and teachers and law enforcement build a bridge which by its very existence lessens the desperation which plays a part in most violence.

2. Law enforcement. Any sensitive person who lives in the South knows that the law is enforced in one way for white people and in another way for colored people. The Council has worked always to change this. Through every channel of public attention which we could reach, our people have hammered at equality before the law. When justice miscarries, we complain, and we talk and work for fairer judges and honest verdicts. We have found it particularly fruitful to work for the addition of Negroes to police forces. It has been abundantly proven that Negro police officers are considerably more effective in preventing crime and in catching criminals in areas of heavy Negro population than white officers. There have been long a very few southern cities which realized this and used a few Negro policemen. The Council and other agencies have built on this experience and by representations to police committees and chiefs have been able to get the quite remarkable increase in the use of Negro police officers which has occurred in the last few years. See, for example, the October, 1947 and September 1948 issues of New South.

3. Schools. We have everywhere worked to equalize schooling for Negroes and whites. On each of the occasions when our local membership meets, the first problem attacked is nearly always that of unequal schools. Certainly the South as a whole has made remarkable progress in the last few years in bettering Negro school opportunities, but in many a town it has been the local interracial committee which has served as the channel for shaping the Negro grievance in detail.

4. Civil Rights. This is not a new cause with us. We have worked at it through many years. We have tried to enforce the law as it is written; we have tried to broaden the state and federal law. We welcome the national prominence of the civil rights movement since the Report of President Truman's Committee. One of our active staff members was, indeed, a member of Mr. Truman's Committee. Since the report we have tried in every way possible to deepen its educational impact on the South. With pamphlets, with local discussion meetings, and through all the various bodies which we could influence, we have tried to get the South to see the necessity for granting and implementing now the fundamental civil rights of its people. I must say that we have seen in addition that effective achievement of civil rights must be accompanied by advances in the status of the people who most need the rights; here again we have argued that jobs, farms, homes, schools, and health must underpin law. You will see from the Digest of the Report and the pamphlet "The Condition of Our Rights" and the statement called "An Honest Answer in the Civil Rights Controversy" the approach which the Council has followed.

5. The Community Self-Survey. We are now pushing as a device for broader understanding the corrective action which we call the home town self-survey. Experience has shown that if responsible local citizens push through the work of a written audit of their community in health, housing, schools, employment opportunities, law enforcement, recreation, and public welfare, the local citizens will themselves become a follow-up committee, on fire with what they have found and, in a matter of a year or so, will correct much of what was wrong. We have just prepared a manual to enable the towns and smaller cities of the South to

make surveys of this kind. The Council offers a professional advisory service for towns which undertake this job. We have hopes that such work, spread over the South, will speed the groundswell for improvement.

In all the above I have said nothing of how the Council came into being. That is too long a story to run through, but some things can be recalled. The South had nothing of the sort until just after World War I. Race riots occurred in many places in 1919 and 1920. To combat them local interracial committees were hastily formed. After things settled down, these committees were federated into state interracial committees and they, in turn, into a Southwide Commission on Interracial Cooperation, with headquarters in Atlanta. The Commission lived mainly on such subsidies as it could beg, mostly from foundations, and from its resources it helped the state committees to keep going. For more than twenty years it built throughout the South a network of people of both races who met together frequently and worked for change. They were people who could get things done. In the typical town the interracial committee had a bhanker, and an editor, some ministers, and some interested women citizens from the white community. The Negro members would often be the school principal, a leading minister or two, a dentist, or doctor, and others with some claim to speak for their people.

This group, meeting together every month or two, opened channels through which a then voteless and almost voiceless Negro community could get its needs to the attention of people who could do something about them. The work was done sincerely and quietly. The same group had also an emergency usefulness. When trouble struck on some back street, Negro leaders knew whom to 'phone or see in order to get the matter dealth with officially.

As the years wore along and in many parts of the South the Negroes gained the ballot and some wider links with the white community, the simply interracial committee began here and there to lose importance. Most people interested in the work got the vision also of general economic advance as the main support for better race relations. This idea was focused through the work of Dr. Howard Odum in southern regionalism at the University of North Carolina. It became current not long before the strains of the approach of World War II brought to the surface the anxieties of the Negro population of the South. In a great series of meetings at Durham, Atlanta, and Richmond, in the years 1942 and 1943, southern leadership of both races saw the need for an organization which would work out in detail the channels of advance. The Southern Regional Council of those several sets of ideas. It receiv d a Georgia State Charter in January of 1944, and began its operation early in that year.

You will see from what was said earlier that the Council absorbed the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation and has in the years since built its own Southwide organization on the basis of the Commission's local and statewide groups.

The Council began with seven or eight hundred members. It has grown now to over 3,000 members, and it reaches indirectly, through affiliated committees, at least another 2,000.

The Council has kept going a small magazine called New South, which each month takes up some matter of topical interest. The org nization has also issued a remarkable series of pamphlets on health and housing and farming and the other main aspects of the economy of the South. These are sent, along with this letter.

We do greatly hope that Reader's Digest will find the Council and its approach worthy of space in some forthcoming issue.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

File:

Dr. Mitchell has decided not to answer this.

met

Southern Regional Council

12/20, 194

TO: GSM ☐

FROM: JS

This material is referred to you for:

1. Information ( )
2. Consideration ( )
3. Recommendation ( )
4. Reply ( )
5. Suggested Reply ( )
6. Signature (✓)

7. Please circulate to:

Director ( )
Associate Director ( )
Pub. Relations Dir. ( )
_____ ( )
Sec'ty.-Treasurer ( )
_____ ( )
_____ ( )
_____ ( )

8. Please return to this office. ( )

9. Please return to secretary for filing ( )

COMMENTS OR INSTRUCTIONS

24-Mitchell, G.S. — "GSM wrote it"

The New Leader

Seven East Fifteenth Street, New York 3, N. Y.

SPring 7-8260-1-2

S. M. LEVITAS
Executive Editor

December 17, 1948

George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432,
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED
DEC 20 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for your piece on Civil Rights which is already in the hands of the printer.

I would appreciate very much if you could let me have the names and addresses of the officers and active members of your Regional Council so we can send them marked copies of the issue in which your article will appear.

I hope we can establish closer contact in the future as we are anxious to reflect the work of your organization on the pages of the NEW LEADER.

Sincerely yours,

S. M. Levitas

S. M. Levitas (m a)

sml/me
oeiu:153

328

1. Tilly

Havens
Tilly
Elaine English.

1948 PROGRAM

The track has been cleared at this annual meeting for discussion by the members and decision upon the program of the Council for the coming year. As your principal executive officer I have a responsibility for recommendations; yours is the responsibility for decision as to what you wish the Council to do.

In the field of publications it seems to me that we ought to continue to get out our small monthly magazine. Its ordinary monthly issues now cost about $180.00 for printing and paper, and mailing costs to our three thousand-odd subscriber are about $58.81 (average) a month. Issues of the same size cost us early in 1946 about $150.00 (20%) a time. The magazine costs important money, but it serves to tie together our present membership, is quite useful in recruiting new members, and is a convenient device for getting out topical material to those who form public opinion in the South. Thus the recent issues centered on Federal-State cooperation to take advantage of the Hill-Burton Act for improved health facilities, and on use of Negro police in Southern cities have had some play in speeding two good movements. I would like to have New South available as a vehicle for this sort of frontier advocacy.

During 1946 and most of 1947 the Council also published each quarter a special and much larger number of New South, centered on some major force for well-being. These have covered the population and economic facts laid out in Rupert Vance's great book "All These People"; health, mechanization of agriculture, education, and the extraordinarly fruitful method of the self-survey conducted in Jacksonville, Florida. These quarterly issues cost somewhere around $1,000.00 - $1,500.00 apiece. They have been in the past a major part of the Council's effort. It is mainly for their preparation that we keep a

research person or two busy collecting information. The pamphlets have been printed in the past in issues of 4, 6, 10, or even 25 thousand. Experience shows that we can hope to sell issues of six or eight thousand, at prices that will about cover cost. In my judgment we should continue to get out quarterly numbers after this general model, but I would propose a change in the structure of those contemplated for the next year, to see whether by this change we can strike a larger degree of public attention.

The change would take advantage of the competetiveness involved in State pride. The educational forces of the nation have made comparative figures on State achievement and State effort in schools a regular part of their persuasion of the public to greater attention to school needs. (I recall frequently the tablet in the State House in Columbia, honoring Mrs. Snowden, and speaking of her as "rich in the art of persuasion to noble ends"). Citizens of this or that State low in the list wince a bit when they see that they stand 46th or 48th in value of buildings per, or in salary money of teachers per pupil, or in some other accepted measurement of school effectiveness. This is a device that could well be applied to any of a variety of causes and programs in the South that contribute to sound progress. Fore each such cause selected for display I would like to see stated a comparison of the standing of each of the 13 Southern States as among themselves, and as against the South as a whole and the Nation as a whole.

We have already nearing completion four such pamphlets. Separately, they compare the Southern States in housing, rural and urban; in care of the feeble-minded; in ~~numericaluse~~ use of the vote, by whites and by Negroes; and in coverage by Social Security benefits. We hope we can find the funds to get these out in November, January, April, and August. We would like to do two or three more in the rest of 1948. Here is a list of possible subjects. Others will occur to members here today. Your staff would like the guidance of the members in saying which if any

5 or 6

of these suggested subjects should be press through to pamphlet forms, as comparative measurements of the Southern State progress:

Farm ownership.

Invested industrial capital, and its concentration or dispersal.

Cooperative organization.

Vocational education, in agriculture and in industry.

Trade Union membership, Negro and white.

Care of prisoners.

Library facilities, rural and urban.

Developed and undeveloped water-power.

Educational level reached by children leaving schools, by race.

Status of laws regulating land tenure.

Civil rights in State ~~legislation~~ practice.

STATE ORGANIZATION

In 1944 the annual meeting authorized the organization of State Divisions of the Council. As you know, we have for some time had such divisions in South Carolina, Kentucky, Florida and Mississippi. Alabama organized one just two weeks ago. We are in hopes that we can interest our members in at least two other States in setting up Divisions during 1948. That would give us seven State Divisions, plus active, affiliated Interracial Committees in four others. In the remaining two the staff would wish to work toward Committees or Divisions, as may suit the wishes of our local members.

When a Division is organized it adopts by-laws, consonant with those of the Council. The members pay their dues directly to the office in Atlanta, which

refunds half the dues to the treasurer of the State Division. The other half is retained in Atlanta as subscription to New South The Council loses money on this arrangement, but makes friends, and is enabled through the work of the State Divisions to build program and local activity.

A special committee, set up by the Executive Committee at its last meeting, has recently met and explored this whole relationship with State Divisions and Committees. It will have its recommendations to make. I here content myself with cautionary remarks on the subject of political participation by State Divisions. The Council is a non-political organization. It recently obtained from the Treasury Department a certificate of tax-exemption as to contributions made to the Council's work. The law on political participation by organizations enjoying tax-exemption is somewhat unsettled, but a key phase in the law is that which says that "no substantial part" of such an organization's activities may be devoted to political propaganda or political activity. This must clearly cover our State Divisions, I shouldlike it to be thoroughly understood that the Council cannot, either centrally or through its State Divisions, engage in propaganda for or against any specific legislative measure, Federal, State or local; nor can Council members, as such, as a body publicy support or oppose particular candidates for office. Unless this is understood and held to we run a serious risk in ~~developing~~ devolving program to State Divisions. I would urge that State Divisions keep faith in checking with the Council's central staff as to their developing activities. No one wishes by these remarks to make overly cautious the work of our members; it is simply that when they work as and through the Council they must be scrupulously non-political.

This that has been outlined already is what we expect to do on the minimum budget that is before the membership. They amount to keeping the present staff (considerably reduced as against last year); printing our magazine, getting

out a series of pamphlets which we hope will attract public attention and will bring some improvement in the matters they will treat; serving usefully as a source of information about the Southern economy; and building our organization out over the South. Observe that even for doing these things our budget falls short of income we can count upon by some $12,000 $000000000. That sum will have to be raised if what is planned above is to be done.

We have other projects that the staff would like to push ahead on, but which would take additional money, quite outside the budget before you. These are on police training; medical aspects of sex crime; collecting and publication of summaries, by States, of news of Southwide interest; a radio forum; wider activity on behalf of civil rights; and more active stimulation of such administrative arrangements in the States as will provide for full advantage to all the people of the South of a variety of Federal-State and State welfare service.

OTHER PROJECTS

Police Matters

We are much in hopes that in the near future funds will be found to enable the Council to do a major job in improving police administration in the South. The plan would be to put on two full-time persons, who would for about a year travel to many Southern cities and towns, and become acquainted with the problems of police officials and the incidence of slack and prejudiced police work upon Southern citizens. Meanwhile we would be perfecting the manual for police instruction in matters of race, already in draft, and we would seek favorable opportunties to try it out. After the two field persons felt themselves familiar with the police situation as it actually is in the South, and had had a look at the best work being done elsewhere in police training, we would consult carefully as to measures suitable to use during

a further year to speed improvement. These might be work through police associations, or through municipal authorities, or through courts, or with the aid of citizen pressure town by town. We hope to be able to offer annual citations, perhaps for persons selected by Higher Court judges in each State for outstanding service in protection of civil rights. All this waits on having in hand a substantial sum. It is a thing needing to be done.

Medical aspects of crime.

This is as yet only a vague project. We have been struck with the gap between attitudes common in the South towards crimes of interracial violence, particularly those involving sex, and what we know of modern practice in matters involving psychological unbalance. Specifically, when such crimes occur the traditional "remedy" is to make a horrible example of some accused person in the supposition that the fate meted out will deter others from crimes of this kind. The wave of sex crime a few months ago, happily now apparently on the wane, gave some reason to believe that psychoneurotic crime fattens upon what it feeds. Our own files reveal a good many cases in which the accusation of molesting was pretty clearly based on imagination. In other cases the condition which led to actual crime was mental weakness or unbalance (in either party). We would like to see this whole matter become one on which medical opinion would be fully informed, and would bring to bear within the communities of the South its exceedingly powerful influence, both for prevention and for temperate public behavior. Thus far we are merely exploring the approaches to activity withinthe medical profession on this whole general matter. It may be possible to interest medical people, it may not. I have lately had the suggestion that a couple of psychiatric social workers could perform ~~its~~ the field inquiry suitably with some medical supervision.

Periodic State summaries.

Your Executive Director has his office at a central point in the South, and is provided with subscription to the South's leading newspapers, Negro and general, and has the advantage of people who read and clip these papers with care. Yet I find it difficult to have more than the scantiest knowledge of what is happening accross this reach of thirteen States. Every Southerner has an interest, more or less developed, in what does occur elsewhere in the South. In my own experience, the newspapers of ones own city or town give only the most haphazard and disconnected coverage of events outside the single state in which they are published. This gap some day will close. Two or three efforts have been bruited toward closing it, but none has found the means to get it done. I do not think the Council should undertake a major service of this kind, but I would like to see it in position to bring to bear on the problem the unique resources which it has. Among our Division and Committee officers, among the Fellows, and among our many friends in positions where they are of necessity well-informed it seems to me we could contrive a quarterly round-up of gains and losses in the things the Council is interested in. As a Southerner, I would myself be deeply interested in receiving such a considered summary from each State, ~~or from each~~ State, or from eachsub-region of the South. Whether the members of the Council think this is worth pressing further is up to them to say.

Radio forum.

Dr. Johnson, before he left, began negotiations looking toward a possible periodic radio program, under the sponsorship of the Council, bringing together the best thought on a series of Southern problems. We are still in the negotiating stage, but we have listed sample topics, and indicated suitable speakers. I am

hoping that we can develope this lead into something that will be a mojor contribution to democratic understanding in the Region.

Civil rights.

The publication of the report of President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights, in which Mrs. Tilly served with all her usual energy and care , is distinguished public recognition of the importance to the United States, domestically and in its new position in world affairs, of speed in bringing about a condition in which American citizens, without exception, enjoy full civil rights. The Council has long given much of its energy to this task. The effort could be greatly stepped up, with a prospect of conspicuous gains. The staff in Atlanta will be diligent to plan ways in which this can be done, and we are hopeful that each State Division and affiliated State Committee will make work along these lines the major part of its program during the coming year. Civil liberties, as we all understand, are not the gift of law alone. It is the Cpuncil's stock in trade to understand and cause to work that blend of personal and local advance with betterment of law and of law enforcement which brings gains of this kind. Working at it, we can move the immovable.

Other fields cry out for attention. In most of them the work of Government, Federal or State or jointly Federal and State, is still expanding, and may grow more more rapidly than in the recent past. Housing, agriculture , education, social security, and health are the main examples.o In any of these fields we could do really significant work if we had the money, and therefore the full-time personnel to put on it. A Housing expert from the Council, traveling constantly and bringing to focus the earnest wish of every community, country

and city, for more and better housing, could step up achievement immeasurably. The same is true of vocational education, which cries out for a lay person, fully informed, with access to official circles and ability to enlist local public opinion, to travel about and get new communities to equip themselves for the transition from gang labor to the intricacies of industrialism. With the right person and money to pay for his travel, we could get rumbling into action a Southwide revision of tenancy laws, which by-and-large have not been touched since they went on the statute books in the days of the first substitution of sharecropping for the slave economy. In hospital care, again, a lay organization such as ours could serve notably to sharpen public understanding and get improvement. ~~or the~~ Many present will recall that at the Council's launching it was intended that it might establish within itself departments dealing with three or four major facets of Southern life. This still begs to be done. And our members and their friends all over the South are impatient of their own insufficient activity, and eager to do responsibly what an informed field worker from the Council could urge upon them. These things cost money. They cannot be effectively done by a minute staff, tied by present undertakings to work in Atlanta.

I am not prepared to give exact estimates of the cost of a more than one of these possible further jobs for the Council. We have worked out the police project in detail, and know that it would cost $37,300 for a total period of three years. For 1948 the cost would be $19,000. The medical study, if done under our control, would cost a little less. Possibly existing agencies other than the Council can be interested in taking that job on directly. State summaries we could bring in and print in New South for only $2500, or thereabouts. The radio forum might cost three thousand dollars. To do much more in building opinion behind enforcement of civil rights would cost as much as anyone cared to put into it. Additional specialized personnel for the Council would cost six

or seven thousand a year per department. If we did all we would like to do, we would need in addition to the budget before you another $70,000.

And that's not the whole of the problem. We can live more or less as we are for two more years, though even in 1948 and 1949 we shall need large sums from local sources. After December, 1949, we shall not have the life-giving block of support that has come to us from the Julius Rosenwald Fund. We shall have to stand upon our own feet. How can we raise, mainly within the South, the annual sum that is needed I do not know. Your efforts toward raising it are asked.

Magazine - topical things
graduate study
agriculture
industry

Membership -

State Divisions - closer links

Pamphlets -
Housing
Voting
Social security
Cause of problem child

2 or 3 others

A 55,000

Police

24-Mitchell, GS - "GSM WROTE IT" (sent to "New Leader" - Dec '48)

Not Pravda

Civil Rights in the South — A Twofold Effort

By George S. Mitchell

Now that the presidential election is past, there are signs that some of the heat is going out of the civil rights controversy. This may prove only a temporary lull before a storm of debate and bitterness in the halls of Congress; for it is certain that many liberal groups will press for federal civil rights legislation, and equally certain that Southern congressmen will wage a last-ditch fight against some of the measures. But, however temporary, this breathing spell affords an opportunity to consider calmly the problem of getting more widespread and uniform respect for the rights of everybody in the South.

One of the regrettable features of the past year's effort was the gulf that separated people of good will who agree on objectives but disagree on methods. Many white Southerners sincerely want to see a more just and equitable society in the South but believe that federal laws will hurt rather than help this cause. So, rather uncomfortably, they joined the defenders of the status quo in opposition to those liberals, mostly in the North, who were pressing for vigorous federal measures. The tendency of Northern liberals, on the other hand, has been to lump all Southern dissenters together as apologists for racial discrimination. With more understanding and less emotion on both sides, there would have been a chance for progressive people of both persuasions to find common ground. That chance still exists.

The oft-heard argument that "you can't legislate morality" is an overstatement of a fundamental truth — namely, that legislation <u>alone</u> cannot topple customs and folkways that are deeply rooted in the economic and social life of a people. The pattern of human relations that has plagued the South for the past eighty years has been intimately bound up in an economic order

which only recently has begun to change. Plantation agriculture was not destroyed by the Civil War. It was merely modified and has continued in broad parts of the South up to the present. As a result, the South was outstripped by the rest of the nation in industry and was relegated to an impoverished colonial status. Added to that, the basically equalitarian standards of industry were sacrificed to the semi-feudal standards of a plantation economy.

Any realistic attempt to bring about a greater democracy in the South must take into account these shaping forces which still operate in the region. Those who are suspicious of the effectiveness of legal reform might well be reassured by a more widespread realization of the need for economic reform as well. A federal program that included both the economic and the legal approach to civil rights could hardly be branded as political hypocrisy. Federal "interference" in the form of monetary aid has always been welcome, just as "interference" by rights legislation has been bitterly resisted. A linking of the two for the good of the region could do much to evaporate resistance among thoughtful people in the South.

It is a hard-headed American axiom that "you get what you pay for." We have recognized this principle in supplying aid to the European countries where we wish to see democracy insured. It is a curious blindness that refuses to see that the same principle applies in the South. If civil rights are to be fully realized in the South, the South and the rest of the nation must foot the bill. A vigorous -- and expensive -- effort is needed to improve the South's economy and direct it into channels which are conducive to greater opportunity for Southerners of both races.

A minimum program for the South, in brief outline, should include at

least the following:

Expanded industry. The recent growth of industry in the South, while encouraging, still leaves much to be desired. The South needs not only more industry, but also more varieties of industry, extending into new areas. The region will not enjoy the real fruits of industrialization until it attracts more heavy, high-investment industries. Also badly needed are additional processing industries to convert raw materials into finished products within the region.

It is not commonly recognized that most of the South's industry is confined to the narrow strip of country which makes up the piedmont section. The broad plantation belt, which is politically dominant in most Southern states, has experienced few of the wholesome effects of industrialization. The pattern of state governments in the South is not likely to change much so long as this remains true.

Family-farm ownership. That fundamentally democratic institution, the family farm, already prevails in many parts of the South. There, like industry, it is a powerful force for basic equality. But, again like industry, it is not found to any great extent in the plantation areas. Steps should be taken, as a matter of public policy, to preserve the family-farm pattern where it already exists and to extend it into those areas where it is lacking. With increasing mechanization, certain adjustments will have to be made. The average size of the family farm must be increased, modern farm machinery must be made accessible to the small farmer, and our farm population must be educated in the techniques of the new agriculture. None of this will be accomplished overnight or in every nook and cranny of the South, but it is a desirable direction for our public farm policy to take.

Technical education. The transition in the South calls urgently for a vigorous program of vocational training. If industry is to be encouraged

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to come into the region, a potential labor force with at least the basic skills is indispensable. More and more of our rural population will move from the land to the cities as farm mechanization continues, and every effort must be made to prepare them for adjustment to urban industrial life. Otherwise, we will almost certainly witness a generation of displaced Southerners, white and Negro, competing for a bare livelihood as unskilled laborers.

Equalization of education. The South is beginning to reap the bitter harvest of years of unequal schooling for Negro children. In King George County, Va., we are seeing a demand for equalization of public school facilities, enforced by court rulings, which may be expected to spread over the entire South. It is probably safe to say that within the near future every Southern school jurisdiction will be presented with a bill for school buildings and school-teaching at least double what is now being spent. Meeting this bill will not be merely a matter of deciding to be fair. Even after the most drastic increases in local taxes, the Southern states will be in urgent need of federal aid to education. Watchful aid from the rest of the nation is clearly needed in the securing of this basic right by Southern Negroes.

Housing. The grim competition of low-income white and Negro families for run-down, overcrowded dwellings is hardly productive of better race relations. With a deficit of about two million homes in the South, cooperative state and federal programs of slum-clearance and rural housing are desperately needed.

Health. The South has the nation's greatest needs in health and medical care and the fewest hospitals, doctors, dentists, and nurses in proportion to population. Of what we have, very little is in rural areas. It is not surprising that the Negro third of the population has borne the brunt of these shortages.

The Hill-Burton hospital construction act is a good beginning in the neglected field of health. The same type of aid might well be extended to the training of medical personnel and surer ways of getting medical care within the reach of low-income families.

Meeting these basic needs would go far to make effective the legal safeguards which we usually associate with the term "civil rights". All the experience of human society tells us that wherever people are ill-fed, ill-housed, ill-educated, their access to justice and fair play is endangered. Evidence of this fact is not hard to find in the South itself. In those parts of the region where material prosperity has grown, respect for human rights has also grown.

This process is not automatic, but must be assisted by legislative enactments, some state and some federal. Laws must be invoked to protect, in particular, those two master rights — safety from violence and access to the ballot. Anyone sincerely interested in getting equal rights for Southern Negroes must recognize that, where states have failed to meet their responsibility for these safeguards, there is no valid argument against federal legislation.

As in the treatment of a disease, both the causes and the dangerous symptoms must be treated. In the case of the South, determined efforts must be made to eliminate the economic causes which underlie discrimination. At the same time, legal measures must be taken to protect citizens against the discrimination itself. Exclusive insistence on either of the two approaches is unrealistic. If people of good will, North and South, will rally around this principle, there is hope that the civil rights controversy may be converted at a faster pace into meaningful progress for the South.

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The New Leader 1/8/49

File - 23 Mitchell, Geo. "GSM Write Up"

American Race Relations

Civil Rights In The South

By George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell lives in Atlanta, Georgia, and has long been familiar with the political problems of the Southern scene. He was formerly regional director of CIO-PAC in 1944-5.

NOW that the presidential election is past, there are signs that some of the heat is going out of the civil rights controversy. This may prove only a temporary lull before a storm of debate and bitterness in the halls of Congress; for it is certain that many liberal groups will press for federal civil rights legislation, and equally certain that Southern Congressmen will wage a last-ditch fight against some of the measures. But, however momentary, this breathing spell affords an opportunity to consider calmly the problem of achieving more widespread respect for everyone's rights in the South.

One of the regrettable features of the past year's effort was the gulf that separated people of good will who are in agreement on objectives but disagree on methods. Many white Southerners sincerely want to see a more just and equitable society in the South but believe that federal laws will injure rather than aid this cause. So, rather uncomfortably, they joined the defenders of the *status quo* in opposition to those liberals, mostly in the North, who were pressing for vigorous federal measures. The tendency of Northern liberals, on the other hand, has been to lump all Southern dissenters together as apologists for racial discrimination. With more understanding and less emotion on both sides, there would have been a chance for progressive people of both persuasions to find common ground. *That chance still exists.*

* * *

THE OFT-HEARD argument that "you can't legislate morality" is an over-statement of a fundamental truth —namely, that legislation *alone* cannot topple customs and folkways that are deeply rooted in the economic and social life of a people. The pattern of human relations that has plagued the South for the past eighty years has been intimately bound up in an economic order which only recently has begun to change. Plantation agriculture was not destroyed by the Civil War. It was merely modified and has continued in broad parts of the South up to the present. As a result, the South was outstripped by the rest of the nation in industry and was relegated to an impoverished colonial status. In addition, the basically equalitarian standards of industry were sacrified to the semi-feudal standards of a plantation economy.

Any realistic attempt to bring about greater democracy in the South must take into account these shaping forces which still operate in the region. Those who are suspicious of the effectiveness of legal reform might well be reassured by a more widespread realization of the need for economic reform as well. A federal program that included both the economic and the legal approach to civil rights could hardly be branded as political hypocrisy. Federal "interference" by rights legislation has been bitterly resisted. A linking of the two for the good of the region could do much to dissipate resistance among thoughtful people in the South.

* * *

IT IS a hard-headed American axiom that "you get what you pay for." We have recognized this principle in supplying aid to the European countries where we wish to see democracy insured. It is a curious myopia that refuses to see that the same principle applies in the South. If civil rights are to be fully realized in the South, the South and the rest of the nation must foot the bill. A vigorous—and expensive—effort is needed to improve the South's economy and direct it into channels which are conducive to greater opportunity for Southerners of both races.

* * *

A MINIMUM PROGRAM for the South, in brief outline, should include at least the following:

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● *Technical education.* The transition in the South calls urgently for a vigorous program of vocational training. If industry is to be encouraged to come into the region, a potential labor force with at least the basic skills is indispensable. More and more of our rural population will move from the land to the cities as farm mechanization continues, and every effort must be made to prepare them for adjustment to urban industrial life.

● *Equalization of education.* The South is beginning to reap the bitter harvest of years of unequal schooling for Negro children. In King George County, Va., we are witnessing a demand for equalization of public school facilities, enforced by court rulings, which may be expected to spread over the entire South. It is probably safe to say that within the near future every Southern school jurisdiction will be presented with a bill for school buildings and school-teachers at least double what is now being spent. Meeting this bill will not be merely a matter of deciding to be fair. Even after the most drastic increases in local taxes, the Southern states will be in urgent need of federal aid to education.

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* * *

MEETING THESE basic needs would go far to make effective the legal safeguards which we usually associate with the term "civil rights." All the experience of human society tells us that wherever people are ill-fed, ill-housed, ill-educated, their access to justice and fair pay is endangered. Evidence of this fact is not difficult to find in the South itself. In those parts of the region where material prosperity has grown, respect for human rights has also grown.

This process is not automatic, but must be assisted by legislative enactments, some state and some federal laws must be invoked to protect, in particular, those two master rights—safety from violence and access to the ballot. Anyone sincerely interested in achieving equal rights for Southern Negroes must recognize that, where states have failed to meet their responsibility for these safeguards, there is no valid argument against federal legislation.

As in the treatment of a disease, both the causes and the dangerous symptoms must be treated. In the case of the South, determined efforts must be made to eliminate the economic causes which underlie discrimination. At the same time, legal measures must be adopted to protect citizens against discrimination itself. Exclusive insistence on either of the two approaches is unrealistic. If people of good will, North and South, will rally around this principle, there is hope that the civil rights controversy may be converted at a faster pace into meaningful progress for the South.

THE WAY TO RACIAL PEACE
"As in the Treatment of a Disease . . ."

ELASTIC LASKI ON LASKI

"But since under any circumstances . . . a new party would, if it were progressive, be attacked as the hireling of Moscow, it seems rational to be hung for a sheep not less than for a lamb."

Harold J. Laski in *The American Democracy*, advocating the participation of the Communist Party in a possible third party in the U.S.A., despite his opposition to the affiliation of the British CP to the British Labor Party.

* * *

"I have found few people who regret that Wallace did badly. That feeling has two main causes. First of all . . . it is felt that he was in an important way the Communists' dependent and that had he won the three to five million votes . . . predicted . . . he might well have been able to found a third party which would have hindered not helped the political realignment so needed in the United States. Had he, however, proved a formidable candidate, he would have given strength to all forces in Russia which hinder a common move to sensible understanding."

Harold J. Laski in *New Republic*, December 20, 1948, unconsciously rejoicing that real progressive forces in the U.S.A. rejected his earlier advice.

24 - Mitchell, GS -
"GSM wrote it"

PHYLON
A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF RACE AND CULTURE
ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

EDITORIAL OFFICE

January 11, 1949

RECEIVED
JAN 12 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thanks very much for submitting the book review of Margery Perham's book on Ethiopia. We shall be happy to publish it in one of our forthcoming issues of PHYLON.

Sincerely yours,

Jeanette P. Cameron

(Mrs.) J. P. Cameron
Secretary

24- Mitchell, GS
"GSM wrote it"
(Delivered at Institute for Teachers, New Orleans, 1/19/49)

January 19 is a day on which it has become traditional in the South to look backward. It suits my purpose to do that for a while this afternoon, though we shall soon get into planning for the future.

The South inherits the democratic tradition of the western world, but particularly that of the British Isles. But we have it with an impairment. If it suits our book we can call a long roll of southerners who preached democracy. Mainly their voices were still by 1820 or 1830. Under the impact of slavery and the spreading cotton economy, our statesmen learned another tune.

My father taught history--and southern history--for fifty years. He used to say that the three great ideas of the nineteenth century were liberty, industry, and democracy, and that the South early in that century turned its back on all three. Instead of liberty we preached slavery. Instead of industry we exalted plantation agriculture. And instead of democracy, we sought to enact a system of government by the privileged few. In pursuit of those mistaken aims we lost the greater part of a century.

It is true that we began many decades ago to struggle back toward the mainstream of American political thought. Our efforts took the practical and realistic turn of achieving the industrial society. In the seventy years since 1880, we have woven across a wide belt of the South a pattern of power lines and factories and plants. And generally speaking, wherever the pattern has spread, the population of the South has approached equalitarianism. Industry breeds equality. Given health and some education, one man can do as well at a factory job as another. And it is to the interest of any who work in a mill to get the wages of all up to their own level. Industry plus trade unionism build a surrounding population with cash money in every man's pocket, with amounts of cash not greatly different as between man and man--and therefore,

to have votes, colored or white. Industry is, therefore, rapidly spreading the habits of self government over the South, and these habits apply in matters economic as well as political.

in the long run, a population housed and fed and doctored and schooled with a We have another and a precious surviving pattern of democracy in our family tolerable degree of equality. There is still the difference between the skilled farms. The plantation system, as we all know, did not eat up the whole of the and the unskilled, and a vastly greater difference between the owners and the South. It swept in a great semicircular belt down the great lowland plain of workers, but as to this latter, the difference in power diminishes. Employers the South; it covered the Mississippi Delta and pushed on into parts of Texas. there were in the old days in the South, more certainly than elsewhere in the As it spread it shoved to either side of itself pioneer white farmers. These country, into whose hands ran ~~many~~ all the threads of power in their community. ~~One~~ Town families fled slavery as a plague. Their pattern of family ownership of land by ~~one~~ town, of recent years, working people in factories have learned how to cut had a survival in the mountains, in the Piedmont, and in parts of the coastal flatwoods these threads. The modern factory town in the South is not a baronial ~~population~~ possession of the South. And that pattern has conditioned their continuing wish to get of a single enterpriser. It is a community in which owners and managers and homely forms of government, good schooling, and a wholesome rural prosperity. workers each have their organized and vigorously argued points of view. Nowadays The small white farmers of the South have too often given their allegiance to get out the vote in a mill town you don't go to the boss. You go to a little to men who sustain themselves in office by pledging racial hatred. There have fellow at 22½ East Main Street, in a second story trade union office. And with exceptions (which I, of course, recognize) the fellow at 22½ East Main is glad

to have votes, colored or white. Industry is, therefore, rapidly spreading the habits of self government over the South, and these habits apply in matters economic as well as political.

We have another and a precious surviving pattern of democracy in our family farms. The plantation system, as we all know, did not eat up the whole of the South. It swept in a ~~great~~ semicircular belt down the great lowland plain of the South; it covered the Mississippi Delta and pushed on into parts of Texas. As it spread it shoved to either side of itself pioneer white farmers. These families fled slavery as a plague. Their pattern of family ownership of land had a survival in the mountains, in the Piedmont, and in parts of the coastal flatwoods of the South. And that pattern has conditioned their continuing wish to get homely forms of government, good schooling, and a wholesome rural prosperity.

The small white farmers of the South have too often given their allegiance to men who sustain themselves in office by pledging racial hatred. There have

been times, as we all know, when they were successfully appealed to in the interest of a program of common humanity for everyone in the South. I believe that their true tradition survives in vigor, and a good many signs could be pointed to that it is struggling now for organized expression.

There is, of course, also the tradition of the churches. It is one of the sorrows of the South that the org nized churches in most instances failed to defend their gospel against the encroachments of slavery. The division of each great Protestant denomination into northern and southern branches as the slavery issue became more acute is the outward symbol of a maimed allegiance to the teachings of Christianity. Organized religion in the South has shown many signs in the last twenty years of being ready to apply its doctrines in a wider field of human relations. I see every reason to suppose that the religious bodies and members of those bodies in the South in the years to come will be an ever more effective influence toward equality, democracy, and brotherhood.

It is still the case that a very large part of the people of the South are little touched by these enlightening influences. The whole plantation belt is still organized into large land holdings with many dependent landless people. Much of the South is outside the quickening touch of industry. Everywhere still a tangible difference persists between the levels of living and schooling of health and of participation in local public life between white people and colored people.

But that the forces of progress are eagerly at work none will deny.

A great question is before the South today. In the middle of this century, as in the middle of the last century, national public opinion--world opinion, indeed--demands an enlargement of human liberty. When we faced that question a hundred years ago, our resources in the democratic tradition and in morality were insufficient

to let us accord what the world had a right to expect. Now the question is: Have we economic, political, and moral resources today to measure up to what is right?

Let me tell you a fable out of history. It happens not to be a fable, but the truth. Sometime in the early eighteen eighties it was discovered that in the northern tip of Queensland, where a long peninsula of Australia is thrust into the warm Pacific, sugar cane would grow. The land was eagerly bought and the planters sought for labor. The policy of white Australia was to forbid entrance to other than white people. Yet there were fortunes to be made if labor could be had. And across a narrow sea in New Guinea, cheap black labor could be had. It was imported in large numbers on contract. The rest of Australia protested, but the sugar planters were making money. The rest of Australia said: "We will annul your contracts and send your labor home." Word for word, those sugar planters fitted out the doctrines of the ante-bellum South: Some men were born to rule and others to toil. The world had never seen a great society which had not been divided into the rich and leisurely, and the poor and laboring. Furthermore, if the peculiar institution of northern Queensland were threatened by the rest of Queensland, those of place in northern Queensland had a God-given right to secede, and as a nation to make their own laws to suit themselves. They made a flag; they had a song; they trained an army, and they made ready for war.

In the grace of God, when the crisis was at its height, a root blight hit the sugar cane and killed the whole business. And for all I know, the Cape York peninsula is as equalitarian today as the rest of Australia.

Fortunately, as we all know, we in the South, having carried that line of argument to its bitter end, will not open it again. No one proposes that in defense of things as they are in the South, the South should deny the validity of the laws of the nation.

So it comes about that the law of the nation can, if need be, make sure of conquest ~~for~~ of some of the practices of the South antithetical to that law, lawsuit by bitter lawsuit.

As our Council said some months ago, . . ."the United States is in grim competition for the support of the people of the world--three-fourths of whom are colored." The nation ~~receiving~~ Knowing this, and consulting its own conscience, urges insistently that the South give ground.

We have a choice. We can give ground, step by reluctant step. Negro citizens can chip in their dollars and engage attorneys who will fight for the rights which the Constitution of the United States gives them. And generally they will win. Mainly by this process, they have won the formal right to the ballot, and the right for Negro teachers to be paid equal salaries with white teachers, and the right to equal facilities in higher education--and, quite lately, in the famous case in King George County, Virginia, the sweeping precedent of the right to equal public school facilities. Of course it is right that Negroes should do this. But does not every such victory lessen the stature of the southern states and towns and counties which resist?

Our children are taught in the schools to think of our states with pride. My own sub-teenagers can tell me the names of more heroes of Georgia and Virginia history than I ever heard of. They know songs that praise their state. They are taught the constitution and political framework of their state. Surely it is a mockery that as to a third, at least, of the population of each of these states, those same children must learn when they grow older that the liberty and justice and self-government is not for them. If we hold justified pride in our states and in our local governments, we must convert them from engines of white supremacy into agencies of the impartial service and betterment of their people.

Examine the budget of any southern state. A pittance is spent on the salary of the Governor and janitorial service to the Capitol and its dome and the pay of its legislature. The tax money goes into schools and roads and social security and public health and local social services. How can we contend that this money is fairly spent when over such wide areas we deny to our poorest citizens--often white citizens as well as Negro citizens--the right to vote, the right to be appointed and elected to the administrative boards which govern the expenditure of the funds? Loyalty to government is not to be had by grammar school song-singing and high school civics. It is to be had, again, by demonstration that one law runs for all men, that every man's life and liberty and property will be protected by society, and that all men will be duly consulted in the public life of the community.

Now the paradox of the present situation is that the South has but to own that truth to find its way out of its crisis.

We shall strengthen equality and responsibility in our citizen body when we clean out our slums, rural and urban, when we arrange an ordered expansion of industry over the whole of the South, when we substitute in good measure the pattern of the family farm for the pattern of the plantation, when we get doctors and hospitals enough adequately to serve our whole population, and when we have a system of education which gets its benefit impartially to every child. Those things cost money. Yes, but they are the very basis of the civil rights which, again, our own people and the nation and the world desire of the South. It is important that civil rights be implemented by stronger laws. It is ~~probably even more~~ quite as important that they be underpinned by costly and diligent effort to lessen the inequalities and deficiencies which still afflict us.

The bill in dollars for these measures in health and housing and schools and farming and employment and security which the South still needs is greater than the South can pay.

We are far richer than we used to be. We have no longer the old excuse, "because we are so poor." We could do much with taxes from our own people, but we cannot do it all. We must have the help of the rest of the country.

I do not suppose ~~[illegible]~~ that private citizens ~~our~~ or public persons in the northern and western parts of this country have any desire to push reforms upon a vengeful and reluctant South. I do believe that the citizen body of the whole country would gladly help to pay the cost of fundamental reforms in the material life of the South, ~~where~~ were they ~~be~~ assured (and this is the key to the whole matter), ~~where~~ were they ~~be~~ assured that the responsible statesmanship of the South was willing to administer the services with a degree of fairness which fully respected the dignity and stature of ~~our~~ all citizens within the southern states.

I do not know how such a responsible voice is to come out of the South. Do any feel encouraged that our ~~governments~~ governors will do it? Will the editors? Will the churches? Will the veterans' organizations? Will the school teachers? I only know that we have a strong and growing tradition of democracy and decency in the South, that it is in current conflict with another spirit of intolerance, a spirit which has had a long run for its money in the South, and which has its traceable kinships with autocracies in other parts of the world, against whose sway America and other democracies appeal for the loyalty of the peoples of the earth.

If our tradition and resources ~~and~~ in democracy are great enough, we can bring them to the surface and gladly do the things which we know are right. We will survive ~~by~~ the other process, but we have a chance today to build a unity, a common civil and moral allegiance to the American way which would get us ahead without the strain and the embittering spiritual narrowness which will be inevitable if, during the next few years, an unyielding stubbornness dominates the public life

of the South.

I could particularize as to the things we would have to yield to show good faith. They include the right to the ballot, the right to public office, the right to impartial and diligent protection of the law and the courts, the right to equal opportunity in employment and in advancement—and, again, such measures public and private as will get us for everyone good homes, good jobs, good farms, good schools and good health.

History and tradition, aspiration and morality, agitation and action, are upon us now as only once before in our history. We have a chance to find an honorable and just solution. We should not hold our breath while we wait to see if a miracle happens. Each of us is a part of that South which is making up its mind now what to do. We are not many, but we can influence the decision. Whether we get liberty and justice for all will be decided by how much strength we, and others like us, can throw on the side of that fine tradition in the South which respects justice and humanity.

27- Mitchell, G. S. - GSM Writs It

JANUARY, 1949

January 3	Addressed rotary group of Daytona Beach, Florida
January 4	Conferred with John Ivey and his sidekick on problems of southern regional education.
January 7	Conferred with John Marion re use of Council publications by Presbyterians.
January 8	Washington: Conferred with Secretary of Agriculture and Assistant Secretary of Labor and with Chief of the Division of Federal Aid to Schools, in company with President Paul Williams. Conferred at length with Charles Smith.
January 6	Addressed student's assembly, Randolph Macon College
January 20	Met with various interested citizens in and around Baton Rouge, Louisiana, re organization of Louisiana Division of the Southern Regional Council.
January 19	Addressed Institute for Teachers of New Orleans Schools sponsored by New Orleans Committee on Race Relations. With president of the Council paid various money-raising visits.
January 21	Represented Council at annual meeting of Texas Interracial Commission.
January 14	Represented Council in Raleigh at inauguration of President Harold Trigg.
January 25	Addressed two combined classes at Georgia Tech.
January 26	Macon, Georgia: two classroom lectures. Met with executive committee of Macon Interracial Committee.
January 27	Tampa, Florida. Addressed Urban League. Visited G. D. Rogers, Board member. Met with Board of Tempa Urban League.

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Jan 49. 34-Mitchell, S. S. - "SSM Wrote It"

1. SSM Corrected

I enjoy your hospitality as a student of the South, and as staff director of a Southern organization of both white and colored people. It is made up of some three thousand people, perhaps half of the white and half of the Negro, scattered over the thirteen Southern States. We have State organizations linked with the Council in all but three of the Southern States.

We were incorporated five years ago, as the strains of the war period were beginning to be felt. Many who took part in the Council had been active in the twenty-five years of life of the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation, which had federated local and state interracial committees all over the South. We thus have behind us thirty years of effort to lessen the ills of this bi-racial society. We have never been a noisy group, and we have worked mainly by appealing to the reason and conscience of people who could get ~~xxxxxx~~ changes made. We publish a little monthly magazine, and we get out a series of pamphlets on health and housing and citizenship and so on. We are ourselves people of conscience, pained by theinjustices ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ and indignities that are about us, and in our local communities we work for what is right and feasible at any given time. We are of all religions, of all occupations, of both races, and with few and welcome exceptions, we are bred and born in this part of the world.

We have a certain standing. Our fact-finding is respected, and used. Our local organizations get sober attention from mayors and newspapers and Governors. We are not accused of being radical, though I suppose some of us are thought to have in our

Let's first assess the situation. Here is a populous region, a thousand miles long and six or seven hundred wide, mainly agricultural but rapidly turning to industry, with two thirds of its people white and one third Negro. It is part of the richest nation in the world. Because of its history it has marked differences from the rest of the Nation. An old gentleman who taught history in the South for fifty years was accustomed to say that the Nineteenth century had three dominant ideas: liberty, industry, democracy. The South early in that century set its face against all three. For liberty, we defended slavery. For industry, we exalted plantation agriculture, for democracy, we tried to substitute a system of aristocratic government. In that effort we lost a hundred years. I think the secret of our Southern difference lies far more in that than in any of the other things that are more usually pointed to.

Today the rest of the Nation, and indeed the rest of the world, ask insistently that the traditional discriminations of the South ~~be brought~~ come to an end. ~~xxxxxx~~ The Civil Rights Program of Mr. Truman is not a politician's trick, ~~xxxxxxxx~~ it is, , to my mind, a courageous effort to get action which will give the Nation a greater sense of ~~xxxxxxxx~~ integrity and democracy, and the world a higher esteem for the meaningfulness of American principles.

It is the part of statesmanship in the South today to accept the task of getting equal opportunity, or equal rights, for all the people of the South. We can stall, and accuse, and contest, but we merely thereby make our position more difficult, and increase the burden of bitterness which eighty years of denial ~~xfx xxxxxxxx~~ of the promises of the Constitution have stored in the breasts of the Negroes of the South and of the rest of the country.

The South of to-day, we all recognize, is a complex of law, tradition, custom, status, and economy which will not move with speed satisfying to those who insist upon change at once. But it can move. It can move of free will, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ through normal processes of education and democratic self-government; or it can be required to move, step by reluctant step, as decrees of federal courts successively beat down this and that defense of our discriminations. What is here pled for is determination on the part of the South itself to correct, on its own, the things it knows are wrong.

What are these things?

First, our resistance to free use of the ballot by our Negro citizens.

Second, our short-changing of the Negroes in such public services as education, travel, health-protection, and the administration of justice.

Third, our laxity in permitting violence and insecurity in day-to-day police work, in the crime of lynching, and in the unceasing, if figurative, lynching of the sensitive spirits of people who desire for themselves and their wives and children normal human respect.

Fourth, our customary denial of opportunity of advancement in private employment.

Fifth, our exclusion of Negro citizens from public administrative posts.

Sixth, our complaisance about housing conditions for our poorer citizens, Negro and white, which mock our wealth and inventive ability.

Seventh, our slowness in building in our agricultural pattern a greater approach to equality between those who own and those who work the land.

Most of these changes require a toilsome and costly effort, private and public. You do not wave a wand and get clean, spacious, safe, and comfortable housing for ten or fifteen million people who lack it to-day. Nor can the shack schools that pepper our countryside and our cities and towns be replaced cheaply by the modern buildings that are demanded, insistently, in the name of equal educational facilities. That will take at the least several hundreds of millions of dollars. Nor are venereal disease and tuberculosis to be conquered without cost and devoted skill. Nor can we have adequate hospitals and adequate general medical care just for the waiting. Establishing the family farm pattern in our old plantation areas will cost loan money and administrative expense. Opportunity in industry waits in part upon more factories, and in fact ability and skill, and the price of those is a system of technical schools, with the best of equipment. Policemen wont suddenly become pshchiatric physicians; their attitudes will yield to better pay and better tenure and better training. All of which is to say that what is called civil rights is not something that can be installed complete by mere legislative act; civil rights cost money; big money, and steady and driving energy, in matters public and private.

Law has its place. The effort to improve it is a most valuable educational experience, and enacted law sets a standard which the courts and the people will generally attain in detail. Our Council supports the principle of legislation in this realm, and would gladly see law sharpened by both State and Federal governments.

But we do not wish the agitation for simple change in law to obsure the changes in fact which we think must underpin any real

acievements in this realm in the South. The goal is people who feel an acceptable degree of equality in the conditions of their lives; once we get that, we will have rights with little question. [Incidentally, it is not here claimed that the day will ever come when the South won't have some jealously and complaint; it is not the American dream to have peace and gentleness unmarred by rivaly and contest.]

If the price is in money and in services, and in altered private practices, how will the South find the means to do these things? Here, oddly, we can be helped. If we in the South, though responsible bodies public and private, will convincingly declare our purpose to provide a square break for all our pepple, and our willingness to pay all we can in taxes and in effort to get it done, then the Nation will in gratitude pay a generous part of the bill. I can't suppose that any responsible statesmen of the North contemplate with pleasure devices which would roughly push a vengeful South into limited and grudging reforms; I do suppose that the whole citizen body of the United States would offer its mighty cooperation in any honest effort which the South as a whole would make itself to get all its people on their feet, andall its youth endowed with the right to hope for fairness and humanity in the future.

24 - Mitchell, G.S. - "I still wrote it"

FEBRUARY, 1949

February 3	Conferred with a foundation official
February 4	Dinner at Butler Street YMCA
February 9	Fund-raising meeting, Durham, North Carolina
February 10	Conference with President Paul Williams
February 11	Fund-raising meeting, Richmond, Virginia
February 12	Fund-raising meeting, Louisville, Kentucky
February 14	Executive Committee Meeting: Georgia Workers Education Service
February 15	Annual Meeting, Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation
February 17	Meeting with fund campaign committee of the National Urban League, Atlanta
February 19	Meeting with informal Southwide gathering of Americans for Democratic Action
February 19	Map speech in private home
February 20	Addressed Sunday School class
February 22	Fund-raising meeting, Montgomery, Alabama Attendance at annual meeting of Alabama Division
February 25	Map speech in private home
February 28	Fund-raising meeting, Jacksonville, Florida

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

24 - Mitchell, G.S. - "GSM Wrote It"

Dixie Farmers Get Some Land

By George S. Mitchell
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council

THE LAST FIFTEEN YEARS in Southern agriculture have seen the play of forces of change more powerful than any that have been at work for several generations. Many who are concerned with the economic and governmental health of the Southern States have watched closely the figures on farm ownership and farm tenancy. On the whole, the period from 1930 to 1945 is encouraging in this respect — more so, however, for the white farmers of the South than for the Negroes.

In 1945 the thirteen Southern States had a little short of 2,100,000 white farm operators and about 660,000 Negro farm operators. Of the white farmers, a little better than 1,396,000 were owners or part owners, and of the Negro farmers, 186,000 were owners or part owners. Thus in 1945 roughly three-fourths of the farm operators of the South were white and one-fourth were Negro. Owners were 63% of all white farmers and 28% of all Negro farmers

Here are some interesting changes in the fifteen-year period:

1) White farmers of all kinds declined 5.4%; 2) Negro farmers of all kinds declined 24.6%; 3) White farm owners *increased* 23.1%; 4) Negro farm owners *increased* 4.2%; 5) White tenants, including croppers, decreased 37.5%; 6) Negro tenants, including croppers, decreased 32%; 7) White croppers declined 54.1%; 8) Negro croppers [illegible]

Virginia	5.5%
Tennessee	5.8%
Oklahoma	21.5%
Kentucky	26.2%
South	4.2%
Non-South	17.5%

Very roughly, it could be said from these figures that in the states of the lower South, both whites and Negroes made remarkable gains in numbers of farm owners, while in the border states and in the upper South, white increases in owners were smaller than in the lower South, and Negro owners grew only slightly or actually decreased. Incidentally, in most of the states of the lower South, white owners increased more than twice as much as Negro owners.

* * *

THESE FIGURES for tenancy include sharecroppers. It is interesting to note that the number of farm tenants declined in every single Southern state during the fifteen-year period. Texas and Oklahoma showed the greatest decline for both races. Texas lost within sneezing distance of half its white tenants, and over 62% of its Negro tenants. Oklahoma was reduced in white tenants by 45%, and Negro tenants by 68%. In Florida, Arkansas and Mississippi the reduction of white tenants was very great. North Carolina had the smallest reduction in white tenants, 15.3%, and also the smallest reduction in Negro [illegible]

MACHINE AGE COMES TO SOUTH
Sugar Cane Harvester in Louisiana

64.5%. The smallest loss was North Carolina, 16.7%.

In Negro sharecropping the greatest reductions were again in the Southwest. Oklahoma lost 92.2%. In Texas it was 72.8%. In no other Southern states was Negro sharecropping reduced by anything approaching these figures. The next highest loss was Arkansas, 44%, followed by Alabama, 42.2%, and Louisiana, 40.7%. The eastern seaboard states had more moderate reductions. Virginia lost 17.3%, South Carolina 11.8%, and owners declined 4.5% in the depression-New Deal Era, but gained 9.1% in the war years. The only three states which did not show losses in Negro owners in the depression - New Deal period were Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina. By contrast, the only state which did not gain in Negro owners in the war period was Kentucky, where the loss was light, 2.7%.

* * *

FROM ALL these figures one can draw the conclusion that in the recent period of agricultural prosperity the

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In 1945 the thirteen Southern States had a little short of 2,100,000 white farm operators and about 660,000 Negro farm operators. Of the white farmers, a little better than 1,396,000 were owners or part owners, and of the Negro farmers, 186,000 were owners or part owners. Thus in 1945 roughly three-fourths of the farm operators of the South were white and one-fourth were Negro. Owners were 63% of all white farmers and 28% of all Negro farmers

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* * *

THE GROWTH in farm owners in the South was remarkably greater than in the rest of the country. In the non-southern states white farm owners increased only 5.7%, as against 23.1% in the South, and Negro farm owners outside the South declined 17.5% as against the Southern increase of 4.2%.

Conversely. white tenants dropped less in the non-southern states than in the South. The figures were: non-South, decline of 20.2%; South, decline of 37.5%. Negro tenants dropped a little more outside than within the South—36% outside and 32% within.

The state figures show interesting contrasts in the increase of white owners. For increases in white, including part owners:

Georgia	32.4%
Oklahoma	32.3%
South Carolina	28.1%
Mississippi	27.7%
Alabama	27.5%
Texas	26.9%
Arkansas	26.5%
Florida	25.9%
Louisiana	25.1%
Tennessee	20.7%
North Carolina	18.7%
Virginia	17.4%
Kentucky	11.7%
United States	11.6%
South	23.1%
Non-South	5.7%

On increases in Negro owners (including part owners), the ranking of the states is quite different:

Florida	16.0%
Alabama	15.4%
Louisiana	12.6%
South Carolina	12.3%
Mississippi	11.9%
Georgia	11.5%
Texas	6.7%
North Carolina	0.7%
Arkansas	0.1%
Virginia	5.5%
Tennessee	5.8%
Oklahoma	21.5%
Kentucky	26.2%
South	4.2%
Non-South	17.5%

Very roughly, it could be said from these figures that in the states of the lower South, both whites and Negroes made remarkable gains in numbers of farm owners, while in the border states and in the upper South, white increases in owners were smaller than in the lower South, and Negro owners grew only slightly or actually decreased. Incidentally, in most of the states of the lower South, white owners increased more than twice as much as Negro owners.

* * *

THESE FIGURES for tenancy include sharecroppers. It is interesting to note that the number of farm tenants declined in every single Southern state during the fifteen-year period. Texas and Oklahoma showed the greatest decline for both races. Texas lost within sneezing distance of half its white tenants, and over 62% of its Negro tenants. Oklahoma was reduced in white tenants by 45%, and Negro tenants by 68%. In Florida, Arkansas and Mississippi the reduction of white tenants was very great. North Carolina had the smallest reduction in white tenants, 15.3%, and also the smallest reduction in Negro tenants, 4.8%. Other states which reduced their numbers of tenants heavily were: Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana and Alabama.

Here are the detailed figures on percentage changes in number of farm tenants of all kinds (including sharecroppers), for the period 1930-1945:

White

Texas	48.8%
Oklahoma	44.8%
Florida	44.0%
Arkansas	42.3%
Louisiana	40.8%
Mississippi	39.9%
Georgia	35.7%
Tennessee	33.7%
Alabama	31.3%
South Carolina	30.3%
Virginia	28.8%
Kentucky	27.0%
North Carolina	15.3%
United States	29.6%
South	37.5%
Non-South	20.2%

Non-white

Oklahoma	68.1%
Texas	63.5%
Arkansas	41.6%
Kentucky	41.5%
Louisiana	41.0%
Alabama	37.3%
Florida	27.1%
Mississippi	27.0%
Tennessee	26.2%
Georgia	23.3%
Viriginia	22.1%
South Carolina	16.6%
North Carolina	4.8%
United States	32.0%
South	32.0%
Non-South	36.0%

On sharecropping specifically the reductions as we know were very great. White sharecropping came near to extinction in Oklahoma, with a decline of 87.4%. In Texas the loss was 78.7%. Florida dropped 72% of its white sharecroppers, and Louisiana 64.5%. The smallest loss was North Carolina, 16.7%.

MACHINE AGE COMES TO SOUTH
Sugar Cane Harvester in Louisiana

In Negro sharecropping the greatest reductions were again in the Southwest. Oklahoma lost 92.2%. In Texas it was 72.8%. In no other Southern states was Negro sharecropping reduced by anything approaching these figures. The next highest loss was Arkansas, 44%, followed by Alabama, 42.2%, and Louisiana, 40.7%. The eastern seaboard states had more moderate reductions. Virginia lost 17.3%, South Carolina 11.8%, and North Carolina only 2%.

* * *

OF COURSE in all these changes the figures for hired farm laborers are important. Unfortunately, they are not available on a race breakdown; I have only got them by census regions (which differ from the grouping used heretofore) and the changes are for a different period. Hired farm laborers for the U. S. as a whole decreased 17.5% between 1940 and 1945, and in the South, decreased 20.8%. Their number was increasing moderately in the two-year period 1945-1947—a little more for the country as a whole than for the South.

Thus, for the fifteen-year period under consideration white farm owners in the South grew remarkably—23.1%—while Negro owners only crept ahead at the rate of 4.2%. White tenants of all kinds decreased more than Negro tenants. Well over half the white croppers left that category. With the Negroes it was well under a third. For all farm operators, the South lost in our period only 5.4% of its white operators, and almost a fourth of its Negro operators (24.6%).

A far heavier percentage of Southern Negro farmers left agriculture in the fifteen-year period than white farmers. Far fewer Negro farmers, in proportion to their numbers, climbed into ownership than white farmers. Tenancy and sharecropping declined less among Negroes than among Whites. Generally speaking, the border states yield figures less encouraging to Negro agriculture, and the states of the lower South show the best gains in Negro farm ownership.

As between Negro and white owners, the percentage of increase for the two periods, 1930-40 and 1940-45, show some interesting contrasts. White owners increased 11.3% during 1930-40 and nearly as much again, 10.7%, in the five war years, 1940-45. Negro owners declined 4.5% in the depression-New Deal Era, but gained 9.1% in the war years. The only three states which did not show losses in Negro owners in the depression - New Deal period were Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina. By contrast, the only state which did not gain in Negro owners in the war period was Kentucky, where the loss was light, 2.7%.

* * *

FROM ALL these figures one can draw the conclusion that in the recent period of agricultural prosperity the South has had a satisfying—not to say remarkable — increase in numbers of farm owners. The increase has been quite unevenly distributed by race. While the number of Negro owners has increased, they have grown only in the years of peak prosperity, and even then not as rapidly as white owners.

I confess to a preference for the pattern of the family farm. My own travels about the South convince me that almost every factor pertaining to government and culture is on a better level in areas in which a high percentage of farms are worked by owners or by tenants whose landlords own only one, two or three farms. As a matter of theory, it should prove to be true that race relations are better in those rural areas in which Negro and white farmers have holdings and tenure that are similar in size and kind. Doubtless many of us could cite communities which by relationships good or bad would back up this point of sociological theory. In the changes of the next period, I am hopeful that the South will apply a conscious pressure to broaden the pattern of equalitarian land ownership.

ON THEIR MARX

Russian economists cannot understand why the United States has not had the economic crisis infallibly indicated by Marxian theory.
—News item.

WE lack, it seems, sincerity,
We don't cooperate.
We cling to our prosperity
And make them wait and wait.

Though often we've been wrong before,
This is the final straw.
We should have toppled long before—
It's against the Marxist law!

Richard Armour.

24 - GSM - "Write it" Mitchell

MAP TALK SUMMARY
GSM 6/2/49

The South of today can only be understood by going back and looking at its past.

Settlement began in areas reached by tidal rivers, and in these places the land was distributed by the Crown in large chunks. The white labor brought in under indenture persistently left the plantation areas, and was therefore the more eagerly replaced by slave labor, which could be held. The plantation economy spread explosively after the coming of the cotton-gin, and within sixty years had taken in a great swath stretching around the whole of the coastal plain, and covering the Mississippi Delta and moving on into the black waxy of Texas. Everywhere it took large land-holdings and slave labor.

The white farmers moved from the path of the slave economy, back into the Piedmont, into the Mountains, or down into the Piney Woods. Thus the ante-bellum South was really four Souths, regionally divided into those four distinct economies.

Hinton Rowan Helper, in 1858, predicted the break-up of slaveholder domination. When that came, in 1865, the small-farmer white South, sometimes in league with freedmen, made an effort to construct a free economy, but was frustrated by lack of roads, markets, industry, and power. These lacks began to be overcome after about 1880, and between then and now the people in the Piedmont area have built up a new South, based upon family-farm ownership and a decentralized and modern industrial society.

The problem of the mountains is largely one of land-use reorganization, industrial development, and forest conservation. In the Piedmont the balance between industry and agriculture and the possession by the people of a stout tradition of political participation and more lately of trade unionism (including unions open to members of both races) promises a further development of an

essentially democratic society. In the Piney woods unions are spreading more broadly the income from the one great natural resource (pine trees), and public and private measures of conservation can keep that base there.

For the old plantation country the root problem is the continuing ownership of the land in larger blocks. While much has been done in recent years, privately and through government programs, and while a change in farming systems goes on rapidly, it is still true that a basic inequality exists between large owners and landless tenants or farm laborers.

Turning to the States, as imposed upon this sub-regional division, it comes out clearly that the plantation area is geographically preponderant in the States of the lower South. In addition, by one device or another, it retains in the State legislatures a political superpreponderance. Thus the public life of the States of the lower South is held to the traditions and practices acceptable in that area where equalitarian institutions have made least headway. The more progressive parts struggle for change, but are denied it. The obvious remedy is concentration on the problem of achieving democratic institutions in the old plantation parts of the South.

BY-LAWS

of the

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

ARTICLE I. NAME, AREA, AND PURPOSES

Section 1. Name. The name of this organization shall be the Southern Regional Council, Incorporated. The terms "Council" or "Corporation" used hereafter in these by-laws shall mean the "Southern Regional Council, Incorporated."

Section 2. Area. For the purposes of this corporation the Southern Region shall be defined as embracing the States of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. All members of the corporation shall be residents of this area. This area may be increased or reduced at any annual meeting of the members as hereinafter defined.

Section 3. Purposes. The purposes of the Southern Regional Council are to exist and function as an eleemosynary organization, and more particularly to organize and maintain a Regional Council and to cooperate with like State organizations in the Southern Region for the improvement of economic, civic, and racial conditions, in the endeavor to promote a greater unity in the South in all efforts towards regional and racial development; to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region; to reduce racial tension, the basis of racial tension, racial misunderstanding, and racial distrust; to develop and integrate leadership in the South on new levels of regional development and fellowship; and to cooperate with local, state, regional, and national agencies on all levels in the attainment of the desired objectives. The Council shall not engage in carrying on propaganda or otherwise attempt to influence legislation nor engage in any form of political activities.

ARTICLE II. MEMBERS

Section 1. Members.

A. The members of the corporation shall be not more than 80 or less than 64 persons, hereafter called members.

B. A member shall hold office for four years or until he shall have resigned, died, or been removed in the manner provided by Section 8 of this article. A member may be eligible to succeed himself; however, there shall be at least five new members elected each year.

C. Successors to members shall, upon expiration of terms or death, resignation, or removal, be elected by all members of the corporation, at the next meeting, following occurrence of such vacancy; except that, in intervals between annual meetings, the Executive Committee shall be empowered to fill vacancies in the membership of the Council.

Section 2. Notice of Meetings and Membership Rights.

A. Notice of the place, day, and hour of every regular and special meetings shall be given to each member not less than ten (10) days before the meeting, by delivering the same to him personally, or sending the same to him by telegraph or telephone or by leaving the same at his last known post office address, according to the records of the corporation. It shall not be requisite to the validity of any meeting of the Council that notice thereof shall have been received by any member who is present thereat or, if absent, waives notice thereof in writing filed with the records of the meeting either before or after the holding thereof. No notice of any adjourned meeting of the Council need be given.

B. The rights of any member in the corporation shall not be assignable or transferable, except in the case of proxies, as provided in Section 4 of this article and his rights shall cease with death, resignation, or termination of membership for any cause.

Section 3. Voting.

Each member shall have one vote and, except in cases in which it is by the charter or by these by-laws otherwise provided, a majority of the votes cast shall be sufficient to elect and to pass any measure. Voting by mail may be conducted on such questions and in such manner as may be provided by the Executive Committee.

Section 4. Proxies.

Any member entitled to vote at any meeting of members may vote either in person or by proxy. All proxies shall be given to members of this body only, and each one shall designate the name of the member who shall act as proxy. Every proxy shall be in writing, subscribed by the member, or his duly authorized attorney, and dated, but need not be sealed, witnessed, or acknowledged. Proxies shall be delivered to the secretary of the corporation before such meeting or to the inspectors at the meeting.

Section 5. Annual Meetings.

The corporation shall hold annually a meeting for the election of officers and for the transaction of general business at its principal office in Atlanta at ten o'clock a.m. on the second Wednesday in November in each year, if not a legal holiday, or at such other place and such other time as may be designated by the Executive Committee, provided notice of such meeting, including day, hour, and place, shall be given each member of the Council in writing at least thirty days in advance. Such annual meetings shall be general meetings; that is to say, open for the transaction of any business within the powers of the corporation without special notice of such business, unless otherwise provided in these by-laws.

Section 6. Special Meetings.

At any time in the interval between annual meetings, special meetings may be called by the president or any ten (10) members.

Section 7. Quorum.

Fifteen members of the Council shall be necessary to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at every meeting of the members; but if at any meeting there be less than a quorum present, a majority of those present may adjourn the meeting from time to time, but not for a period of over fifteen (15) days at any one time, without notice other than by announcement at the meeting until a quorum shall attend. At any such adjourned meeting at which a quorum shall be present, any business may be transacted which might have been transacted at the meeting as originally notified.

Section 8. Removal.

At any meeting called with that purpose stated in the call, any member may, by a majority of the votes cast, be removed from office for cause, and another be appointed in the place of the person so removed to serve for the remainder of his term. Permanent change of residence or citizenship to a point beyond the area, as defined in or pursuant to Article I, Section 2, will automatically terminate the membership of one so changing residence or citizenship.

ARTICLE III. FELLOWS

The Council may award honorary fellowships, not exceeding one hundred (100) in number, to Southerners who have demonstrated exceptional talent for constructive leadership.

Fellows shall be chosen in such manner as the Council may prescribe, provided they are well distributed as to race, sex, creed, occupation, and place of residence. The duties of fellows shall be to cooperate with the Council as observers, advisers, correspondents, and special representatives. Fellows may receive such honoraria or reimbursement of expenses incurred at the request of the Executive Committee as the Council may direct. The term of a fellowship shall be for two years, unless otherwise provided by the Council, and fellowships may be renewed or withdrawn at the discretion of the Council. Fellows need not be members of the corporation.

ARTICLE IV. COMMITTEES

Section 1. Executive Committee.

The Council shall provide for an Executive Committee of not more than nine (9) members in addition to the president and vice-presidents, treasurer and counsel. The Executive Committee shall serve during the pleasure of the Council and may be discharged and the Committee abolished at any time by the Council. Unless one of the members shall have been designated as chairman by the Council, the Executive Committee shall elect a chairman from its own number. During the intervals between the meetings of the Council the Executive Committee shall possess and may exercise all of the powers of the corporation, conferred by these by-laws or the charter of the corporation, in all cases in which specific directions shall not have been given by the Council. The Executive Committee shall keep full and fair accounts of its transactions. All action by the Executive Committee shall be reported to the Council at its meeting next succeeding such action, and shall be subject to revision and alterations by the Council; provided that no rights of third persons shall be effected by any such revision or alteration. Vacancies in the Executive Committee shall be filled by the Council or the Executive Committee itself during the interim between the Council meetings. All vacancies shall be filled from among members of the Council.

Section 2. Meetings of Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee shall fix its own rules of procedure, and shall meet as provided by such rules or by resolution of the Council, and it shall also meet at the call of the chairman or of any three members of the Committee. A quorum of the Executive Committee shall consist of not less than five (5) members of the Committee. If necessary, members of the Executive Committee may by written notice appoint a proxy from among the members of the Council to attend and vote on behalf of such members.

Section 3. National Advisory Committee.

The Council may establish a National Advisory Committee, composed of persons who reside outside the area of the Southern Regional Council and who are sympathetic with the aims and policies of the Council, whose purpose shall be to advise the Council on matters pertaining to its work.

Section 4. Nominating Committee.

There shall be a Nominating Committee of not less than five (5) members. Three members shall be elected by the Council from its membership at its annual meeting. Two members shall be appointed by the joint action of the President and the Executive Committee. The Nominating Committee shall meet not less than thirty (30) days before the annual meeting for the purpose of nominating: (1) members of the Council, (2) officers of the Council, (3) members of the Executive Committee and (4) three members of the succeeding Nominating Committee. As provided in Article II, Section 1-B, the Nominating Committee shall include the names of at least five new persons in its slate of nominees.

Section 5. Other Committees.

The Council may by resolution provide for such other standing or special committees as it deems desirable and may discontinue the same at pleasure. Each such committee shall have such powers and perform such duties, not inconsistent with these by-laws, as may be assigned to it by the Council. If provision be made for any such committee, the members thereof shall be appointed by the Council. Vacancies in such committees shall be filled by the Council or by such committee or officer as the Council may authorize to fill such vacancies.

ARTICLE V. OFFICERS

Section 1. Executive Officers.

The executive officers of the corporation shall be a president; one or more vice-presidents, not to exceed four; an executive director; one or more assistant directors, a secretary, and a treasurer. The president, vice-presidents, and treasurer shall be chosen from among the members of the corporation. The executive director, assistant directors, and secretary shall not be members of the corporation. The offices of secretary and treasurer may be held by the same person, in which case the secretary-treasurer shall not be a member of the corporation. The president and vice-presidents shall be elected annually by the Council. The executive

director and assistant directors, secretary-treasurer, and counsel shall be subject to confirmation annually by the Council, upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee. Officers shall hold office until the corresponding meeting in the next year, and until their successors shall have been fully chosen and qualified, or until they shall have resigned or shall have been removed, in the manner provided in Article II, Section 8. Any vacancy in any of the above offices shall be filled for the unexpired portion of the term by the Council, at any regular or special meeting.

Section 2. President.

The president of the corporation shall serve as chairman of the Council. He shall, when present, preside at all meetings of the Council, and he shall perform such other duties as, from time to time, may be assigned to him by the Council.

Section 3. First Vice-President.

At the request of the president, or in his absence or disability, the first vice-president shall perform all the duties of the president; and when so acting shall have the powers of the president; and shall perform such other duties as, from time to time, may be assigned to him by the Council.

Section 4. Additional Vice-Presidents.

Each additional vice-president, if any, shall perform the duties of the office in order of his rank and shall have such powers and perform such duties as may be assigned to him by the Council.

Section 5. Executive Director.

The executive director shall be charged with the execution of the program and policies of the Council as defined by the Council, and shall be responsible directly to the Council. He shall have general charge and supervision of the employed personnel of the Council, he may sign and execute, in the name of the corporation, all authorized deeds, mortgages, bonds, contracts, or other instruments, except in cases in which the signing and execution thereof shall have been expressly delegated to some other officer or agent of the corporation; and he shall perform such other duties as, from time to time, may assigned to him by the Executive Committee or by the Council.

Section 6. Assistant Directors.

The Assistant directors shall work in cooperation with the executive director in the administration of the program and policies of the Council. In the absence or disability of the executive director, one of the assistant directors will be designated by the executive director, or by the executive committee, to perform, temporarily, the duties of executive director.

Section 7. Secretary.

The secretary shall keep the minutes of the meetings of the Council and of the Executive Committee, in books provided for the purpose; he shall see that all notices are duly given in accordance with the provisions of these by-laws, or as required by law; he shall be custodian of the records and of the corporate seal or seals of the corporation; he shall see that the corporate seal is affixed to all documents, the execution of which, on behalf of the corporation, under its seal, is duly authorized, and when so affixed may attest the same; and, in general, he shall perform all duties incident to the office of a secretary of a corporation, and such other duties as, from time to time, may be assigned him by the Council or by the by-laws.

Section 8. Treasurer.

The treasurer shall have charge of and be responsible for all funds, securities, receipts and disbursements of the corporation, and shall deposit, or cause to be deposited, in the name of the corporation, all monies or other valuable effects in such banks, trust companies, or other depositories as shall, from time to time, be selected by the Council; he shall render to the president and to the Council annually, and at other times whenever requested, an account of the financial condition of the corporation; and, in general, shall perform all duties incident to the office of a treasurer of a corporation, and such other duties as may be assigned to him by the Council.

Section 8A. Secretary-Treasurer.

All or some of the duties contained in Sections 7 and 8 may be assigned to one person. This person will be designated Secretary-Treasurer.

Section 9. Controller.

The office of controller may be created by the Council, and the duties and authority of such officer shall be fixed by the Council.

Section 10. Counsel.

The duties and authority of counsel shall be fixed by the Council, and he shall be a member of the Council, by virtue of his office.

ARTICLE VI. AMENDMENTS

These by-laws, or any of them, may be altered or repealed, and new by-laws may be adopted at any annual meeting of the members, or at any special meeting called for that purpose, by the vote of a majority of the members represented in person or by proxy and entitled to vote thereat, provided that such proposed change has been submitted to the membership at least thirty (30) days prior to the meeting.

NOTE: Amended version, approved by the full Council, November 11, 1959.

GSM wrote Aug 31 1952

November 21, 1949

Mr. J. Oscar Lee, Executive Director
Department of Race Relations
Federal Council of Churches
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Lee:

Here is the 50-word statement you requested for Race Relations Sunday:

> What can we do about race relations? Find out what is wrong in your own home town, and start clearing it up. What we all want is basic equality among Americans. The way to help it along is to see that people have jobs and farms and homes and schools and health.

We have worked out a program of suggested local action for use in connection with Race Relations Sunday. Here is a copy on the enclosed sheet. The attached packet has the free materials which we will send out along with the program itself. We would be grateful if you could find some way to mention it in your mailings for Race Relations Sunday.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:jps

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

INCORPORATED

CABLE ADDRESS "FEDCIL" TELEPHONE GRAMERCY 5-3475

297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

BISHOP JOHN S. STAMM
PRESIDENT

MRS. DOUGLAS HORTON
VICE-PRESIDENT

HARPER SIBLEY
TREASURER

REV. SAMUEL MCCREA CAVERT
GENERAL SECRETARY

ROSWELL P. BARNES
J. QUINTER MILLER
ASSOCIATE GENERAL SECRETARIES

CLEO W. BLACKBURN
JOHN H. IVES
CO-CHAIRMEN

J. OSCAR LEE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

THOMAS C. ALLEN
CO-SECRETARY

Department of Race Relations

November 2, 1949

Dr. George Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

A major concern of the Federal Council of Churches is the building of better relations between Americans of different races and faiths.

Each year the Federal Council calls upon the churches of 27 member communions to focus the attention of their members upon a consideration of this problem as part of their activities throughout the entire year. The 28th observance of Race Relations Sunday will be held February 12, 1950.

We are asking you as one of a group of 50 national leaders to express your opinion on some phase of race relations, in a statement of 50 words or less, and permit us to release it to the nation's press. We would like to have this statement by November 20.

In this connection you may be interested in reading the Federal Council's 1950 Message to the member churches, a copy of which is enclosed.

We invite you to join with others in emphasizing to the American people the importance of reconciling racial differences to MAKE BROTHERHOOD REAL.

Very sincerely yours,

J. Oscar Lee

J. Oscar Lee
Executive Secretary

Thos. C. Allen

Thomas C. Allen
Co-Secretary

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Southern Regional Council

encl.

28th Anniversary, Race Relations Sunday, February 12, 1950 . . . Marking Brotherhood Month

MAKE BROTHERHOOD REAL

A Message for Race Relations Sunday, February 12, 1950, from
The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

"So God formed man in His own likeness, in the likeness of God He formed him, ...(Gen.1:27)
"The man called the name of his wife Eve (Life), because she was the mother of all living persons." (Gen.3:20) Moffatt

The divine reason for the fact of races is a mystery. As interesting as variety may be, we pay a terrific price for it and there is no doubt that the differences among the great branches of the human family serve to produce both dissension and pride. The common evils to which mankind is subject are often hard to bear, but for millions these evils are accentuated because of race.

We have not attained a full knowledge of the divine purpose, but we can rejoice that in God's revelation to men He has given a clear leading concerning our right reaction to the problems which arise from the fact of race. This begins with the tremendous affirmation that man, as man, has been made in God's image. The Bible is specific and clear in the insistence that this includes all men, of whatever kind or condition. Eve, we are told, was the mother of all living. How powerful this conception may be and how effective in the sensitizing of a conscience is shown in the recorded experience of John Woolman, the humble New Jersey tailor and acknowledged saint of the eighteenth century. Indeed it was a realization of the common origin of all men that led Woolman to his pioneering work in opposition to human slavery. Woolman's words, written in 1746, were:

> "When we remember that all nations are of one Blood ... that in this World we are but Sojourners, that we are subject to the like Afflictions and Infirmities of Body, and like Disorders and Frailties in Mind, the like Temptations, the same Death, the same Judgment, and that the Alwise Being is Judge and Lord over us all, it seems to raise an Idea of a general Brotherhood, and a Disposition easy to be touched with a Feeling of each others Afflictions."

When Christian faith is true to its own genius it inspires men and women to think of how they would feel if they were placed in the position of persons of

other races, particularly those who are denied basic human liberties. The worldly tendency is for each group to be self-centered, but the divine imperative compels us to try to understand the feeling of those who suffer from being different.

Our religion fails whenever it becomes a means of spiritual self indulgence, making us feel good alone. It succeeds only when it drives us to an awareness of suffering, struggling humanity everywhere, so that we can no longer look upon ourselves as separate persons, but persons involved inextricably in the entire human struggle.

We begin to sense something of the divine pattern which reaches its fulfillment in the Cross when we realize that persecution and suffering may become a holy bond, bridging the chasms which ordinarily separate us. Thus a young Jewish poet says he wears ebony skin, but wears it on the inside:

"Your yoke is black and obvious,
Mine subtle; I am white as they
Who nail us both to every cross
On every pretense, every day."

Brotherhood lives in the Christian love and concern of one person for another. We cannot be Christians in our separateness. The brotherhood is not something extra, but is inherent in the very meaning of the Christian experience. This brotherhood includes all nations and races, for Christ suffered and triumphed for all men. This brotherhood is not yet accomplished, but the churches are called upon to lead the world and to pledge their loyalty to the community that is being born.

The right relation among races, as among nations, will never come by law alone. It will not come until millions of men of all races look with wondering tenderness upon their fellow men who, in spite of human sin and shame, still bear the divine stamp upon their souls. The task of Christians is to carry on Christ's mission. That mission is meaningless unless brotherhood is made real.

MAKE BROTHERHOOD REAL

The resurgence of mob violence; attempts, both legal and illegal, to deny men and women their freedom; continued discrimination in employment and housing; the persistence of segregation in education, as well as the rebirth of the Ku Klux Klan under various names are denials of brotherhood to racial minorities within our nation. These conditions serve to undermine the influence of democracy abroad and to embarrass its representatives. The churches and individual Christians are challenged to action in order to MAKE BROTHERHOOD REAL.

WHAT CHURCHES CAN DO

1. Strengthen Christian fellowship by opening church membership to all regardless of race.
2. Use the Race Relations Sunday observance to evaluate what your church has done in race relations and to plan a program that runs throughout the year.
3. Organize a group within the church responsible for cultivating creative attitudes about race and for leadership in some of the following activities:
   a. Sponsor study groups, forums, worship services and other activities which bring different racial and cultural groups together to consider mutual interests and for fellowship.
   b. Discover what racial groups live in the community where the Church is located; their contributions to community life; their problems and what the church can do.
   c. Work to guarantee decent homes for all people and to remove restrictive practices based on race or national origin.
   d. Support legislation designed to guarantee human rights to all regardless of race, creed or national origin.

e. Insist on impartial justice in the courts and work for the elimination of racial discrimination in empolyment, education, health, recreation, hotel accommodations and community services.

WHAT INDIVIDUALS CAN DO

1. Learn the basic facts about race and examine your own attitudes.
2. When stories which have deregatory racial implications are told, tactfully point out that relating them spreads racial prejudice.
3. Find out what other racial groups live in your community. Discover their contributions; their problems; the efforts being made to resolve them and how you can participate.
4. Find out what your church and denomination are doing to improve race relations and what you can do to help.
5. Support legislation designed to guarantee human rights to all regardless of race, creed or national origin.
6. Work in your occupation, your union or vocational organization for fair employment practices.

AN ACTION PROGRAM FOR BETTER RACE RELATIONS IN YOUR COMMUNITY

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

HOME TOWN SELF-SURVEY. With their moral leadership and their concern for a real democracy, church people can play a vital part in improving human relations in their own communities. One of the most useful ways of getting at prejudice and discrimination at home is the self-survey. In such a survey, people of all faiths, races, and nationalities work together — as fellow citizens — to examine honestly the basic local facts about health, housing, education, welfare, employment, and other important fields. A self-survey is not only a concrete action program but an educational one as well; during the survey citizens and community leaders gain knowledge and understanding of their community's needs and problems. And when the survey is completed, they are ready and willing to act. To guide local citizens in carrying out a self-survey, the Southern Regional Council has prepared a Manual for the Home Town Self-Survey containing appropriate questionnaires and explanatory texts. It is available from the Council at 25¢ per copy.

RACE IN THE NEWS. Newspaper editors are coming to realize that their handling of news about Negroes falls far short of what it should be. Church people, in their own communities, can do much to get improvement in this field. To help them, the Southern Regional Council has prepared a booklet called "Race in the News", which sets out clearly and simply the rules for fair news treatment. People of good will can make a tangible contribution to better race relations by reading this booklet, watching their newspapers, visiting their local editor and urging improvement. This constructive course of action, followed by church women, has already shown good results in several places. "Race in the News" is available from the Council at 15¢ per copy.

THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED. Church women of all faiths and denominations are uniting to put their religious convictions to work in their own communities. They pledge themselves to learn of inequalities in justice and law enforcement; to visit the courts; to bring their influence to bear on public officials; to encourage better selection and training of policemen. They are alert to signs of tension and are ready to take all possible action when violence threatens. Church women who want to play a part in this program should write to the Southern Regional Council.

INTERRACIAL TEACHERS' INSTITUTES. Teachers have an important part to play in fostering better relations between the races. To help them increase their insight and understanding, teachers of both races should have an opportunity to meet together in a training institute, discuss their common interests, and plan ways to deal with common problems. This has been done with great success in New Orleans. There, various civic and church groups cooperated in sponsoring such an institute, for which the teachers received teaching credit. There could be few projects more useful than this for persons interested in Christian social action.

23- Mitchell, GS -
"GSM wrote it"

December 2, 1949

Mrs. Alice H. Lewis
Managing Editor
The Woman's Press
600 Lexington Ave.
New York 22, New York

Dear Mrs. Lewis:

Thanks a lot for printing the rural housing articlet, and for the copy. I am only too happy to have had the screed see print.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

THE WOMAN'S PRESS

600 Lexington Avenue New York 22, N. Y. PLaza 3-4700

November 29, 1949

Mr. George Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Along with the marked copy of the December Woman's Press, I want to send my own thanks for your article. It has had much favorable comment because of the warm human approach you have used.

That the author's name has been injudiciously shortened on the contents page, disturbs me more than I hope it will you. How these things happen with three people reading, I do not know. It is not one of the things I am prepared to accept as philosophically as I must accept--well, such things as taxes, for instance.

With every good wish.

Sincerely,

Alice H Lewis

Mrs. Alice H. Lewis
Managing Editor

AHL:ld
Enc.

Write her thisaways:

Thanks a lot for printing the rural housing ~~xxxxxxxx~~ articlet, and for the copy. I am only too happy to have had the screed see print.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

File: "GSM wrote this"

December 29, 1950

Mr. Charles Drake
Box 258
Berea, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Drake:

I remember I promised to write something for Mountain Life and Work about the pie business.

Here is what I have written. If it doesn't suit you, say so.

Ideally, it should have printed along with it a small cut showing some such map as I have drawn here. I leave to one of your Berea cartographers the draft of a really good one.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encls.

Have a look at the map and see how many State boundaries the Southern Appalachians overlap. Eight, or even nine if you include Maryland. Here is a region with a unity of its own in people and in problems, and with a multiplicity of political divisions.

One way to say it is that the mountains are the backyards of eight States. (In West Virginia, the frontyard) Another way is to compare us to a pie sliced the usual way. A small circle at the middle of the pie cuts off the tips only of all the slices.

About the unity of the people of the mountains, not a lot needs to be said. Anglo-Saxon is the stock term. Perhaps a better would be Teutono-Celtic. Religion is diverse but essentially similar. The tradition of self-government is strong throughout the whole area.

The basic problems are the same for the length of the region. In agriculture, the characteristic situation is small valleys with more people than the land will support, even if well farmed. Yet most families are land owners and hate to leave what they own. Ill-adapted farming practices have eroded mountain sides and flooded the bottoms so that valley after valley needs all-in reorganization of land use. Since we have extra people, we need to have industry climb the mountains. Chemical industries based on the mineral wealth of the mountains could be brought in. We could do much more processing of our lumber than we do. Dimension plants, plywood factories, and furniture factories would fit.

Textiles have been the biggest industry and could expand much more. Still better transportation and still more development of power would make it easier to get industrial growth. In forestry we ought to have a great expansion not only of forest reserves but of private forest-land care. And finally, there is the recreation industry, which has been well developed in spots, but which has hardly appeared at all in vast areas. More roads and more public attention to standards in caring for visitors would add income to parts of the mountains which need it desperately.

All of these lines of development would benefit if the mountains as an area had a unified program and a permanent organization to push for the things the mountain people need. At present each pie bite must compete at its own State capital for the attention of a legislature in which it is a minority, often an impoverished minority, and often a politically estranged minority too. Without some central representative organization pushing uniformly for concerted policy, it is unlikely that Charleston and Annapolis and Richmond and Raleigh and Columbia and Atlanta and Montgomery and Nashville and Frankfort will legislate advisedly. On the other hand, if the mountains had some sort of annual representative meeting and a permanent staff to formulate mountain needs, it would be probable that the distant circle of legislatures could be induced to provide tolerably uniform laws to assist mountain development.

There have been various suggestions as to what such a representative body ought to be. An interesting one would be an annual assembly of all of the mountain members of State legislatures. Possibly the Members of Congress from the mountains would make a sort of upper House. Another plan would be less formal: ~~a~~ an annual assembly of officials of a great variety of organizations. These would include the farm organizations, labor

unions, mining and manufacturing interests, forestry and recreation groups, power people, banks, etc. This would be a mountainy Chamber of Commerce. Whatever organization were formed ought to find the money to support a small staff engaged in research and planning for the benefit of all the people of the area. In the interplay of a secretariat and public representatives, a long-range plan would emerge. If the mountains showed that they were united behind a particular set of proposals, the whole region ought to find it a good deal easier to get what it needs.

I hear the bells on Christmas Day
The old familiar carols play,
And wild and sweet,
The words repeat
Of peace on earth, good will to men.
dovg.

From the Human Angle

GEORGE S. MITCHELL

THE THING about New England was its houses. They proved that well-being reached all the way down. Everybody had a tight, well-built home, with a touch of beauty, and everybody's children went to school.

Two-thirds of rural America missed the impulse that made sound farm-housing in New England. The South and the Southwest and big stretches of the West were settled with shacks and sod huts, cabins and flimsy houses. As standards improved, the top quarter of the farming people housed themselves well. But millions of tenants and sharecroppers, hill-land owners and laborers, lived on in their shacks.

In the South a farmhouse was worth $443. Two out of five needed major repairs on rotten sills, flimsy walls and leaky roofs. Only one in twenty-five had an inside flush toilet—and about one-fifth of the farmhouses in several southern states had no toilets at all, inside or out.

There was nothing wrong with farm people themselves to make them want to live in shacks. There simply was not enough money in farm business, as it was conducted, to make good houses possible. For the third or more who were tenants or sharecroppers, it was the landlord's responsibility to provide a home. Tenants were plentiful and notoriously destructive; money was scarce; so the old houses were made to do. But by the end of the last war the picture was changed; things began to look up. The New Deal had put a few examples of good farm-housing into every county. Rural electrification had reached two-thirds of all farmhouses by 1948, and nothing puts more convenience into a home than a line of light poles. Get in the "juice" and before long, in one way or another, the farm wife will have an iron, a radio, a washer, a refrigerator, then running water and a bath.

A lot of new building has been done too. Country people strike a deal with a sawmill, get hold of some boards and put on a new room or two themselves at a cash cost of perhaps $100. Scores of thousands of the worst houses have been abandoned. The sharecroppers who once lived in them have gone to Memphis, to Detroit, and the old cotton plantations have changed over to grass and beef-cattle. The estimate is that rural housing in the South improved 25 per cent between 1940-1947. It is still improving. But we've still got a million wretched shells of houses that farmers live in.

But this year Congress got around to passing the new Housing Act. It is a good act—especially on the rural end. It is grounded in the truth that a farmhouse and the farm it serves live or die together—it ties in each house, its planning and its financing with the farm upon which it is built. And, mercy of mercies, ways are provided to help the small farmer get enough land and income to pay for a decent house.

The act sets up ways to get help to farmers in each of three broad groups. The first is the man who owns a farm that makes him a living, but not enough to provide the home and farm buildings he must have to live decently. He can't "get floated" by a private lending agency. Under the act, he can borrow directly from the Department of Agriculture on a mortgage at 4 per cent for up to thirty-three years. This is the first time the ordinary farmer has had a chance at reasonable terms for house building. Private lenders are protected; the Government can require refinancing privately whenever the farmer is able to do so on tolerable conditions.

The next group are the farmers whose places are too small to enable them to pay out on a decent home. These men must work out a plan to get more land, and for producing, in not more than five years, enough income to permit him to carry through. The Government will lend him now the money needed for building and allow him, for the first five years, a credit as though paid, the sums due on interest and principal. This will put a lot of farmers on their feet. It will reach the Appalachians and the Ozarks and the poor land areas. It will help people up the agricultural ladder and let them raise their children in decency while they climb.

Lastly, the new law will help the dweller in somebody else's shack. Sweet new houses strung along plantation roads would have given big landlordism a shot in the arm but the shack people need decent houses now. The model was found in a prewar rural housing program called "environmental sanitation." There, the Government loaned or granted money or materials to tenants or sharecroppers (or to their landlords under special agreements). The occupants then patched their houses to get tight roofs, screens, new beams and clean water.

In this new effort the Government can lend to the owners up to $500, or grant up to $500 for repairs to existing dwellings. Modest repairs of this kind will make thousands of homes livable for years to come and the benefit will accrue directly to the occupants.

For all these groups the plan makes use of flexible repayments so that farmers won't be dispossessed by the accident of a couple of lean years. Administration is to be decentralized, with county committees of farmers to pass on applicants, see that standards of housing set up by the Secretary of Agriculture are lived up to, and protect tenants from rent rises imposed because of the better houses.

The new act won't do the whole job that needs to be done. It will hardly reach farm laborers and it will by-pass a lot of semi-rural housing that ought to have attention. But it is a wise start that can ease one of the sorest spots on America's conscience.

I've been told that once upon a time a certain minister prayed that Almighty God would reach out His arm over thirteen southern states and rain white house paint for three weeks. It looks as though after forty years, the Lord is going to answer that prayer.

* * *

Glm Wrote it

PHYLON
A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF RACE AND CULTURE
ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

EDITORIAL OFFICE

March 1, 1950

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you kindly for submitting your review of The Navy and the Slave Trade. Doctor Hill read it with considerable interest and I am passing it on today to our book review editor. I shall be pleased to notify you of his decision concerning publication in Phylon.

Sincerely yours,

Audrey C. Lewis

Secretary

RECEIVED
MAR 2 1950
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
MAR 22
Southern Regional Council

3
20
50

Dr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I just read your letter to me and the copy of the one to Silberman. I have been in New York and up to my neck in worry and negotiations. I'm sorry I didn't see it in time to say "by all means go ahead" and thus relieve you of any concern re: me or your only short acquaintance with them. I'm sure they understand the problems of such ventures and would resent it in no way. I haven't seen David yet for lo days, but I know your chances are very good.

Your sound track turned out very, very well. Everyone who has seen the film thinks immensely of it, and especially of the very extra-special quality of your voice and meaningful delivery. Your kind of appraoch on the sound track is something quite new.

It has not been sold yet, for two reasons. A-and one, it needed some important cuts to rid it of some obscurities that I failed to notice in my effort to rush the job through. B and two, it is a new kind of treatment for distributors to consider; thus, they need time. Two weeks should bring the answer.

If David has not yet given you a diffinite answer, one way or the other, I will be seeing him in a day or two and will find out things. Will let you know promptly.

Best to all and I will be writing tomorrow or the next day. Thanks again for a very rich contribution to this little opus!

Gordon

Gordon Weisenborn
4131 N. SHeridan Road
Chicago, Illinois

March 22, 1950

Dr. Mozell Hill
Phylon
Atlanta University
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Hill:

Here is the comment on the book The Lost Tongues by Mrs. Jettie Felps which you requested Dr. Mitchell to make in your letter of March 18.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.W.R.) Winona Dawkins, Secretary

THE LOST TONGUES

by

Mrs. Jettie Felps

Burnet, Texas

(comments by Dr. George S. Mitchell, Southern Regional Council)

A lengthening roll of names can now be called of men and women who, out of slavery, poverty, and injustice of southern society, have risen to outstanding strength of character and no inconsiderable fame.

Mrs. Jettie Felps of Burnet, Texas is white, sometime a school teacher, and her Mother once owned slaves and when Mrs. Felps was young kept a carriage. Mrs. Felps has collected, out of books and out of personal recollection, the fine things that too few white people know about Negroes, mostly southern, whose careers have been rich in service to others. The standard names are there often with some odd facts added to the usual record, and she has added others less often priased--Edward Randolph Carter, Otis O'Neil, and Bones Hooks and the new crop of musicians, actors and authors. You feel a bit as though you are in a antique shop where choice, if hardworn, pieces of furniture are higglity-pigglity with oddments stuck ashelf, whether authentic or not. There are bits about Africa which are not really history, and every now and then some lapse into southern prejudice that now seems quaint.

But, the little museum has been lovingly fitted out to show to any who will come in that peoples have equal capacity; and if the visitor will go on to talk in the last pages with the curator, he will find her eager and in earnest to correct injustice and to make the South equal and free.

Perhaps, some day, some one else will fittogether the records of the southern white people that rebel against what they find around them and have put their energies to persuading others. I think Mrs. Felps will deserve a place of good display in that collection.

George S. Mitchell

PHYLON
A Quarterly Review of Race and Culture
Atlanta University
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Editorial Office

March 18, 1950

Mr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

Here is a little book written by a friend of Phylon which has been sent along by the author requesting Phylon to publish a review. Mrs. Jettie Felps, as you will see, is a Southern white women with limited background and experiences in the field of race relations, yet she is particularly sensitive to the problem of inter-racial relations. While one may not agree with her approach, it does seem that what she is trying to do might be of some benefit.

Accordingly, Phylon would like to carry about a 250-word statement of this little volume. I would appreciate it if you would read it and let us have your candid and considered comments.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Mozell

Mozell

Enclosure

fig with let us write it.

24- GSM wrote it March. '50

Understanding the South

It has been customary of recent years to speak of the South as a region having a Colonial economy. Certainly for the recent period this is an inadequate and inaccurate description of the region, but we can understand it better if we examine what validity the term has for the day before yesterday.

Remember that the British settlements in North America were made and the patterns of our society set before James Watt and his steaming tea kettle. That was the age when work was done with muscles and mostly with muscles of men. There, people knew how to harness waterpower for small local uses and the wind did some of the work. But, all but a tiny fraction of what got done was done with manpower.

New England and the North settled it's land in a pattern that called out the utmost of the individual's effort for each individual's own gain. With certain exceptions, which historians know all about, land in the North was held by the people who tilled it. Men prospered in proportion as they toiled. And, because the people had the basic independence of land ownership, the political society which they built was basically a ~~democratic~~ democratic one. When mechanical power came, it was taken into the northern states with a ready welcome. Nobody had an interest in monopolizing and controlling the supply of rural labor. Because of the easy escape to independent land holdings in the old Northwest, labor was in any case scarce and every one recognized the advantage of machine production in substitute for the old hand processes. In the early part of the nineteenth century, the effort in the North was to establish a system of powered industry which could compete successfully with mills and factories of Britain. Ingenuity, distance, the War of 1812, and the tariff did the trick, and provided an industrial economy which between 1861 and 1865 demonstrated its strength as against what the South had built.

Some of you here have heard me quote my Father saying that the nineteenth century had three great ideas; liberty, industry and democracy, and that at the beginning of that century, the southern states set their faces against all three. Not liberty, slavery; not industry, plantation agriculture; not democracy, a contrived system of aristocratic government. I would myself trace that difference in attitude mainly to the pattern

of land ownership early established in the plantation South. Down to about 1800, the plantation system had not struck deep root. It was confined to a few coastal areas and the back country was settled by independent land owning farmers. It is even true, I believe, that until 1820, the southern states had more manufacturing industry than the North. Our plantation economy raising tobacco, rice, indigo, and a little cotton had adopted Negro slavery and was shipping its staple products back to Britian. For the British, the South was simply another area of the plantations, with an economy like that of the West Indies with a directed labor on large land holdings to make crop tributary to the food and raw material needs of the swelling commercial and handicraft economy of the British Isles. It was the cotton gin that changed things. The invention came almost simultaneously with the inventions which began the surging growth of the textile manufactures of Lancashire and Scotland. Within a couple of decades from 1790, the die had been cast. Men whose capital was slave labor drove or sold that capital to the new rich lands of the coastal plain of the South. They turned the labor to clearing the land and to raising the export crop for which the demand seemed insatiable.

Institute
May 15. '50

I want to talk this morning about States: these Southern States, into whose life and activities, now that your training is over, most of you will be going.

Surely, next to religion, the strongest tradition in the Western World is that of political democracy. Centuries of effort have gone into its making. It has broadened and deepened, until it has become the central feature of our society. In two world wars its defense has been our battle-cry, and all too visibly, the world divides anew in dispute as to the validity of Western practice in self-government.

What is our hold on this central idea, here in the South, and how shall we read its future among us?

Let us recognize that we have the tradition in a lamed and foreshortened form. Most of the States of the South were launched into the world after slavery had become dominant. Their constitutions provided citizenship only for free men. And even after the wrench of civil war had brought about constitutional conformity with the equal citizenship which our Federal government prescribes, the South soon fell back into devices which made State and local government the preserve of white men. It is only in the last fifteen or twenty years that we have seen the removal of the heaviest barriers to an equal citizenship, regardless of race. And of course even yet, a thousand hindrances still exist to our coming abreast in political participation, of what is standard in other organized Western

societies.

I am trained as an economist, and so I look, naturally, beneath the surface to the economic realities which so generally govern political arrangements. All over the world, political equality is closely tied to economic equality. The South was notoriously a land of economic inequality. With the spread of plantation agriculture our basic productive unit became the large land-holding, worked in simple routines by a labor force living in almost animal poverty, and yielding income and authority to a relatively small body of landowners. Tradition and numbers gave the franchise to the smaller white people, too, but for over a century they were subordinate in most matters of policy to those who directed plantation agriculture.

After about 1880, when our industrialization began, we reckoned with new sources of authority: first, in those who organized and ran the mills and mines, and banks and commerce; and more lately with the increasing insistence of those who worked in industry and business upon a share of political and economic power. Meanwhile, as transportation and markets and capital and skill reached the independent farmers, they too became articulate, and the South came to be governed by this or that mixture of the power of everyday farmers, big farmers, business men, industrialists, and organized labor. Still the Negro was excluded. But he made his way into many situations in which he shared economic influence. In industry he came into the regular income, a measure of skill, and the interdependence which made it advantageous to consult his wishes. In recent years his loyal and effective membership in trade unions has begun to bear fruit, not only in an approach to industrial equality, but in the appearance at many points of unquestioned political acceptance. In agriculture he seized upon opportunity to escape the dependence of tenancy and sharecropping, and found place and friends and

influence in farm ownership. The migration North and West has lessened the pressure upon opportunity in the South, and has provided in areas of established political equality several million citizens who sacrifice and organize and vote to broaden freedoms here in the South. And education, wherever it has approached equality, has paid its desired return in a Negro citizenship as capable, as responsible, and as much concerned for the good of society as that of the once uniquely-favored white people.

Thus we are coming into a day when Southerners, by and large, are equal. There are pockets of dependence and backwardness, as we all know. The pervasive democratization which accompanies industry is felt in areas still too restricted; many an old cotton county clings to patterns of discrimination which the change in its farming methods is undercutting; housing and health and schooling are still deplorably worse for most Negroes than for most whites, but the pattern of economic equality has been set, and it is only a matter of years before it reaches into all the areas where the old arrangements linger.

I suggest that all this foreshadows as the next great advance in Southern life the era of equal citizenship. What does that mean? It means the unimpeded right to vote. It means the right to be appointed or elected to public office. It means a fair share in all the work of the modern State. Specifically, it means that Negroes may serve in State legislatures, as they do already in Kentucky ~~and Oklahoma~~; on city councils, as they do already in Richmond and Winston-Salem and Roanoke, and have opportunities to serve on Boards and Commissions affecting education and health and the many welfare activities of our governments. It means non-discriminating recruitment to administrative and clerical posts. It means a share in political management, by service on boards of registrars, as election officials, and in political party offices. In short, it means political acceptance; a full

and respected citizenship in the life of all our communities.

If we much longer delay this change we court a grave danger. Already it is current doctrine among many Negroes in the South that the gains they have made have been made by their own efforts alone; that Negro lawyers paid with Negro dollars have opened opportunity by pressing reluctant Southern polities against the clear doctrines of the American constitution, and that the white South is the enemy, which fought these gains step by step. And enemy, it is added, without even the grace of dignity, for is it not true that the opposition has shown, not the superior political wisdom which is boasted, but the unreasonable argument, the wounding gibes of demagoguery, chicanery, the filibuster, and, at the last, that resort to violence which eats away the very foundations of government? Thus it is argued, and understandably believed, that the Negro cause has negligible help from white Southerners, and that the Southern white man is to be written off as a figure out of a comic-strip. This is poor ground in which to grow a common citizenship. And it is up to the South to make this belief die out.

Very many who are white are ready to act in this spirit. This modern way spreads. Examples multiply all about us, of State and local services that are open to all without distinction; of professional associations which recruit on the basis of qualifications and not of color; of Universities and Colleges which open their doors to all who seek learning; of newspapers which follow the news impartially as it is made; and of churches which recognize in deed the common allegiance of all our people to religious principles. My own Southern Regional Council, and its predecessor the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, have exemplified equality for thirty years. In a hundred new ways, this recognition of Negro attainments and of Negro rights grows. Each new occasion challenges and tests the sincerity of the white people of the South; as each test is met, in reason and in openness, we build

together a truly democratic public life.

I said it is up to the South; I mean that it is up to the South, both white and Negro, to make this belief die out. The major burden rests with the white people, but Negroes have a heavy responsibility, too. Hard as it may be, try at all times to remember that very many Southern white people deeply believe in fairness, and wish to work with you. Remember that tradition lays its bonds on us, and we have to learn to loose them. Show us all you can of self-discipline, of the generous spirit, of willingness to go your half-mile, too. I am not asking patience; I am asking for sensitivity and imagination, for wisdom and tact. In your careers you will have an ever-growing number of opportunities to play a personal part in this unlocking of the civic energies of white and Negro people disposed to work together. You possess a special skill in helping us in these relationships; if you will use it, in dignity and in kindness, we all move forward. The truth is that after all the talk about the uniqueness of the South is over, and notwithstanding all the strange and ultimately intolerable barriers between us, white people and colored people, in increasing number, do truly understand each other, simply as humans. That is our precious possession; the best hope of both races of building an honest way of living.

If any fear that to admit Negroes in the South to an equal citizenship will dilute the quality of our public life, two good answers are available. First, present-day public life in the South is seldom outstanding in purity and reasonableness. Second, it is the lesson of history that oppression corrupts not its apparent victims, but those who inflict the injustice. In my observation, Negro citizenship in the South is everywhere behaving with a responsibility, a sense of purpose, and a fundamental integrity which might well be the envy of many a white electorate.

If the South will recognize in the aspirations of its Negro

citizens not a threat, but a life-giving resource; if our States and towns will consciously and of purpose make room in their management for the Negro as a citizen, I am confident that in proportion as political equality is achieved, so will the character of our public life improve. In the eyes of the world today these commonwealths, which we are taught to love, are structures less than complete. Inheriting access to the richest political tradition in the world, we forego our due inheritance. It may be that we can make of Alabama and Georgia and these others, societies which need no longer suffer the taunts of the world outside. In the past, they have been at bottom not true democracies, but agencies of white supremacy. In the future they must become agencies of impartial well-being. And when that is achieved, every Southerner whatever can be honorably proud of the State of his birth.

Here let me say a word about the current fad for reviving Confederate memories. The Confederacy itself was an artificial structure, built to cover and perpetuate special privilege. I share the admiration that most Southerners feel for the brilliance and daring with which that anguished effort was put through; but I know it was mistaken, and I am glad it lost. What is it that men try to protect now when they talk of States Rights, and sound the rebel yell, and wave a flag long furled? The narrow franchise, the entrenched political machine, the right to treat a third of our people as less than citizens, the hope of freedom from needful federal regulation, the right to be prejudiced in employment, the right to racial privilege. The plain people of the South were trapped by one Confederacy, and it cost them dear. Let us hope that commonsense will see through the romantic revivals of the slogans of a hundred years ago, and that the Southern people will understand that our best future lies in playing a full and equal and responsible part in the life of the United

States as a whole.

Such a South will need skills of many kinds, and it will lean far more heavily than in the past upon Negro citizens for the exercise of these skills. We will need more health officers, and more agricultural agents and supervisors, more engineers and architects, more business men and auditors and accountants, still more teachers, and more men and women in trades which will serve a people with a rapidly rising standard of living. The sacrifices your parents have made and the efforts of the many all over the country who have aided Tuskegee, will bear the fruit you have hoped for: opportunity to get your shoulders under a load of work, and in dignity and human respect build, in places you will seek out for yourselves, the quality of citizenship you admire. The goal is no longer, if ever it was, your own individual gain; your task is to do your best to bring local communities fully abreast of the modern world. Tuskegee has its richest rewards in those of her graduates who have worked in this way.

If, when you have found your first footing, you are at a loss for some purpose to put your best self into, look about you for the worst situation you can find; in health, in housing, or in law or in custom. Study it, become locally an authority on it, publish your findings, and study further. It will be the fortune of many of you to be surprised by the rapidity with which some obscure movement at which you are working will grow into public view, and how earnestly you will be besought to apply to a human need the skill and understanding you have learned.

Let us turn our minds, at the last, to the world beyond our own shores. Two-thirds of the people of this earth are people of color. Our society, sustaining individual freedom, is in competition, for keeps, with another system which promises bread and growth for the loss of individuality. The United States has had cause, already, to thank her lucky stars that her oppressed Negro minority has cast to the surface men of the quality of Ralph

Bunche, and Governor Hastie, and others you and I could name, who as representatives of America have gone out to convince Asiatic and African peoples that the promise of America is not a vain one.

Not many years remain in which to show that white and colored Americans can cause our cherished institutions of government to work to our common and equal good. In the battle of world opinion one great point of conflict is here in our own South; if democracy can win on this field we shall have made America's richest contribution to the cause of peace.

File

GSM Wrote It

We have not yet seen the decisions, but from preliminary accounts the Supreme Court has again made it perfectly clear that unequal facilities are illegal. It remains the South's duty to provide equality. The [redacted] right way to do that will be for our institutions of higher learning to give a welcome to qualified Negroes who seek admittance.

(Statement by GSM to Associated Press, June 5, 1950.)

63M-V1

PHYLON

A Quarterly Review of Race and Culture
Atlanta University
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Editorial Office

RECEIVED
JUN 10 1950
Southern Regional Council

June 9, 1950

Mr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We are enclosing the galley proofs of your article which is to appear in the forthcoming issue of PHYLON. We would appreciate it very much if you would check it carefully and return it to us immediately.

It is our practice to give to contributors approximately twenty-five reprints and two copies of PHYLON free of charge. Additional reprints may be purchased at the printer's charges listed on the enclosed slip. When you return the galley please indicate whether or not you wish to purchase any reprints.

Very truly yours,

Carrie M. Ashmore

Secretary

Answered & returned proof
6/14/50

No reprints ordered

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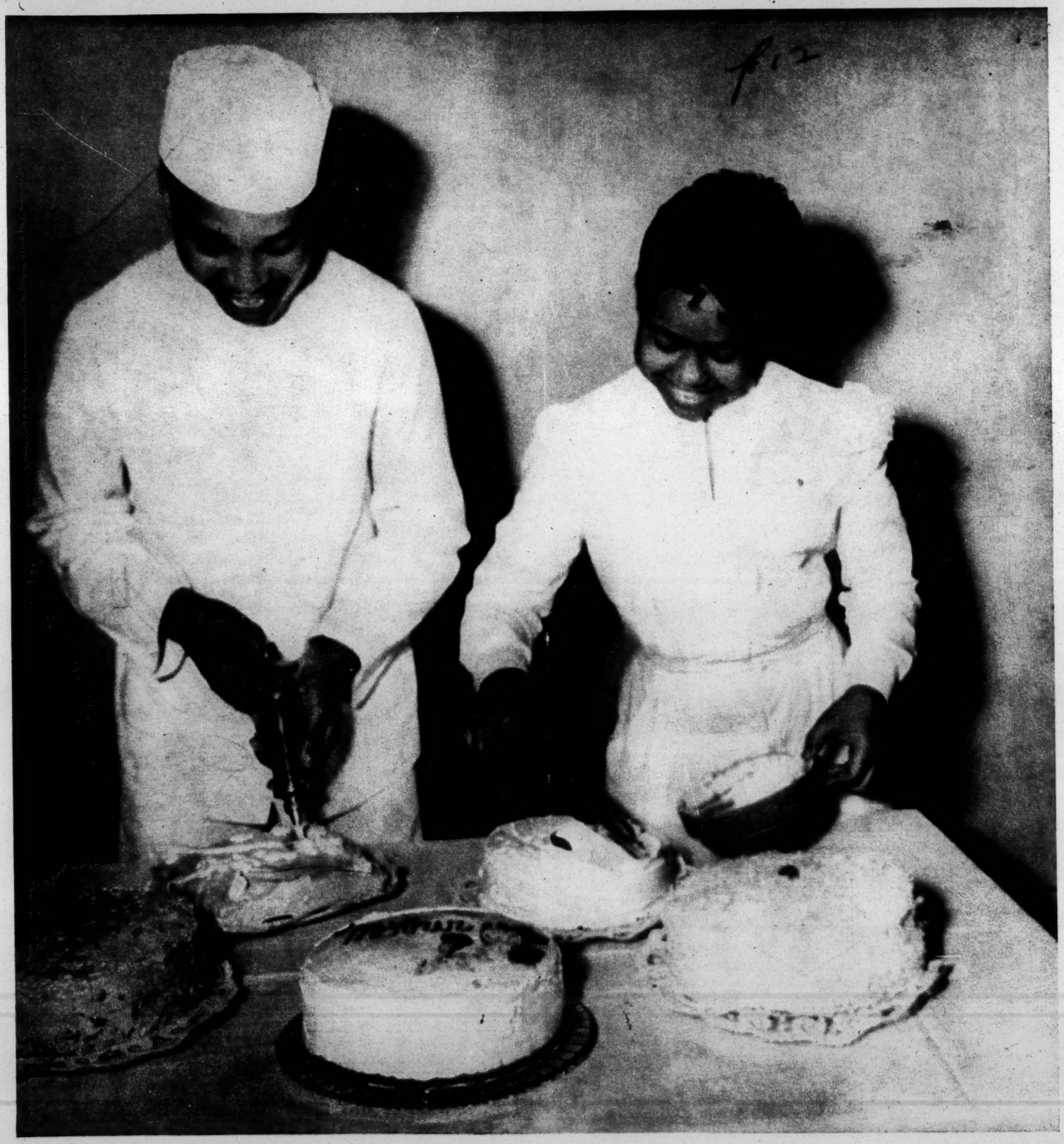


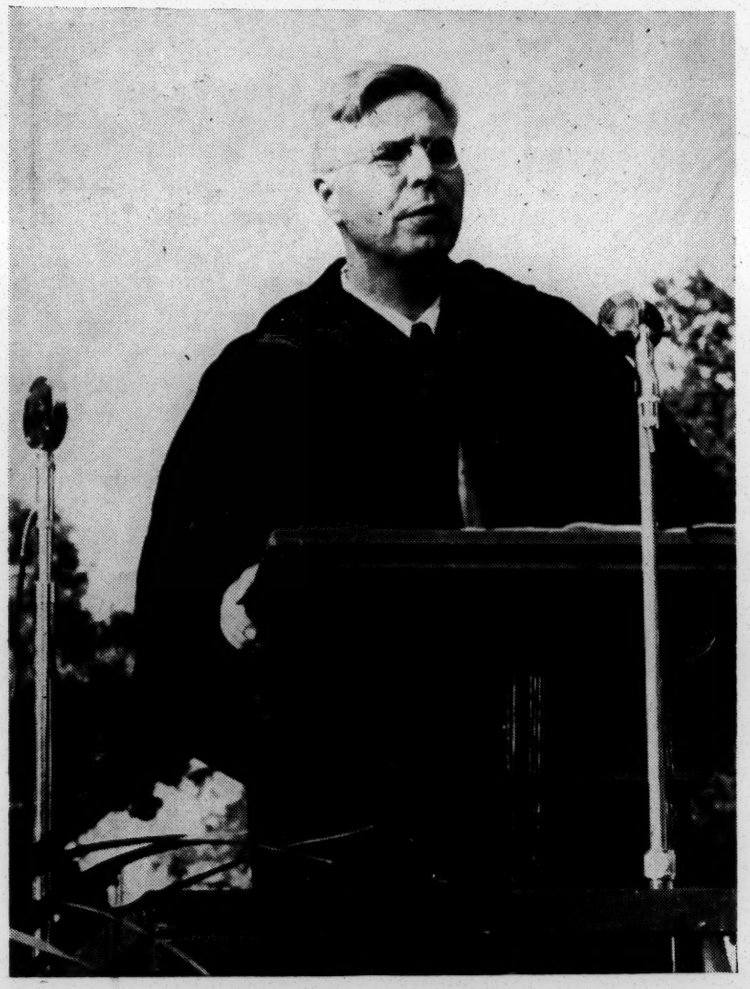
See Page 6

Commencement Address

By Dr. George S. Mitchell

I want to talk with you about states: these Southern States, into whose life and activities, now that your training is over, most of you will be going.

Surely, next to religion, the strongest tradition in the Western World is that of political democracy. Centuries of effort have gone into its making. It has broadened and deepened, until it has become the central feature of our society. In two world wars its defense has been our battlecry, and all too visibly, the world divides anew in dispute as to the validity of Western practice in self-government.



DR. GEORGE S. MITCHELL
Executive Director, Southern Regional Conference
Atlanta, Georgia

What is our hold on this central idea, here in the South, and how shall we read its future among us?

Let us recognize that we have the tradition in a lamed and foreshortened form. Most of the states of the South were launched into the world after slavery had become dominant. Their constitutions provided citizenship only for free men. And even after the wrench of Civil War had brought about constitutional conformity with the equal citizenship which our Federal government prescribes, the South soon fell back into devices which made state and local government the preserve of white men. It is only in the last fifteen or twenty years that we have seen the removal of the heaviest barriers to an equal citizenship, regardless of race. And, of course, even yet, a thousand hindrances still exist to our coming abreast in political participation, of what is standard in other organized Western societies.

I am trained as an economist, and so I look, naturally, beneath the surface to the economic realities which so generally govern political arrangements. All over the world, political equality is closely tied to economic equality. The South was notoriously a land of economic inequality. With the spread of plantation agriculture our basic productive unit became the large landholding, worked in simple routines by a labor force living in almost animal poverty, and yielding income and authority to a relatively small body of landowners. Tradition and numbers gave the franchise to the smaller white people, too, but for over a century they were subordinate in most matters of policy to those who directed plantation agriculture.

After 1880, when our industrialization began, we reckoned with new sources of authority: first, in those who organized and ran the mills and mines, and banks and commerce; and more lately with increasing insistence of those who worked in industry and business upon a share of political

and economic power. Meanwhile, as transportation and markets and capital and skill reached the independent farmers, they too, became articulate, and the South came to be governed by this or that mixture of the power of everyday farmers, big farmers, business men, industrialists, and organized labor. Still the Negro was excluded. But he made his way into many situations in which he shared economic influence. In industry he came into the regular income, a measure of skill, and the interdependence which made it advantageous to consult his wishes. In recent years his loyal and effective membership in trade unions has begun to bear fruit, not only in an approach to industrial equality, but in the appearance at many points of unquestioned political acceptance. In agriculture he seized upon opportunity to escape the dependence of tenancy and sharecropping, and found place and friends and influence in farm ownership. The migration North and West has lessened the pressure upon opportunity in the South, and has provided in areas of established political equality several million citizens who sacrifice and organize and vote to broaden freedoms here in the South. And education, wherever it has approached equality, has paid its desire return in a Negro citizenship as capable, as responsible, and as much concerned for the good of society as that of the once uniquely-favored white people.

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I suggest that all this foreshadows as the next great advance in southern life the era of equal citizenship. What does this mean? It means the unimpeded right to vote. It means the right to be appointed or elected to public office. It means a fair share in all the work of the modern state. Specificially, it means that Negroes may serve in State Legislatures, as they do already in Kentucky; on city councils as they do already in Richmond and Winston-Salem and Roanoke, and have opportunities to serve on Boards and Commissions affecting education and health and the many welfare activities of our governments. It means non-discriminating recruitment to administrative and clerical posts. It means a share in political management, by service on boards of registrars, as election officials, and in political party offices. In short, it means political acceptance; a full and respected citizenship in the life of all our communities.

If we much longer delay this change we court a grave danger. Already it is current doctrine among many Negroes in the South that the gains they have made have been made by their own efforts alone; that Negro lawyers paid with Negro dollars have opened opportunity by pressing reluctant Southern polities against the clear doctrines of the American constitution, and that the white South is the enemy, which fought these gains step by step. And enemy, it is added, without even the grace of dignity, for is it not true that the opposition has shown, not the superior political wisdom which is boasted, but the unreasonable argument, the wounding gibes of demagoguery, chicanery, the filibuster, and, at the last, that resort to violence which eats away the very foundations of government? Thus, it is argued, and understandably believed, that the Negro cause has negligible help from white Southerners, and that the Southern white man is to be written off as a figure out of a comic-strip. This is poor ground in which to grow a common citizenship. And it is up to the South to make this belief die out.

Very many who are white are ready to act in this spirit. This modern way spreads. Examples multiply all about us, of state and local services that are open to all without distinction; of professional associations which recruit on the basis of qualifications and not of color; of universities and colleges which open their doors to all who seek a learning; of newspapers which follow the news impartially as it is made; of churches which recognize in deed the common allegiance of all our people to religious principles. My own Southern Regional Council, and its predecessor the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, have exemplified equality for thirty years. In a hundred new ways, this recognition of Negro attainments and of Negro rights grow. Each new occasion challenges and tests the sincerity of the white people of the South; as each test is met, in reason and in openness, we build together a truly democratic public life.

I said it is up to the South; I mean that it is up to the South, both white and Negro, to make

Continued on Page 30

GSM wrote

orig + 1 copy

GSM's speech at Ala. State College Commencement - August 1950

I had occasion, some months ago, at another great Alabama institution, to ask that our Southern States drop their role as instruments of white supremacy, and become agencies of impartial well-being. That is a task that will take some doing. It will need work nationally, on a State basis, and locally in our own home communities. Tonight I want to talk about the things we can do in our home towns, to bring about that better day.

The great material problems are in five fields: jobs and farms and homes and schools and health. On the first of these, industrial employment, there is not much the private citizen can do, though it should be the business of us all to urge that industry be brought to the wide stretches of the South now without any at all, and by getting technical skills taught in our schools we can both speed industrialization and upgrade the share of the Southern people in industrial earnings.

On better farming, there is a good deal anybody can do. In the first place, we should use every encouragement to widespread farm ownership. The South just now is on the turn between the dying out of the old plantation system and the emergence of a new organization of the land. All the lessons of history are that family farm ownership will provide the surest mold of democratic institutions; if we can come out five or ten years from now with a clear pattern of Southern families tilling their own land, we shall have strengthened our society immeasurably. We can urge farmers to buy land and to learn the skill to till and hold it. We can

support government programs that help tenants to become owners. We can urge our experiment stations and extension services to show us how to mechanize successfully the family holding. We can put our weight behind a movement to require by law that farm land be leased only in writing, and only for a reasonable term of years, and only with clauses requiring compensation for improvements or damages for destruction. A school or a church that has any high proportion of land near it ill-farmed, or out on oral leases, or held by only a few landowners, should count itself as having to that extent failed in its job of community leadership. Nobody does more to build decency and democracy in the South than he who makes a tenant farmer into a family landowner.

On houses, the chance is at last here, though I fear the onset of war will bring further postponements. We now have a rounded program of publicly assisted housing, made to fit the needs of cities, towns, villages, and the open country. If you live in a city or a town with slum housing, work and tug until you get the program used in your town. It's there for you. Congress has indicated that it wants slums to be cleaned out. The price is hard, organized work in your local community. If you haven't got a Housing Authority, get one set up. If it doesn't know what conditions are, show it. If public opinion is against you, convert it. If you've got a slum, and ten or twenty people of conscience and energy, you can replace the slums with clean homes, bathrooms, green grass, and playgrounds full of kids the town will be proud of. That's for cities and towns. And now, just lately, they've come out with how to get it for little tiny places, the size of Hackleburg and Loachapoka.

Last year, when Congress put up money for the general housing

program, it said that ten per cent of the money had to be laid aside for rural non-farm housing. Now the procedures on that are out. It applies to towns of up to 2,500 people. Probably three, four, or five little towns could club together and get a county or other Housing Authority to float the bonds for putting up new rental housing where needed. I won't go into all the procedures, but it is fairly simple. Again, the rule is that those little towns are going to get the homes which go to work to get them. Get the people to know the facts, ask and work for improvement, and it will be made.

Unless the war interferes, we are also on the verge of a very much higher standard of rural housing. After many years of effort, there is at last the law and the money to help people get much better farm houses. If a man who has a good farm wants a better house or a tight barn and can't borrow the money on reasonable terms from some local bank, he can borrow directly from the Secretary of Agriculture at four per cent for twenty years. A poorer man who owns a small farm and is buying more land and can't afford payments toward a decent home for his wife and kids can also borrow from the Department of Agriculture, which will in effect forgive him the interest for the first ten years while he is bringing his enlarged farm up to where it will carry a living for his family and payments for the home. And if a man is a cropper or a tenant or a laborer living in his landlord's house, there is still a way for his home to be improved. If the landlord will agree not to raise the farm rent, then the government can lend up to $500, and often grant up to $500, to put the house in livable condition. Eight hundred or a thousand dollars will do a lot, even today, to a tenant shack. It will add a screened-in porch and a tight roof and another bedroom and a coat of paint, and it may even stretch to cover an electric pump and running water and a bathroom.

In the last fifteen years we have all seen the electric lines go down the country roads. We now have a program which can carry running water and sanitation down those same country roads. Here again, of ten rural neighborhoods, one will get it first. That first one will be the one that had two or three well-informed citizens with friends, with a reputation for level-headedness, and with courage and energy to push hard.

Let's turn to schools. The famous case in King George County, Virginia, two years ago, made it perfectly plan that no public body providing separate schools for people of two races has any longer any legal right to provide one set of schools inferior to the other. ~~Quite~~ Quite rightly, our States and counties and cities ~~will bring~~ are being pushed up against this decision. ~~The~~ At long last the nice new Negro schools are a-building. If equal schools can only come in your county from a lawsuit, I certainly praise the lawsuit. If they can be got out of the common decency of the people of the county without the lawsuit, so much the better. But in either case, you are going to have to have the facts. There has to be, somewhere, somebody with some sheets of paper, and written on the paper how many cubic feet of schoolroom space per Negro child, and how many cubic feet per white child; and how many tolerably new desks per white child, and how many tolerably new desks per Negro child; and how many and what kind of cookstoves in the Home Ec Department in Winnie Davis School for how many pupils, and how many and what kind of cookstoves in the Home Ec Department for how many pupils in George Washington Carver School. If somebody has the facts, and he ~~or somebody else has some nerve~~ + some friends have civic courage, any county can do what King George did and ~~get~~ provide a nice new Ralph J. Bunche High School.

~~You~~ Our Towns can get hospitals, too. Senator Hill of this State is co-author of the Hill-Burton Act, which provides generous Federal sums to

aid States or localities in providing a network of hospitals to serve all the people. Good hospitals draw good doctors, and the two together go a long way toward getting good health. But here again, unless you are just mighty lucky, nobody is going to come and drop a nice modern rural hospital in your county unless you and your friends have put down on paper how many people got sick the last year, and the year before, and what of, and how far they had to go to get a hospital bed, and how many did that didn't have to.

That's jobs and farms and homes and schools and health, and I have tried to show you that the price of all of them now is proof of need, and energy, and civic good will.

On proof of need, I offer you a useful device. The thing I work for is called the Southern Regional Council. It wants all these things for all the people of the South. We find one of the best ways for getting it is for a community to make what is called a Home Town Self-Survey. That doesn't mean raising money and hiring experts to come from Pittsburgh and figure out what the towns needs and then go home and have nothing happen. What you do instead is very carefully to pick a local committee of people from both races. Do a lot of quiet talking first about whether you want Mr. So-and-So or Mrs. So-and-So, or don't. Get the people who can get things done. Call the committee together. When they say, "All right, whom do we hire to make the Survey?" the answer is, "Do do it yourselves." When Mr. So-and-So and Mrs. So-and-So go down in the bum end of town and count what they see and write what they smell, things will begin to happen in town. We have a manual which we gladly send out to towns that want to make a survey of this kind. It covers health and housing and schools and farm ownership and recreation and police and transportation and the sewer

system and the whole works. It isn't a hard thing to do in mechanics, though it takes organization and purpose. Greenville, South Carolina, has just done a beautiful one. Let me read you what one of the head men on the committee said:

"The best thing about the survey was that it got people together. We didn't know each other well enough. Now we do. Meeting and working together -- not as people of two races, but as citizens with a common purpose -- has been a release and a relief."

Such a Survey will give you the facts. It will almost automatically start a program. And it will also make friends of a lot of citizens who ~~scarcely~~ didn't knew each other before.

On that, I offer you this Southern Regional Council in general. It exists in order to call together the common citizenship, white and Negro, of these Southern States. When you get right down to it, there is something unique about our Southern towns. I think it is that, contrary to all that people say, our white and Negro citizens do know how to work together and how to like each other. It is this which the Council unites in a membership that stretches across the South. We are not strong, but we are ~~fairly careful, and~~ we are truthful, and we get a surprising number of things done. I do hope that many of you here today will let me know of your interest in this cause of interracial understanding.

There is much more I would like to talk about but shall only mention. We have done a little green book that tells Southern newspapers how to be fair in writing news about Negroes. We all know the old customs. If a white man breaks open a store, the headline says, Burglar Caught in Dime Store. If a colored man breaks open the store, the headline says, Negro Robs Store; White Woman Screams. The rules of doing things right

are, after all, fairly simple, but nobody had ever put them down and got them out to the papers. We did it. Then we did something else. We asked that in as many towns as possible, local committees go to see the editor and ask the editor to bring his paper around to the rules in the little green book. If your home town paper still goes by the old rules, get hold of the book and form a committee and go and talk to the man who runs the paper. I have sent him the book. He's got it. You get him to read it and go by it. I've talked with enough people in the South in the past year to know that, whether the little green book did it or not, a great many papers are a great deal better than they were a short time ago.

Lastly, if our States and cities and towns are to become agencies of impartial well-being, they must accustom themselves to impartial use of administrative personnel. If the Council's figures of a few weeks ago are still right, only a single town in this whole great State of Alabama as yet uses Negro policemen. And I believe that town has only one. Memphis has them, New Orleans has them, Nashville has them, Atlanta has them, Savannah has them. Everybody likes them. We ought to have Negroes in the fire department, and, of course, they ought to be used impartially throughout all of our processes of government. That you can work on, too.

May I close with a last word about civil rights? Getting the law changed and tightened and improved is one thing, and a very important thing. We should all work for it. There is another thing to do, also, and I think it is equally important. And that is to get people so well educated, so competent, so well housed, in such good health, and of such dignity of bearing, that everybody wants to give them their rights. We have both jobs to do in the South. And in the long run, the jobs get

done, or they don't get done, in our own home towns. So I urge you to give as much energy as you can to making a common citizenship that bridges the ~~lines~~ barriers of race and to ~~finding~~ putting together the facts on which the material changes can be made.

November 9, 1950

Rev. Thomas C. Allen
Department of Race Relations
Federal Council of Churches
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Tom:

I have been tied up with an annual meeting and have only just got to your request for fifty golden words.

I have no gold, but here is pewter:

"The people of each Southern State have a pressing task of making their religious, institutional, and civic life give aid, not to white supremacy, but to the impartial well-being of us all."

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

INCORPORATED

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New York 10, N. Y.

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CO-SECRETARY

Department of Race Relations

October 26,1950

RECEIVED
NOV 4 1950
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

A major concern of the Federal Council of Churches is the building of better relations between Americans of different races and faiths.

Each year the Federal Council calls upon the churches of 27 member communions to focus the attention of their members upon a consideration of this problem as part of their activities throughout the entire year. The 29th observance of Race Relations Sunday will be held February 11, 1951.

We are asking you as one of a group of fifty national leaders to express your opinion on some phase of race relations, in a statement of 50 words or less, and permit us to release it to the nation's press. We would like to have this statement by November 15.

In this connection you may be interested in reading the Federal Council's 1951 Message to the member churches, a copy of which is enclosed.

We invite you to join with others in a challenge to the people of America to implement the truth "ALL MEN ARE BROTHERS."

Very sincerely yours,

J. Oscar Lee

J. Oscar Lee
Executive Secretary

Thos. C. Allen

Thomas C. Allen
Co-Secretary

encl.

29th Anniversary, Race Relations Sunday, February 11, 1951 . . . Marking Brotherhood Month

From: The Federal Council of the
Churches of Christ in America
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

for publication in religious
press at will

THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

ANNUAL MESSAGE FOR RACE RELATIONS SUNDAY

February 11, 1951

(Written by Mrs. Douglas Horton, Vice President of the Federal Council for the Department of Race Relations and adopted by the Executive Committee.)

"God that made the world and all things therein ... hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation. ..." Acts 17: 24a,26.

ALL MEN ARE BROTHERS. This is not a statement of a pious hope nor an idealistic goal. It is the statement of a fact. Time's moving finger writes for all to read that when men fail to act as brothers they violate the laws of God. Men who deny true kinship with their fellow-men, all fellow-men, find themselves at odds with their own destiny.

The world is waking to the claims of brotherhood. The scientists declare that all men are one species. Science gives no sanction to the myth of race, no defense for prejudice. The statesmen of the world sense the significance of man's "inalienable right" to life, his right to eat, to work, to dwell in safety, and in peace. In East and West the globe stirs with the strivings of men whose manhood seeks to claim full status in the sight of God and men. Men

- more -

everywhere assert their right to be real persons, not chattels, not underlings, but equals, brothers, self-respecting, free. Even the dictators win their dire power by promising collective strength to guarantee men's rights.

And what do Christians do about this driving urge toward status? Some give it motive power by acting like the brothers that they are. Too many others live as though it were not true that all men are the sons of God who made men of one blood. Too many talk of love but live in isolation from their brother men. Too many scorn their fellows, dealing with them as "lesser breeds without the Law" of God's creative love. Too many draw apart in man-made boundaries, excluding men they will not claim as kin because those men have different features, different skin and hair.

Yet Christians are the guardians of the truth that all men are the sons of God and cannot but be brothers. If we took that truth as literal, if we acknowledged kinship with all men, we could provide a groping world with light for solving problems yet unsolved. We shall not all agree on how our brotherhood should be expressed; we shall dispute the merits of this covenant or that; there will be those who in good faith vote yea on bills which call forth others' nays. But Christians have a standard for their choice. If they would make all judgments in the light of what would serve a brother's need they would, indeed, lead on to righteousness.

The Christian who believes that men are sons of God will not deal with them as things, pawns in his game, mere units in his shop. Men are not tools for other men. Men are each other's brothers. What serves one at the cost of others' welfare cannot be the will of God who loves them all. Until men find a way of life which gives to all men opportunity to be their best we cannot have the blessing of true peace. This is a law of nature binding men as truly as other laws of nature bind the stars; for He "that made the world and all things therein ... hath made of one blood all nations of men"; and God is love.

Those who dare to claim God's love are challenged to discover how God's will for all His sons can be fulfilled. This is no easy task. The tangled skein of our relationships tempts us to take no action lest we do something wrong. Some men will greet acts of goodwill with fear, resentment or treachery. But men of God are not deterred by human obstacles. In patience and in faith they seek the way in which God's will for man can be expressed. They know God's will is done by little men who grow to greatness as they work with Him to make their lives reveal God's law of brotherhood. ALL MEN ARE BROTHERS. GOD HAS SO DECREED.

WHAT CHRISTIANS CAN DO

Create a group which will seek God's leading through Bible study, prayer and fellowship for maintaining the standard of Christian Brotherhood about race in the church and the community, and for carrying out some of the following activities:

<u>As individuals</u>-

1 - Examine your own attitudes and manners with regard to race.

2 - Learn the basic facts about race. The Social Action Department of your church or denomination, or the Department of Race Relations, will send literature upon request.

3 - Avoid generalizations or prejudgments based on race.

4 - Refrain from telling stories which have derogatory implications about race, creed or national origin. Where one hears these stories he should tactfully point out that relating them spreads racial prejudice.

5 - Correct derogatory or incorrect statements made by others about a race.

6 - Find out what your church and denomination and other agencies are doing to improve race relations, and how you can become a part of this movement.

7 - Support legislation designed to guarantee civic rights to all regardless of race, creed or national origin.

8 - Work in your occupation, your union or vocational organization for fair employment practices.

- more -

As Church Organizations -

1 - Strengthen Christian brotherhood through making church membership open to all, regardless of race.

2 - Evaluate what your church has done in race relations and make plans for a race relations program that runs throughout the year.

3 - Sponsor study groups, forums, worship services and other activities as a means of bringing groups of different racial and cultural backgrounds together for the purpose of discovering common needs and mutual interests.

4 - Discover what racial groups live in the community where the church is located; what contributions they are making to community life; what their problems are; and how the church or individuals can help resolve them.

5 - Work to guarantee decent homes for all people and for the removal of restrictive housing covenants and community practices based on race or national origin.

6 - Work for impartial justice in the courts and the elimination of discrimination on account of race, creed or national origin. The fields in which these barriers now exist include: employment, housing, education, health, recreation, hotel accommodation, and community services.

7 - Work with employers groups, professional organizations and unions to establish employment practices based on character and skill rather than on race, creed or national origin.

Literature for Race Relations Sunday, February 11, 1951

marking

Brotherhood Month
(good for year-round interracial activities)

Published by

Department of Race Relations of The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America — 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

THEME: ALL MEN ARE BROTHERS

ORDER Race Relations Sunday packet for 1951.

The materials include the Annual Message from The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, prepared by Mrs. Douglas Horton, Vice-President, Federal Council of Churches, New York, also

WORSHIP SERVICE:
The Rev. Deane Edwards, Executive Secretary, Commission on Worship, Federal Council of Churches, New York.

PROGRAMS FOR
Children: The Rev. Ralph Mould, Director Children's Work, Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., Philadelphia, Pa.
Youth: The Rev. Kenneth L. Maxwell, Minister, Central Baptist Church, Hartford, Conn.
Women: Mrs. S. T. Cushing, formerly an Associate Secretary, United Council of Church Women, New York, N. Y.

INFORMATION FOR SPEAKERS
Indians: Dr. Alexander Lesser, Executive Secretary, Association on American Indian Affairs, New York.
Japanese: The Rev. Daisuke Kitagawa, Director, Japanese-American Community Center, Minneapolis, Minn.
Spanish: The Rev. C. E. Crawford, Superintendent, Spanish-Speaking Work, Congregational-Christian Churches, Los Angeles, Calif.
Negro: Department of Race Relations

PRICES: Complete packet of literature — $.15 each, $7.50 a hundred, $55.00 a thousand. Each section of packet — $.05, $1.80 a hundred, $15.00 a thousand.

Special note: *To save cost of billing and to avoid mailing delays it is earnestly urged that remittance be sent with all orders.*

Department of Race Relations
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

ORDER BLANK

Enclosed please find $ for which send program material in quantity as itemized below:

.....Complete Packet
.....Message
.....General Worship Service
.....Children's Program
.....Young People's Program
.....Women's Program
.....Information for Speakers

NAME.....
(please print plainly)

STREET..... CITY..... STATE.....
(include postal zone)

I plan to observe Race Relations Sunday as follows:

Nov 1950

BOOK REVIEW - 11/14/50

Only a few years ago race relations was a field for the strictly amateur philosopher; anybody who had a theory could claim to be an authority, and would push his book to print. Social science is inexact, we must all admit, but it has in the last fifteen years greatly narrowed the area within which people can speculate, intelligently, about matters of race. We know now what the word race means and what it doesn't mean; we know enough history to be clear about slavery; we know the effects of economic competition between people of different race, and the psychologists believe they know a lot about what makes race prejudice.

I have chosen three books that illustrate this modern inquiry. One is on the educational work of a great philanthropic foundation interested mainly in matters of race; one is on the lobbying effort to enact a Federal fair employment practices act, and the other has the pulling title of "The Roots of Race Prejudice Against the Negro in the United States."

The first, "Investment in People," is the story of the Julius Rosenwald Fund. The son of an immigrant peddler became a prince of merchants, but kept his own plain humanity, and gave generously to meet the most urgent of American human needs. Out of Mr. Rosenwald's bounty five thousand country places across the South got good and new school buildings. The trustees of the Fund then turned their attention to the

teaching work done in the schools, and by a series of imaginative plans did a lot to make teaching really effective. And finally, by scholarships to 1500 Southern young people, of both races, they invested in people, and won for the South a rich gain in talent and understanding.

The second is called "The Social Politics of FEPC," by Louis Kesselman. It is noteworthy as a close study of how a lobby worked, and as a history of the first earnest modern cause which enlisted the political support of the whole Negro people.

The last will draw the interest of students for a long time to come. It is a doctoral thesis, done by a girl named Naomi Friedman Goldstein, who unfortunately died not long after she wrote it; so it is scrappy, and too laden with foot-notes. But she had read the whole scientific literature on race, and she made up a theory. Prejudice, she says, is not instinctive, is only in part the result of economic competition, has little to do with fears about purity of the blood stream. It is mainly the result of two forces. The first is the effect of slavery (and then of segregation) in putting <u>every</u> colored person in a category to be disdained. And the second is the stereotypes about Negroes which arose among the defenders of slavery and of separation, and which continue to arouse in people's minds ideas of a Negro comicality, criminality, and contentment with "his place" which were always false.

So, she says, if we would lessen race prejudice, we must deal with others simply as individuals, and we must case aside the old shabby, outworn notions about Negroes, and see them just as people, striving as we all do for achievement and a modern level of living and for their due contribution in our nation's life.

Nov 1950

gsm
write

EMPIRE AND AFTER Rita Hinden .london, Essential Books, 1949
A study of British Imperial Attitudes

A new doctrine. We must no longer postpone the grant of independence, of nationhood, of this balm to self-respect, from peoples , even on the argument that the masses of the claimant peoples are backward. If they have an educated class that feels the new nationalism, and the masses show signs of sharing that feeling and of being willing to follow (even though the leaders are quarrelsome and itchity), these people must be set free.

Quote page 182-3

And Furnivall, J.S., Colonial Policy ~~xx~~ & Practice,

in examining the plural societies of the tropics, reaches a similar conclusion. Without a fire that moves the people, our welfare doesn't work. And what will move them? Nationalism. Perhaps Communism.

gsm write

The ROOTS OF PREJUDICE AGAINST THE NEGRO IN THE UNTED STATES

Naomi Friedman Goldstein. B ston, Boston University P"ess, 1928

Brooklyn girl, took a doctor's degree at 24, in Psychology, I judge, under a man at Boston U. Killed two years later, auto accident

Fascinating subject
The defects of the thesis style
But she has a firm, high argument, straight through.

Is it because we misunderstand what "race" is? True, we misuse the term, and a Negro"race" becomes annually less definable. But even if you straighten out people's ideas on that, you haven't overcome prejudice, which is deeper.

What is prejudice?

"the tendency to evaluate the individual primarily on the basis of identity with a group thought of as racial

Insane asylums

Some possible roots of anti-Negro prejudice:

Is it just ignorance of the other group? ~~Thxxfixxxx

Having brushed aside the old explanations, she essays her own:

There is a norm in habits and attitudes which determines the way in which the two races meet each other. And the norm has less to do with the present than with the past; it is an outgrowth of slavery.

African slave-runners had no race prejudice. They respected their merchandise. But in America, having as we did democratic ideals incompatible with slavery, we shuffled and excused ourselves for our acts against people not as slaves but as Negroes.

And under slavery, everybody colored was a slave. Free people of color there were, of course, but in law and in custom a colored person was a slave unless he could prove otherwise. Thus every prejudice against a slave came to be attached to every Negro.

And slavery was succeeded by segregation, which is compulsory inferiority. Thus again we attach a status to all of a given color.

In further definition of the norm of racist thinking, she examines the stereotypes that history has attched to Negroes. This is a nice part. Here is the succession of stereotypes which the country held up to itself

contented slave. Fabled in song and in the wretched misntrel business (which she explores). She carries the doctrine on down through Stepin Fetchit and Roark Bradford. Sidenote on the wretched freeman stereotype : Thomas Nelson Page.

Then, BRUTE BARBARIAN. An idea born after the Civil War

savage past in Africa, lustfulness, criminality. Tom Dixon (Tom Watson, for that matter!). Newspapers and crime.

Then, the COMIC NEGRO

ROOTS #3

It all adds up to a folk-belief that there is one race (white) which is always the good one, and another , (Negro) which is always underneath. The ordinary man gets good marks, so to speak, for sticking with the norm, and trouble for breaking with it. And as most people wants security, and that easy kind of mental stability that comes from doing what people around approve.

Incidentally, she throws cold water on the idea that you can do much to correct these matters in the school. "Until American culture promotes non-racist thinking in America, it is idle to expect isolated segments of formalized education, such as courses, lectures, etc., to result in lasting changes in attitudes". (p. 211.

What to do:

change the stereotypes

a reversal of Amos and Andy

(Jackie Robinson) etc. movies, radio, etc.

Find the guy, in a newspaper or a college, who permits the prejudiced materials to or attitudes to be used, and work on him and his likes.

Promote genuine interracial experiences and exchanges.

INVESTMENT IN PEOPLE The story of the Julius Rosenwald Fund,

by E dwin R. Embree and Julia Waxman. N. Y. Harper & Bros., 1949

The son of am immigrant Jewish peddler, with a great fortune that he made by organizing a mail-order business, a~~xxx~~ happened to be a person of simple humanity. ~~x~~ The quality seems to have been one of directness: shown a human need, he wanted to help, w~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ and if a way could be found to help soundly, he would do so. I get some light into his character from bits this book repeats, about hisrefusing to take a place among other rich men of his time. "Who am I, to live in a park"? he asked his daughter. And of other~~x~~ ~~xxxxx~~ men, rich but less rich than himself, but famous for dictatorial behaviour~~s~~ he said, "Those rich fellows, they get arrogant".

After ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ years of miscellaneous and geneorous giving, ~~ht~~ Rosenwald established in 1917 the Julius Rosenwald Fund. ~~Its life for ten years was much that of other Family Funds, with the dominant influence that of the donor. I~~ ~~was in this period that~~ For ten years its life was much that f other family funds, ~~heavily influence~~ with the dominant influence that of the donor. In 1928 Mr. Rosenwald added another twenty million to what he had already put into his organized philanthrophy, and launched a ~~Fxxxxx~~ Foundation which has been unique in ~~xxxxx~~ history. He held deeply believed that each generation of Amer cans in so bouyant a country would find its own remedies for its ills, and thought it unwise for money from an earlier time to weigh heavily in decisions that oughtto be made afresh. So he directed that the ~~ixxxxxxx~~ whole proceeds of his gift should be spent within twenty-five years of his death. This book is the record of how that trust wazs fulfilled.

The story begins with the Rosenwald Schools. We here do not have to be reminded of what Negro school buildings were like thirty-five years ago -- so many survive that we painfully know. But Mr. Rosenwald and those who helped him found out how to get Southern county schholl boards to want new ~~Nex~~ school buildings for the Negro children, and with a subsidy that became less and less, in propoertion to public and other private money, they got five thousand shhool l buidlings to dot the South. No matter how much money came from others they schools always got called Rosenwald Schools. Often white people with money to give sought a bit from Mr Rosenwald, so the new venture would bear that easing name.

Story about the Robins

And about this time the Trustees established their independence.

And money flowed into How to teach, and what to teach

Fort Valley, Jackson College, ~~Fskk~~ West Georgia State Tchrs Coll.
Grambling
Tenn A and I. (Library story).

The texts. Innoculation story
Eva Evans

Four great University Centers.

Howard, AU, Fisk, Dillars. Story about hospital dietitician.

Health and medical servic s. Dr. Michael Davis and Comm on Costs of Medical Care, and Blue Cross plan.

Fellowships. Nearly a thousand to Negroes, 500-odd to whites.

Whom will you name ? Ralph Bunche, Percy Julian, Marian Anderson, Zora Hurston. Mr. Reddick, Mr. Mozell Hill, Preston Valien, Horace Cayton. StClair Drake.

Here in Georgia, among white people

MD Mobley, Mildred Mell, Ralph McGill, Kelley Barnett, Lillian Smith, Paula Snelling , George Stoneyet als.

Labor education interest.

Race Relations. AM. Cncl., Comm. IRB.,, SRC.

The Social Politics of FEPC, a Study in Reform Pressure Movements
by Louis Coleridge Kesselman. UNC Press, 1948

This is the history of the first part of a push that thus far has not succeeded. So it is a history of a lobby that didn't get the law it wanted. It's main interest is not so much in the law it worked for as in the organization it built up, and in the way the organization worked and the troubles it had in building a popular push. It is a neat part of the new American effort to understand those "invisible legislatures" which are our pressure groups.

~~The drive to get a permanent FEPC came because during World War II~~ In the early stages of World War II ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ both private industry and the Government itself worked with the speed of cold molasses to open opprurtunity to Negro manpower. Wise men predicted, and pointed, and urged action; practical men hung back. Finally the pressure among Negroes themselves to be used built up so greatly that something had to happen. And, as we all know, Phillip Randolph of the Pullman Porters formed the March on Washington Movement, which by a threat of direct action brought official intervention. The success of that one whiff of the power of direct pressure affected a good deal that followed.

The details of what was done under the various forms that FEPC took as an executive agency is only lightly the concern of this book. FEPC did enough to make millions of people who stood to benefit from its continuance wish to make it permanent. Late in 1943 these forces formed a loose association in the National Council for a Permanent F E P C. It was mostly certain of the trade unions at first, unions with large memberships among Negroes and among Jewish people, with a variety of Church organizations. Later it gathered more support, ~~xxxxx~~ pulling in more church bodies, people interested in civil liberties, and a variety of fraternal organization. But it never got the wholehearted support of either N A A C P or the CIO, each of which ciuld have helped it

Kesselman 2

enormously. Kesselman puts this down largely to personalities, with the most emphasis on Mr. Randolph himself, whom he criticizes for taking on too many jobs, for giving the new show too little time, for drawing too narrow a line as to support he would accept (as a Socialist Randolph rejected much agistational aid he might havehad from communist-related sources), and for hankering after the March on Washington type of pressure instead of undertaking the patient political pressure that the country is more usedx to.

Many here were a part of the hard work that went into setting up local councils for a Permanent F E P C. They wereloose, but they did put on pressure, and they raised quite a lot of money - 40% of all the movement got came from local councils. They were based on Randolph's friendships andthose of his union, with other groups drawn in. They worked hard in the South, where few thought they would. And the worst opposition that any Southern ones drew was in Memphis, where one of the Negro churches which opened its doors for an FEPC meeting received in a few days an ominous visit from the City Fire Marshall, who made out a long list of expensive repaisrs that would have to be made immediately!

Money was hard to get. This was political money, not tax-exempt, and rich people wouldn't give. Few rich people liked the cause, anyway. But to make up, The National Council dug deep into the pockets of a great many little poeple, and collected in tiny sums the greater part of the 133,000 that was spent.

The pressure activitites had little about them that was novel. Telegramsn and letters andpetitions to the members of Congress; delegations to visit in the House and the Senate officebuildings, quick work in letting supported know out over the country when each bill was before what committee, and on whom to bring the squeeze. The novelty was in the people and groups that were made active, and made active together.

For the first time, perhaps, great bxxx numbers of everyday Negro citizens, people without any experience of middle-class Negro life, joinedxxx in a national political effort. The show was loose and jerky, it quarrelled with this body or that, it had too little money and it ~~perhaps~~ talked too big for the number of votes it could actually swing, but ~~it did mark~~ the couple of years it gave to its agitation mark the beginning of a new level of popular participation in American political life.

Other hands continue now with the responsibility for pushing Federal legislation on fair employment. The movement proceeds, with more caution (though with no nearer signs of success). But many will cherish the excitement that went with the big meetings that Randolphs and his people addressed; everyone then made bold to hope that Congress would provide in peace for a measue of the justice xxx the Exxxxxxx President had conceded in time of war.

1950

I take for granted that other papers have made plain the change that is taking place, and the pressures it puts upon a large part of the people in Southern staple-crop farming. My interest is in things we can do. Here are some suggestions.

(1) Step up land-ownership.

(2) By law require equitable land-leases.

(3) Improve the lot of the farm-laborer.

(4) Teach the ne farming skills to farm-families that want to get on their feet.

(5) Bring in more local industry.

(6) Add much more training in mechanical skill, in xxxx our regular schools.

(7) Provide area trade schools.

(8) Go ahead faster with the rural housing, sanitation, and other amenities that make country living attractive.

(9) Regardless of race, reward character and competence with human acceptance.

One by one:

Land ownership. Our part of the orld has been short on democratic arrangements and practices for a long time. One fundamental reason is the prevalence in certain areas of large land-holdings. This pattern of concentrated ownership contentrates power and multiplies dependency. Every

independent farmer, making a decent living on his own place, props by a little our democratic institutions. No one preaches tiny farms. If we are shaking and stirring the plantation economy, let's have the final product a great many good-sized family-farms. Credit, careful selection, and good teaching can make prosperous owners, early in life, out of families who faced a lifetime of being tenants. That's proved. And their children come up wearing pride. We ought greatly to increase the lending and guarantee-power of the Federal government to help worthy tenants get farms of their own. The alternative is big places employing hired help. The only democratic remedy in that situation is agricultural trade-unionism, which is a hard, unlovely row to hoe. Individual land ownership is the American way; let's practice it.

Land leases. By and large, the Southern state statutes which regulate the leasing of farm land were passed just after the Civil War, when the objective was to tempt landowners to put an unlettered people to work. So far as I know, they all sanction the oral lease, and the main thing they did was protect the landlord's lien on the crop. That was all right eighty years ago. But now tenants can read. And eighty years have shown that our traditional form of tenancy ravages the land.

One reason is that we don't provide in our leases for compensation to tenants for permanent improvements. So we don't get any. Our states could make no greater (and no cheaper) contribution to public well-being than to require that farm land be leased only by written agreement, and that the agreements require compensation. If it would do any good to provide that they penalize damage, that should go in, too.

Farm labor. The least we can do is to cover all but the most casual types of farm labor with social security benefits and pension

rights. We ought also to regulate housing for farm labor. The country knows how to make life decent for migratory farm workers; we should do at least that again. And for all farm labor, we should protect the right to organize and bargain as best they can. Probably we should stop the government-sanctioned importation of Mexican and other outside labor until we have provided a respectable American standard of life for our own farm people who are having to leave where they ~~were~~ are.

Teach new farming. The old rural rehabilitation program showed that patient, expensive teaching of farm families, one by one, can in five or six years get families into good circumstances. It did it for hundreds of thousands of families. Pretty soon we'll be running out of candidates for veterans' on-the-farm training. We could well use the whole teaching staff built up in that effort, and more trained men and women besides, in actually getting farm teaching to familes that need it and want it. Tied to credit, it can work wonders. Such a service could put a great many farm people up into the new, complicated, mechanized farming. And save them, and their knowledge of the land.

Local industry. Most people who hear about the way the South is industrializing don't know that nearly all the industry is in particular parts, and that great swaths of old plantation country haven't got any high-tension power lines or any factories or any jobs except farm jobs that are giving out. Policy, and judicious public investment in power could hasten the growth of opportunity in these areas. If farm work goes, why should a man have to move a thousand miles to get a job? Industry could come to him.

Industrial arts in the schools. When technological progress kills off a whole line of work, it isn't necessary to throw all those trained in the old process on to the scrap heap. In the printing trades hand compositors learned the linotype. ~~Slam-bang~~ Slambang trolley men become

motor coach drivers. The least we can do is fit our school system to turn out youngsters competent to handle modern farm and town jobs. Loosen a few tight places in our vocational training arrangements, and we could put into rural schools all over the South simple training in industrial arts. It wouldn't make marine plumbers, but it would turn out people who know how to work neatly and accurately, who know the uses of electricity, and safety, who know materials and tools and the care of machinery. That would help a lot of people to useful careers in servicing mechanized agriculture and more into industrial jobs.

Area trade schools. Every Southern state ought to have eight or ten well spaced secondary trade training schools. These would turn out men and women with finished skills.

Amenities. People in the country are crowding into the town, partly to get the comforts of town living; and people in town are pushing into the country. It's the poor who come to town and the better off who settle in the country, and they provide town amenities at their country homes. Rural electrification has now reached something like ninety per cent of all the farm families. We have at last got a rural housing program. With more effort, we can get running water and bathrooms and tight roofs for everybody on the land. Many country people whose farm income is dropping off would stay in the country and work part time at town jobs if their country homes were livable.

Human acceptance. We are already at the time when a man on the farm is valued not for strength and obedience, but for skill, ingenuity, and character. Something that splutters and burns gasoline provides the strength. But the tradition hangs on that a Negro on the land should work hard, ask no questions, know his place, and do as he's told. If we wish to release the wellsprings of energy and am-

bition within Negro Southerners, country or city, we are going to have to open up educationally, economically, and politically. It ~~will~~ is to be doubted whether a permanently prosperous modern agriculture can be carried on without democratic human arrangements. Nearly two-thirds of Negro Americans still ~~s~~ live on the land. Our chance for them and the land to prosper together is bound up with the rapid growth of an accepted and common citizenship.

Encyclopedia of Labor
1950

LABOR IN THE SOUTH

George S. Mitchell

The Southern labor movement is chiefly distinguished by its delayed emergence in a mainly agricultural economy, and by its preoccupation with problems arising from Negro-white relationships.

Early Period

Industrialization began about 1880. Although it has proceeded at a rapid pace, it was not until ~~1930~~ 1950 that the first Southern State (Tennessee) reached the place where a majority of its gainfully employed were in non-agricultural pursuits. In the Southeast, industry concentrated in Piedmont country, where power and white labor were available, leaving the older plantation areas largely unmodified. The spotty pattern of industrialization provided a situation in which many older, particularly coastal and black-belt, cities had only a few artisan trades, such as building and printing, serving the needs of a farming society based on cheap and abundant Negro labor. At the same time, the areas relatively undeveloped (and more equalitarian) in their farming pushed ahead with a scattered, decentralized industrial economy, mainly in cotton textiles, with sub-localities specializing in furniture, garment-making, iron and steel, oil, automobile assembly, and other lines. In the Southwest, also, industry found points of concentration at New Orleans, Houston, and Fort Worth-Dallas, leaving a farming and ranching economy largely undisturbed.

Trade unionism began in the South as a protective device for white

craftsmen, working in commercial cities. Some local unions appeared before the Civil War, but slavery put a premium upon the teaching of skill to Negro fingers, and white craftsmen had little bargaining strength. Emancipation shifted the premium; if wages were to be paid, white labor considered that it had the better claim to the cash, and the rising local and State political power of white laborers and small farmers reinforced their competitive pull for work. Negro skill hung on, and in cities that were prominent in slavery times it is still usual to find several of the building trades largely or partly in Negro hands. Often, these Negro craftsmen are union members. But formal apprenticeship is widely denied Negroes, even in these cities, and, with irregular recruitment and continuing white jealousy, the (usually separate) Negro craft locals are seldom gaining strength. It was the white craftsmen in these older cities, buttressed after about 1900 with men in similar work in the newer industrial places, who formed the State Federations of Labor and conducted the organized labor movement in the South until 1934.

They had some accessions from two industries using less skilled workers, coal mining and cotton textiles. The miners became widely organized in the North Alabama fields at the time of the First World War, though they lost out later and did not become strong in the Southern fields till the 'thirties. In Alabama the coal miners included Negro members straight along, having learned in many strikes that solidarity demanded it. Cotton textiles has had a long history of sporadic organization. The Knights of Labor struck a large cotton mill at Augusta, Georgia, in 1886. Unions spread again in 1898-1901, and in 1913-4, 1918-20, 1928-30, and 1934-5. But, except the last, none of these efforts reached more than a few mills in a limited area; and, with weak treasuries, poor leadership, and fierce employer and community

resistance, results were not great.

Down to 1934, the labor movement in practically all of the Southern States was thus confined to the building and commercial trades, the railwaymen, an occasional Negro local, some service or municipal crafts, and such locals from the miners or textile workers as were organized. It was entirely an American Federation of Labor movement (the Railway Brotherhoods excepted), though, oddly enough, both the I. W. W. (at Greenville in 1913) and the Communists (at Gastonia in 1929) had shown that mill operatives could be reached by unfamiliar organizations. Labor had a certain political strength, and used it. But the program was craft unionism, interested but not active in industrial organization, embracing very few unskilled people, and keeping a wary eye to protect the privileges of the white mechanic.

New Deal and War

Meanwhile, industry grew to modern stature, and then in the Great Depression embittered its hundreds of thousands of dependents. The New Deal, and clause 7a of the National Industrial Recovery Act, with its guarantee of the right to organize, released the energies of workingmen who had not before more than dreamed of self-organization. From that time forward, the South has had both a craft and an industrial union movement.

Industrial organization spread out from three main centers. In Northern Alabama, the patterns set by the coal miners, including their mixed Negro and white locals, rapidly spilled over to the ore miners and the iron-casting shops and, more slowly, to steel, rubber, and textiles. In the Carolinas and Georgia, the movement began with mushroom organization of the textile workers under the established A. F. of L. union, but receded after the widespread strike (1934) in which "flying wedges" of strikers going from

mill to mill met, and gave, much violence. In 1937, textile organizati n was renewed, this time under the auspices of several large unions working within the Committee for Industrial Organization. That effort, continuing ever since, resulted in the formation of the Textile Workers Union of America, C. I. O., which has subsequently claimed, doubtless optimistically, a Southern membership ranging around a fifth or a sixth of all the Southern textile workers. The United Textile Workers Union of America, A. F. of L., has kept at work in the South and has locals in all textile States. The organizing activity of the New Deal era reached also, in the Georgia area, the automobile assembly industry, steel, rubber, clothing, chemicals, teamsters, laundries, furniture, and some smaller groups, In the furniture industry of the Carolinas, the latter part of the New Deal era saw firm organization at several points, but never anything like full organization of the trade. In the area of the Tennessee Valley, the labor policy of the T.V.A. helped substantially to accustom industry and business to union organization. In the Southwest, the 1934-42 period produced solid organization of the longshoremen in the port cities, and substantial penetration of the oil industry, sugar refining, chemicals, and meat packing.

World War II increased membership all around, and spread organization into localities, crafts, and industries hitherto unreached. In the port cities, sailors and shipyard workers became tightly organized. The oil workers gained strength, but failed to win by any means all of the refineries. The steelworkers placed locals virtually where they wished. Automobile easily took in the new aircraft factories. The meat packers became firmly established throughout the lower South. As the war drew to a close, the never-before organized lumber industry began to yield, and many locals, both of the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O., were established in wood-processing and

and naval-stores plants. Other lesser industries into which the unions have reached to an appreciable extent are stone quarries, aluminum, cotton-seed oil mills, fisheries, clothing, rayon, laundries, tobacco factories, electric power, fertilizer, farm machinery, shoes, paper, warehousing, and, more recently, telegraph and telephone.

Mid-Century

After the war-time boom had begun to fade, each major federation mounted a Southern Organizing Drive. These have helped many unions to survive, and they have pushed organizations into some localities which had not been reached before, but they have not succeeded in firm organization of major industries.

In summary, the South had attained by 1950, partial organization of the building trades in the larger cities and towns, full organization of the railways and railway shops, general organization of the newspaper printers and kindred trades, full organization of the coal miners and ore miners, virtually complete organization in steel and in automobile assembly, widespread organization in communications, and pace-setting, though never controlling, organization in textiles, furniture, woodworking, clothing, meat packing, oil refining, and some other minor industries. In the cities, streetrailwaymen, truckers, electricians, machinists, and other service workers were pretty generally in unions. Figures on membership are unobtainable, but the A. F. of L. unions probably contain twice as many Southern members as do the C. I. O. unions, and the C. I. O. probably has somewhat less than a million Southern membrs. Three million would be an outside figure for all Southern union membership in 1950, including the independents.

Race Relations

On Negro-white relationships, the pattern is badly mixed, but Negroes are pretty steadily gaining place within the movement. The jealously white unions have yielded little ground. They include the principal railway unions and most of the railway shop crafts, certain building trades (varying by cities), the machinists and the electricians, the street car operators, the printers, and many smaller trades. The unions with a record of relative fairness to Negroes are the coal and the ore miners, iron and steel, laundries, tobacco, hod-carriers, meat packing, longshoremen, woodworking, paper, chemicals, and oil. In textiles, where Negroes are nearly everywhere only a small percentage of the work force, they are generally brought in as union members.

As a rule of thumb, where Negroes are between about eighteen and seventy per cent of the work force, they are brought into the union and function pretty much as other members, though it is nearly everywhere the practice for the Negro members to sit segregated in union halls, and the principal officers usually are white persons. It is to be remembered that Southern industry is predominantly in the parts of the South where the Negro population is comparatively small. Where industry is found in areas with a high proportion of Negroes, as with meat packing, cottonseed oil mills, paper plants, laundries, fertilizer, and most woodworking plants, they are used in the work force and join whatever unions are organized. As a general rule, also, the line between ready and reluctant inclusion of Negro members is not the line between A. F. of L. and C. I. O.; it is the line between craft and industrial organization. A. F. of L. industrial unions are often as ready in building Negro memberships as are C. I. O. industrial unions.

Politics

Southern labor is weaker politically than economically. The craft-

union backbone of the movement has not forgotten an old bargain with white-supremacy demagogues. That bargain has brought a few privileges, but has often reinforced prejudice and discrimination. The newer unions, based on industrial organization, and often including Negroes, have an interest in voting differently, but poll taxes, intimidation, slackness, and confusion have kept the great bulk of the workers from resorting to the ballot boxes. It is doubtful whether in most Southern industrial cities more than fifteen per cent of the unskilled and semi-skilled are qualified voters. Among skilled workers, the percentage of voters is much greater.

In the long run, the Southern labor movement can accomplish no great political upsets unless it can find a common interest to link it to ~~so~~ some at least of the two-thirds of the people of the region whose living is still made directly on the land.

gsm wrote

PHYLON

THE ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

REVIEW OF RACE & CULTURE

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Southern Regional Council

p192

- **THE NEGRO ON BROADWAY, 1949-1950**
  By Miles M. Jefferson

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  By William Gardner Smith

- **THE NEGRO THEATER: A GLANCE BACKWARD**
  By Fannin S. Belcher, Jr.

- **THE PROBLEM OF NEGRO CHARACTER AND DRAMATIC INCIDENT**
  By William Couch, Jr.

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  By James L. Hupp

- **HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE TREATY POWER**
  By George H. Cohen

THE YEAR $2 | SECOND QUARTER 1950 | THE COPY 75¢

While not documented, the factual information can be readily understood by the layman. For example, Charles Malik focuses attention upon the objective work of the Economic and Social Council. In particular he reports.

> In its desire to implement President Truman's *Point Four,* the U. S. Delegation has shown in the Eighth and Ninth Sessions of the Council a willingness to place at the disposal of the Economic and Social Council considerable funds to be used in connection with development . . . The immediate problems seem to be to determine the right balance between how much is to be utilized through international agencies and how much is to be administered directly by the U.S. and other developed nations through bilateral agreements (p.61).

One cannot overestimate the objectives and functions of the International Trusteeship System predicated upon the principle that the administration of dependent territories "is the responsibility of the international community and not a matter of exclusive concern to the administering authorities" (p. 115). Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, an expert on the affairs of the inhabitants of dependent territories, emphasizes the point that two hundred million people of the areas "are becoming increasingly aware of their strategic and commercial importance in the world. They chafe under political, economic, and social disabilities. Their demands are for greater participation in the management of their governmental affairs, for freedom from disease, malnutrition, and for opportunity to participate fully in the economic development of their countries. Many are becoming restless under foreign control. Organized nationalist forces in many of the dependent territories are today insistently demanding a greater or an independent voice in the management of their own affairs" (pp. 113-114). Dr. Bunche stresses the opinion that there can be little doubt that a world in which there would be no subject peoples would be a much better world. For, "the opportunity for these peoples to live up to their potentialities, to live with dignity, to enjoy political freedom, security, and respectable standards of living, is basic to world that wishes to live in freedom and in peace" (p. 125).

In the interest of international peace based upon co-operation, this volume is "must" reading in a world of exaggerated political denunciation, unwarranted diatribes, and petty bickering over technicalities. The areas of actual co-operation, as revealed by the authors, clearly illustrate the validity of the assumption that peace is possible since the basic needs of man — economic, educational and social — are essentially the same, regardless of political institutions.

Samuel P. Perry, Jr.

SELECT PIECES AND ODDMENTS

THE LOST TONGUES. *By Jettie Felps. Corpus Christi, Texas: Christian Triumph Press,* 1949. 146 *pp.* 50 *cents.*

A lengthening roll of names can now be called of men and women who,

out of slavery, poverty, and injustice of Southern society, have risen to outstanding strength of character and no inconsiderable fame.

Mrs. Jettie Felps of Burnet, Texas, is white. Sometime a school teacher, her mother once owned slaves, and when Mrs. Felps was young kept a carriage. Mrs. Felps has collected, out of books and out of personal recollection, the fine things that too few white people know about Negroes, mostly southern, whose careers have been rich in service to others. The standard names are there, often with some odd facts added to the usual record, and she has added others less often praised — Edward Randolph Carter, Otis O'Neil, Bones Hooks and the new crop of musicians, actors and authors. You feel a bit as though you are in an antique shop where choice, if hardworn, pieces of furniture are higgledy-piggledy with oddments stuck ashelf, whether authentic or not. There are bits about Africa which are not really history, and every now and then some lapse into Southern views that now seem quaint.

But, the little museum has been lovingly fitted out to show to any who will come in that peoples have equal capacity; and if the visitor will go on to talk in the last pages with the curator, he will find her eager and in earnest to correct injustice and to make the South equal and free.

Perhaps, some day, some one else will fit together the records of the Southern white people who rebel against what they found around them and who put their energies to persuading others. I think Mrs. Felps will deserve a place of good display in that collection.

George S. Mitchell

LAST WORD ON SOUTHERN POLITICS

SOUTHERN POLITICS. *By V. O. Key, Jr. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.,* 1949. 675 *pp.* $6.00.

Professor Key presents an exhaustive, impartial, and critical study of this important subject. The book is divided into five parts covering state by state the one-party system in the South; the one-party system in the nation; the mechanisms and procedures of the one-party system; the size and composition of the electorate; and restrictions on voting. The sources of his information include not only documentary materials and secondary works but personal interviews with 538 Southerners who share in the political life of the section. Politicians, newspaper editors and reporters, planters, small farmers, and Negro leaders as well as students of government and politics were consulted.

Key's thesis is that Southern politics and the peculiarities of its institutions in the final analysis center around the Negro. The one-party system, the rigid suffrage laws, nonparticipation in voting, and various extralegal practices have been developed for the primary purpose "to assure locally a subordination of the Negro population and, externally to block

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PHYLON

THE ATLANTA UNIVERSITY REVIEW OF RACE & CULTURE

- WALT WHITMAN'S CONCEPTION OF DEMOCRACY
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- THE POETRY OF COUNTEE CULLEN
  By Robert A. Smith
- "CRACKER CULTURE": A PRELIMINARY DEFINITION
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- CROSSING THE COLOUR BAR — A POEM
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Tilman C. Cothran
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and Others

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financial interests." The responsibility of a weekly magazine with one of the largest distributions is given detailed treatment in Davis' case history of his own victimization.

The thesis and protest of the author, well-documented and supported by news and case history accounts, is poignantly expressed in the following quotation from his discussion of "Who Is Un-American!" "When will America learn that the real patriot is the man who dares to criticize his own country with honesty and sincerity; that the real traitor is the one who, while parroting patriotism, actually prohibits and blocks freedom under any guise whatsoever" (p. 183). He further charges that "Disloyalty tests and all the clap trap of an Un-American Committee which assassinates the reputations of men without giving them a chance to be heard in their own defense, are fundamentally disloyal to everything for which America stands. They promote the interests of politicians who are often not nearly as loyal or American as those whose reputations they are trying to sear and smear" (p. 218).

In proposing steps to counter-act this trend toward character assassination and its attack upon freedom, Davis proposes the enactment of group libel laws to protect groups from damage by defamation. He suggests as a primary method of reducing overt practices of prejudice and libel that everyone be educated to analyze propaganda of all kinds. Accordingly, he lists the methods by which character is assassinated and thus provides a means for persons to identify in themselves or others the act or tendency to defame: (1) Name Calling; (2) Guilt by association; (3) Transfer of guilt, hatred or responsibility; (4) Testimonials of hatred; (5) The Fear Device; (6) The Double Standard of Morality Device; (7) Card-stacking; (8) The Band Wagon; (9) Disguised Self Interest; and (10) Monopoly of Stimuli.

The book is current history, in that it gives an intimate behind-the-scenes commentary on present political thought and tactic. It is good sociology, for it gives an objective and documented account of a social movement and trend and the involvement of organizations, institutions and vested interests. It is good descriptive psychology, for it details the vagaries of thought, feeling and motive which give the quality of hysteria to present opinion. It should be read by all persons who want to achieve perspective on current developments in this area.

Herman H. Long

SHAMEFUL PICTURE OF MAN'S INHUMANITY

THE NAVY AND THE SLAVE TRADE. THE SUPRESSION OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. *By Christopher Lloyd. Illustrations, tables, appendices, bibliography, and index. London: Longmans, Green and Co.,* 1949. *xiii,* 314 *pp.* 21 *shillings.*

A most interesting chapter in the history of the slave trade, not hitherto told. When slavery had been abolished by the British themselves, and by the United States, Great Britain negotiated a series of treaties under which naval action could be taken to search suspected slavers, capture ships taken in the act, and get them condemned as prizes. The various nations which signed the treaties were supposed to use their own navies in the international policing to be done; in practice the job fell to the British Navy, and with disgracefully few exceptions, to the British Navy alone. The first British warships were given the job in 1810, and the task lasted more than a century.

The Navy itself disliked the work, and was kept at it only by the firm insistence of the civil authorities, most notably by Palmerton. The stations on the West African coast were fearsome in disease, the service for all it yielded dribbles of prize-money was not one of honor, and the Navy assigned antiquated ships, often with besotted officers, and a poor run of its men. For decades the weaknesses of the treaties and the prize-courts permitted huge portions of the trade to escape any scrutiny at all. The Portuguese, for instance, were hardly interfered with in the main part of their slaving until 1839; and the Brazilians carried on in immunity till 1850. In spite of all handicaps, the Navy captured over the greater part of the period 1817-1865 a round average of ten per cent a year of the ships engaged in the trade, and of course impeded the traffic in many ways. Altogether, in the West Coast trade, they captured over eleven hundred slave-ships, and set free one hundred and fifty thousand slaves, most of whom were put down at Freetown, in Sierra Leone.

The East Coast trade, conducted mostly by the Arabs, led a charmed life until the 1860's, when it began to be attacked in earnest. It was really suppressed only as late as 1883, and even in 1927 an occasional filthy ship would get slaves out.

For transatlantic readers the book has a shameful story. Although the United States outlawed the trade in 1807, our Navy made only the most negligible efforts against the slavers, and American money financed thousands of slaving voyages right down to 1861. What is worse, a great volume of the trade was carried on in American-built ships and under the American flag, and our prickliness about British search on the high seas (charitably explained as a relic of the War of 1812) made it impossible for the British Navy to interfere. Despite our Act of 1820, which defined slaving as piracy, it was not until Lincoln's administration that the first man was hanged for the crime.

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George S. Mitchell

PHYLON

THE ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

REVIEW

OF

RACE & CULTURE

A Reprint

From:

Vol..... **No.**....

19....

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

Atlanta 3, Georgia

The Literature of Race and Culture

I. OF LIFE . . .

HIDDEN UN-AMERICANISM

CHARACTER ASSASSINATION. *By Jerome Davis. New York: Philosophical Library,* 1950. 253 *pp.* $3.00.

This is a direct, factual exposé of the current forms of individual and group baiting which the author describes as approaching the nature of a group psychosis in American society. As a description of a trend in our present life which threatens to undermine the most fundamental democratic traditions and ideals, Jerome Davis has fashioned a picture that is disturbing in its implications and possibilities. The tendency toward "thought control" and communist labelling, the impugning of honest motives, interests and loyalties, the use of the doctrine of guilt by association, add up to what the author calls "character assassination." The character and integrity of men are thus easily and brutally despoiled and the minority groups in the population conveniently scapegoated, in the present wave of cultivated fear and hysteria.

Beginning with a strong and clear introductory statement by Chancellor Robert Maynard Hutchins of the University of Chicago, which makes no compromises with qualifications upon freedom of thought, conscience and speech, Davis gives a statement of his own beliefs and commitments to the democratic and American ideal. He proceeds, in the subsequent chapters, to give a documented account of the diverse forms of character assassination which are being perpetrated against individuals and groups under the guise of "Americanism" but which are, in fact, undermining and subverting the basic democratic ideals and practices. The castigation, maligning and stereotyping of the Jew, the Negro and Labor are treated in the specific forms in which they have occurred in press and radio, and they are placed within the same context as the corrosion of politics and education by the "witch hunt," the attacks upon David Lilienthal and the United States Atomic Energy Commission, the un-American Activities Committee of the House and the loyalty probes within the Federal Government.

In a chapter on "The Struggle for the Mind of America," Davis shows how the communist-hunt psychosis and character assassination process has extended to even the Federal Council of Churches, the World Council of Churches, and with the church denominations themselves. Not any aspect of our national life, or any institution or organization which lays claim to leadership and opinion has escaped the thought and loyalty pogrom. There is strong indictment throughout the book of the role of the press and radio in contributing to the hysteria, through the selection of news and opinions that "fit the prejudices and predilections of successful

financial interests." The responsibility of a weekly magazine with one of the largest distributions is given detailed treatment in Davis' case history of his own victimization.

The thesis and protest of the author, well-documented and supported by news and case history accounts, is poignantly expressed in the following quotation from his discussion of "Who Is Un-American!" "When will America learn that the real patriot is the man who dares to criticize his own country with honesty and sincerity; that the real traitor is the one who, while parroting patriotism, actually prohibits and blocks freedom under any guise whatsoever" (p. 183). He further charges that "Disloyalty tests and all the clap trap of an Un-American Committee which assassinates the reputations of men without giving them a chance to be heard in their own defense, are fundamentally disloyal to everything for which America stands. They promote the interests of politicians who are often not nearly as loyal or American as those whose reputations they are trying to sear and smear" (p. 218).

In proposing steps to counter-act this trend toward character assassination and its attack upon freedom, Davis proposes the enactment of group libel laws to protect groups from damage by defamation. He suggests as a primary method of reducing overt practices of prejudice and libel that everyone be educated to analyze propaganda of all kinds. Accordingly, he lists the methods by which character is assassinated and thus provides a means for persons to identify in themselves or others the act or tendency to defame: (1) Name Calling; (2) Guilt by association; (3) Transfer of guilt, hatred or responsibility; (4) Testimonials of hatred; (5) The Fear Device; (6) The Double Standard of Morality Device; (7) Card-stacking; (8) The Band Wagon; (9) Disguised Self Interest; and (10) Monopoly of Stimuli.

The book is current history, in that it gives an intimate behind-the-scenes commentary on present political thought and tactic. It is good sociology, for it gives an objective and documented account of a social movement and trend and the involvement of organizations, institutions and vested interests. It is good descriptive psychology, for it details the vagaries of thought, feeling and motive which give the quality of hysteria to present opinion. It should be read by all persons who want to achieve perspective on current developments in this area.

Herman H. Long

SHAMEFUL PICTURE OF MAN'S INHUMANITY

THE NAVY AND THE SLAVE TRADE. THE SUPRESSION OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. *By Christopher Lloyd. Illustrations, tables, appendices, bibliography, and index. London: Longmans, Green and Co.,* 1949. *xiii,* 314 *pp.* 21 *shillings.*

A most interesting chapter in the history of the slave trade, not hitherto told. When slavery had been abolished by the British themselves,

and by the United States, Great Britain negotiated a series of treaties under which naval action could be taken to search suspected slavers, capture ships taken in the act, and get them condemned as prizes. The various nations which signed the treaties were supposed to use their own navies in the international policing to be done; in practice the job fell to the British Navy, and with disgracefully few exceptions, to the British Navy alone. The first British warships were given the job in 1810, and the task lasted more than a century.

The Navy itself disliked the work, and was kept at it only by the firm insistence of the civil authorities, most notably by Palmerton. The stations on the West African coast were fearsome in disease, the service for all it yielded dribbles of prize-money was not one of honor, and the Navy assigned antiquated ships, often with besotted officers, and a poor run of its men. For decades the weaknesses of the treaties and the prize-courts permitted huge portions of the trade to escape any scrutiny at all. The Portuguese, for instance, were hardly interfered with in the main part of their slaving until 1839; and the Brazilians carried on in immunity till 1850. In spite of all handicaps, the Navy captured over the greater part of the period 1817-1865 a round average of ten per cent a year of the ships engaged in the trade, and of course impeded the traffic in many ways. Altogether, in the West Coast trade, they captured over eleven hundred slave-ships, and set free one hundred and fifty thousand slaves, most of whom were put down at Freetown, in Sierra Leone.

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For transatlantic readers the book has a shameful story. Although the United States outlawed the trade in 1807, our Navy made only the most negligible efforts against the slavers, and American money financed thousands of slaving voyages right down to 1861. What is worse, a great volume of the trade was carried on in American-built ships and under the American flag, and our prickliness about British search on the high seas (charitably explained as a relic of the War of 1812) made it impossible for the British Navy to interfere. Despite our Act of 1820, which defined slaving as piracy, it was not until Lincoln's administration that the first man was hanged for the crime.

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George S. Mitchell

TOWARD DEMOCRATIC HUMAN RELATIONS

DEMOCRACY DEMANDS IT. A RESOURCE UNIT FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IN HIGH SCHOOL. *By William Van Til, John J. DeBoer, R. Will Burnett, Kathleen Coyle Ogden. New York: Harper and Brothers,* 1950. 117 *pp.* $1.50 *cloth.* $1.00 *student edition.*

William Van Til points out in the preface to this little volume that in the field of intercultural education, the current need is for "the creation of workable approaches to democratic human relations." *Democracy Demands It,* as one answer to this need, has been prepared in the form of an organized resource unit for high school teachers who are responsible for a course dealing specifically with problems of human relations.

Its readers are reminded that knowing and understanding the children one teaches and using this knowledge to create student self-motivation are the necessary first steps in creating the democratic school and classroom atmosphere which is essential for the effective teaching of wholesome intercultural relations. They are also reminded that in the area of human relations, intelligence and understanding are not enough: "The ultimate purpose of a unit in intercultural education is to develop young people's attitudes and behavior toward democratic living in relation to all humans, minority and dominant."

In organizing the book, the authors have consciously attempted to fulfill the definition of a resource unit as a "systematic and comprehensive survey, analysis and organization of the possible problems, activities, teaching aids and the like that a teacher might utilize in building units cooperatively with its students." Five questions are used as the foci of organization: (1) How may a particular unit in the broad area of intercultural education get started? (2) What are examples of the literally hundreds of possible learning-units in intercultural education? (3) What are some of the early considerations for the teacher before embarking upon such a unit? (4) What are some possible and effective sequences of learning activities for a chosen unit in intercultural education? (5) What can students do about their experiences and findings? The unit closes with a guide to pertinent bibliographies.

Answers to each of these questions are given simply, concisely, and forthrightly, with a wealth of practical examples and clearly-cited resource references. The content of these answers reveals that *Democracy Demands It* is aimed primarily at an audience of teachers who are teaching in areas of the United States where segregation is not legally sanctioned and enforced and who teach a heterogeneous student body. However, since the book is solidly based on the principles of the newer approaches to curriculum planning, the few Southern teachers, white and Negro, who have the hardihood to attempt to teach a unit in intercultural relations, can, with imagination, readily adapt and adopt much of the approach and materials suggested.

MOUNTAIN LIFE & WORK
Magazine of the Mountains
BEREA, KENTUCKY

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

RECEIVED
JAN 8 1951
Southern Regional Council

BEREA
3 30 PM
JAN 5
1951

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave N. E., ATLANTA, GA.

Dear George Mitchell, GSM - articles

Gosh, you're a miracle! To have you both remember AND write and article without being pushed is something entirely new in my experience as an editor! Many thanks.

It is very much what I wanted--it says something, to the point, and is tightly written, which is just what we want. ...We will always be happy to have material pertaining to the the whole highland region, or any partof it. We hope you will keep us in mind for material always. Especially we need ideas for the future development of the mountains.

Sincerely

Charles Drake

82 Dartmouth Rd, London N W 2.
2.2.51.

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

On October 2nd, you wrote kindly promising to send an article to "Socialist Commentary" for publication in a series of articlese on the U.S.A. You thought then that you would be able to send it off at the beginning of January. I am writing to say that it has not arrived so far and I hope it is not lost in the ppst. In any case I shall be glad to receive it as soon as you can write it for us.

With best wishes, and regards also from Dr. Rita Hinden,

Yours sincerely,

Mary Saran
Editor
"Socialist Commentary"

JAN 15 1951
Socialist Regional Council

Sent March 26. '51

"In the North they don't care how high a Negro gets, as long as he doesn't get too close; in the South they don't care how close he gets, as long as he doesn't climb too high"! Untrue in detail, but it brings a recognizing smile.

We do still have two quite different societies. We began to split at the time of settlement; the Puritans who took up farms in New England had sterner consciences than the men who got plantations in the South. And the West Indies had shown the way to easy money: fetch in the labor, hold the land in big blocks, sell the staples back to Britain. The South built on that model; the North went on to family-worked farms, to shipping, and later to industry. Around 1790 in the South it looked as though slavery would die; the country behind the coastal plantations had filled up with smaller farmers, and tobacco and indigo and rice aplenty could be raised in the few areas that slavery had taken. Then came the engine that plucked the seeds from cotton, and Lancashire engines to use it; in the sixty years after 1800 Negro slavery shoved its way onto all the richest lands of the South. In a century when most men pushed for liberty, industry, and democracy the cotton South worked to keep slavery, plantations, and landlord government. When the Civil War came a pattern had been set which after ninety years still holds in thirteen States.

The pattern is there, but a new one grows up inside it, and the new

one is in the better tradition, which the rest of the country had held to all along.

The conspicuous victim of this history is the Negro. He is thirteen million people now; more than the population of the Dominion of Canada. Some three million Negroes live in the North and West, drawn out by the labor shortages of the two World Wars. They went to industrial jobs and they have become an urban people. They live in crowded housing, nearly all of it in solidly Negro districts. They feel discrimination in employment, and in access to places of entertainment, but they vote, and basic custom and law are on their side, and these and more private disabilities are dropping away -- at the top. Most non-Southern communities with large Negro populations have statutory commissions working against discrimination. The Negro in the North can get a well-paid job, have his children modernly educated, and assert the rights of any other inheritor of American freedom. His is nearly the position of earlier waves of immigrants at a comparable stage: the Italians twenty years ago, the Polish people ten years before that, except that his social life is still almost wholly within his own color.

The South is another story. History had its other victim here, in the white man who came over for land and fortune, began to get them, and then found his upward pathway blocked by the slave society. He did a modest job of farming, but he lived on the poorer land, and until two generations ago he had no escape to industry. He got poor schooling. He felt a grudge. And he thought it important to hold the Negro down. As the Negro population in Southern States is around a third (ranging from fifteen to forty-five per cent) political control was easy. Every Southern State had, and many still have, cunning demagogues, elected to twist the forms of law, and within the terms of the Constitution continue a double standard. A Georgia ex-Governor

said a few years ago, on the stump, "All of you farmers have seen a cow inside a fence, sticking her head through the wire and getting the long grass on the outside. She ain't supposed to, but she finds a way." Some of this is recognition of reality. The plantation Negro had a poor chance to get up in the world. Transportation and slavery had robbed him of his African dignity; the farmer-landlord controlled completely the life of "his hands"; schools ran for a few months a year, in shacks, with ill-trained teachers. Unskilled, barely lettered, wounded in spirit by racial discrimination, and in violence and chicanery denied political participation, he and his children are still, in the mass, short of cultural qualities which the white man namaged to hold on to.

In any people each generation struggles to pass on to its children the hard lessons of neatness, modesty, manners, "put things back where they came from," and so on; the point is that more of this that is the reality of culture is to be found among the white people than among the Negro people. But the gap narrows every year. In the cities, North and South, Negro children get a real schooling. I heard a Negro father of eight, in Washington, say, "I want to tell you, when these children get through these-here Washington schools, they ain't nobody's dumbunnies." And housing is a bit better, and health is a lot better, and for eighteen years we have had inflationary prosperity of the New Deal and the Wars. Everybody has a job, and wages are good. The ragged, shuffling Negro who was familiar on Southern streets twenty years ago is a rarity now -- a sight for tourists. Everybody wears decent clothes; everybody has some loose change to jingle in his pockets. Subtly, also, every colored person has pride of race. The white South doesn't yet recognize it; a dream world of 'way back yonder is what white people still see. But in cities and towns everywhere the Negroes absorb the drumbeats of grievance pounded in by the Negro press. The great

Negro organization, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, reaches out through Negro America, steeling men to stand for equality and justice. The Negro church is no longer an apologist for its people's suffering; it preaches courage to work for what is right. And there is a widening Negro middle-class and professional group; competent, brave, sensitive, and determined.

This present period is a queer one. White people go blindly on, supposing that the insults and inequities of daily life in the South are immovable, and indeed unimportant. And each and every Negro subject to them resents them deeply, and knows they can and will go.

It was the argument of the interracial improvers of twenty years ago that the great barrier to understanding was poverty; if we could get all our people basically equal, enjoying good jobs, good farms, good homes, good schools, and good health, race relations would take care of themselves. In the cities we have nearly come to that basic equality. Southern wages are about up to the Northern standard, and at such levels of skill as Negroes are permitted to work at are little less for Negroes than for whites. The city schools have taken a great leap toward equality; some lawsuits in Virginia three years ago made it plain that anything less than equal schools could not stay segregated, and the South is laying on heavy taxes and putting up the new buildings. In public health we are well along. Malaria is gone, venereal disease is coming under control, and so is tuberculosis. New status in the cities has brought access to the ballot. The Negro vote in the South that was a few thousand twenty years ago is nearly a million now. The last great material inequalities are in housing and in access to better-class work. The New Deal did some brave slum-clearance, but war and inflation have left the good housing as islands; dismal rented shacks on dirt streets are everywhere. And the Northern acceptance of legalized fair employment

practices has no Southern counterparts. A few plants in certain Southern industries work quietly to upgrade Negro employees. But, in the mass, Negroes are still doing the work with the least skill and the poorest prospects. Negroes are oppressed by the ceiling to their advancement, and the whole economy suffers in consequent deadening of ambition. Still, each individual who punctures the ceiling, and gets up to place despite all the handicaps, is the subject of much pride, and visibly strengthens others. Significantly, the various professional associations in the Southern States have begun to open their ranks to Negro practitioners. One State medical association admits the Negro doctors, and several Bar associations, and the social workers and the librarians and others are open nearly everywhere. Further down, at the trade union level, the big industrial unions that have grown up in the South in the last fifteen years include both Negroes and whites, and teach, in action, that progress comes when all men stand together.

The rural South in the last twenty years has seen the props knocked out from under the plantation system. Sharecropping is almost dead, and tenancy has lessened. Family farm ownership, government fostered, is a proved success in many areas which had almost none of it before. And the rural population has thinned out; industry North and South has drained away millions of hoe hands who had no chance to compete with advancing farm mechanization, or whose shacks were being torn down when cotton fields were turned into cattle farms. Still, the shadow of the Negro's dependence hovers over the country counties, and State legislatures, which uniformly overrepresent the old South as against the new, hold in matters of race to what the country white people will agree to.

That makes it harder. The conditions of equality are visible, in the cities, and in many towns, and Negroes strain to achieve integration.

The Constitution is on their side -- color blind, as a great judge said -- and the Federal courts recognize the right to complete equality in every public service. State governments put up a fight for the full measure of segregation. But in significant fields segregation has cracked. State-conducted graduate and professional education is open; not everywhere, because resistance still has its tricks, and a few States are willing to try to pay the cost of would-be equal medical schools and law schools for Negroes. On the railways the long passenger hauls are often mixed. The companies provide a Negro coach, but Negroes are to be found scattered throughout the train, and nobody fusses. In dining cars segregation is over; knocked out by legal decisions, gone without disturbance. Lawsuits are before the courts to open various undergraduate colleges, and in several States the elementary and high schools. The colleges will almost certainly be opened. On schools the resistance is firm: two Governors have recently threatened to return the schools to private management if the courts rule that public support requires them to be open.

In private institutions there is much quiet gain. A veriety of theological seminaries in the South now admit Negro students. The Catholic Church unevasively disavows segregation, and many Protestant bodies have resolved against the current rigid separation. The trade unions have dropped the substance of it wherever they have organized Negro and white industrial workers, though the craft unions still use race and politics as protectors of their monopoly of skill. And the youth of the South, to everyone's observing, rejects the fears that older people hold to.

The last great barrier is agriculture. If we can achieve a rural South in which the two races are nearer to economic equality, the pressures of today can be relieved. We will have extended a basic equality to the whole people of the South, and that will carry full political participation,

and with that will come the taking of democratic decisions about racial relations. The "give" will be sporadic; huge areas, in geography and in social life, will not be greatly changed for years to come. But a new pattern of a common citizenship is being set. And the South has the chance for its two peoples to work out their problems in order and in mutual respect.

~~Athens~~
Mts

February 6, 1951

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mrs. Tilly

FROM: George S. Mitchell

On the Ozarks, I have long had an idea that a fruitful way to work would be through a plan under which the material needs of the whole Ozarks-Oachita area could be gone after.

The region includes parts of three states, at least. Uniform State legislation on such matters as land tenure, water utilization, and rural amenities would be helpful. Doubtless various Federal programs could be stepped up to meet an organized effort from the whole of the area itself. Your correspondent, of course, knows that rural agricultural prosperity has been achieved in parts of the Ozark territory, and with the prosperity rather settled democratic institutions. I don't know why industrializatio could not be achieved pretty rapidly also.

In brief, it seems to me the ~~problem~~ proper course is to build an over-all organization representing the Ozark area and work through that for the big things which will bring economic health, and in its wake presumably greater respect for human rights.

GSM:er

Articles GSM

Friends of the Land

A NON-PROFIT NON-PARTISAN SOCIETY FOR THE CONSERVATION OF SOIL, RAIN AND MAN

1368 NORTH HIGH STREET
COLUMBUS · 1 · OHIO

May 4, 1951

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Ave. N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Russ Lord has forwarded your letter of April 27th to us for handling, and under separate cover we have forwarded the copies of THE LAND as requested.

While we appreciate the request that you be billed for these copies, we are most happy to furnish them to you without charge.

Sincerely,

Hunter Baker

Hunter Baker

HB:K
cc Russ Lord

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PLEASE MAKE ADVANCE RESERVATIONS EARLY

FRIENDS OF THE LAND
1368 N. High St.,
Columbus 1, Ohio

I plan to attend the Tenth Annual Institute on Conservation, Nutrition and Health at the Stevens Hotel, Chicago, June 21, 22, and 23.

_____Enclosed is check for $_____ to cover fee checked below.

_____Will pick up tickets and pay at Reservation Desk.

Registration fee, dinner and evening program, both	$10.00
Registration fee only, all sessions	$5.00
Dinner and evening program only	6.00

NAME _____

Address_____ City_____

Program

FRIENDS OF THE LAND

TENTH ANNUAL INSTITUTE

CONSERVATION, NUTRITION AND HEALTH

Thursday, June 21, Friday, June 22
Saturday, June 23, 1951

Stevens Hotel, Chicago, Illinois

Theme: HEALTH—FROM THE GROUND UP

THE INSTITUTE'S OBJECTIVE

The objective of each of these Institutes has been to bring together some 16 to 20 eminent scientists to make a popular summary of the recent advances in their respective fields that would help to clarify the relationship of soil fertility to the health of plants and animals . . . and ultimately to the health of Man himself.

This year, the emphasis is placed upon the food we eat . . . and the soil in which it grows.

First, we shall hear outstanding authorities tell of the role that soil and water, weather, and farming practices play in the production of healthy plants, which in turn makes the best of food for Man and his beasts.

At the dinner, we shall listen to two of the most fascinating speakers. One will tell us about the problems involved in the reconstruction of the farms of the world to meet human needs, and the other, how one farmer in Ohio has succeeded in doing this in Pleasant Valley.

On the second day, we shall turn to a consideration of our own food habits and how they can be changed to meet more accurately the needs of our bodies. Also, we shall learn what we need to know about food selection, food preservation, preparation and serving.

On the last afternoon, a research chemist and a physician, known for their interests in soil-health relationships, the outstanding authority on the physiology of starvation, an economist noted for his study of agriculture and food production, will turn our attention to the sickness and misery that lack of food is causing throughout the world, and to the problem as to whether the institution of the very best practices of soil, water, and fertility conservation can produce enough food for the health of an ever-increasing population.

And finally, on Saturday morning, the proceedings of this Institute will be summarized, after which Friends of the Land invites you to bring your own questions, comments and ideas to an informal Forum.

Physicians, health workers, nutritionists, soil experts, farmers, those engaged in animal husbandry, and city dwellers, all will be interested in this program. It is increasingly important that we analyze the soil for deficiencies which influence the quality of the crop. The final test of a crop will be its quality, rather than the yield in bushels or tons. At this Institute, you will have an opportunity to begin with the soil and trace the nutrients into plants and thence into human health. The primary phase of conservation then becomes a matter of saving ourselves through saving our soils.

For additional information

FRIENDS OF THE LAND, 1368 North High Street, Columbus 1, Ohio

TENTH ANNUAL INSTITUTE ON CONS

JUNE 21-22-23, 1951–STEVEN

Theme—Health--F

THURSDAY MORNING — JUNE 21, 1951

9:00 A.M. **Objectives of the Institute** — OLLIE E. FINK
Executive Secretary and Program Director
Friends of the Land, Columbus, Ohio

9:30 A.M. **Modern Farming and the Accelerated Deterioration of Soil Structure** — GARTH W. VOLK
Professor of Agronomy, Department of Agriculture,
Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

10:15 A.M. **Modern Farming and the Accelerated Deterioration of Soil Fertility** — RICHARD BRADFIELD
Department of Agronomy
Cornell University, Ithaca, New York

11:00 A.M. **The Interpretation and Significance of Soil Mineral Studies** — CHARLES D. JEFFRIES
Professor of Soil Technology, Pennsylvania
State College, State College, Pa.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON — VEGETATION—The Bridge Between Soil and Animal Life

1:30 P.M. **The Response of Plants to Moisture**—an historical study in ecology — PAUL B. SEARS
Department of Conservation
Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

2:20 P.M. **The Response of Plants to Climate**—an experimental study in ecology — F. W. WENT
Professor of Plant Physiology
California Institute of Technology
Pasadena, California

3:10 P.M. **Soil, Civilization and Our Health** — GEORGE D. SCARSETH
Director of Research, American Farm
Research Association, Lafayette, Indiana

4:00 P.M. **The Scientific Aspects of Rainmaking** — VINCENT J. SCHAEFER
General Electric Weather Research
Schenectady, New York

THURSDAY EVENING—DINNER AT 6:30

7:30 P.M. **Objectives of Friends of the Land** — EDWARD J. CONDON
President of Friends of the Land, Assistant to the
President, Sears, Roebuck and Co., Chicago, Illinois

8:00 P.M. **Reconstructing the Soils of the World to Meet Human Needs** — WILLIAM A. ALBRECHT
Chairman, Department of Soils
University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri

8:45 P.M. **Reconstructing the Farm to Meet Its Individual Needs** — LOUIS BROMFIELD
Author and Farmer, Lucas, Ohio

ERVATION, NUTRITION AND HEALTH

S HOTEL, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

rom the Ground Up

FRIDAY MORNING—JUNE 22—FOOD—What it Should Be

10:00 A.M. **Proper Food Preservation** ---------- RUTH GRISWOLD
University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois

10:30 A.M. **Proper Preservation and Serving of Food** ---------- FAYE W. GRANT
Instructor, Foods and Nutrition
Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois

11:10 A.M. **Food Habits and Food Acceptance**—Including social problems in changing food habits
---------- W. FRANKLIN DOVE
Director, Food Acceptance Studies
Research Associate in Public Health
University of Illinois, Chicago, Illinois

FRIDAY AFTERNOON

1:30 P.M. **Modern Concept of Disease** ---------- JONATHAN A. FORMAN
Vice President, Friends of the Land
Editor, Ohio State Medical Journal, Columbus, Ohio

2:10 P.M. **Soils and Health** ---------- JOHN J. MILLER
Director of Clinical Research
J. B. Roerig Company, Chicago, Illinois

2:55 P.M. **The Biology of Human Starvation** ---------- ANCEL KEYES
Professor and Director of Physiological Hygiene
University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota

3:35 P.M. **Conservation and Food Production in a Hungry World** ---------- THEODORE W. SCHULTZ
Department of Economics
University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois

SATURDAY MORNING—JUNE 23, 1951

9:30 A.M. **What We Have Learned From This Institute** ---------- JONATHAN FORMAN

10:00 A.M. **Open Forum** ---------- OLLIE E. FINK—*Moderator*
Panel to be announced.

Registration Fee and evening dinner meeting	$10.00
Dinner and evening meeting only	6.00
Registration fee only, all sessions	5.00

We advise you to make your hotel reservations in advance

Mail your Thursday Dinner Reservations in advance to
FRIENDS OF THE LAND, 1368 North High St., Columbus, Ohio

PROGRAM OF FRIENDS OF THE LAND

WHY

The results to date of our land use policies have been soil erosion, depletion, and deterioration . . . not conservation and improvement. And rapidly increasing population with dwindling storehouses of resources, forest fires, pollution of streams, the extinction or depletion of our birds, game and fish, dust storms, draughts, floods, exhausted land, should make us aware of the hurt our land has sustained to date.

More and more businessmen and industrialists realize that the basis of all civilization, the level of economic stability, lies in the abundance of the natural resources of a country. Of these resources, the most important is soil which feeds and clothes the population and furnishes the elemental and basic income upon which all other business enterprises are founded. Failure to catch and hold the rain that falls on the fields, forests and plains through lack of proper agricultural practices is the cause of a condition which is endangering many industries in widespread areas throughout the land.

WHAT

Friends of the Land is an educational society designed to show our citizens their dependence upon top soil and its water. There are plenty of agencies for the action program . . . plenty of societies interested in fish and game . . . in birds . . . in trees . . . in plants and the soil . . . in domestic animals and the soil . . in human health and welfare. **Friends of the Land** provides a common meeting place where the problems of Man and his environment can be focused.

Friends of the Land believes that wise and lasting reforms cannot be accomplished by compulsion, by bribery, by subsidies, or by regimentation and government control; they can only be achieved through information, knowledge and education. The judgment of our people can be no better than their information.

Friends of the Land has as its major objective the integration, in the minds of all our people, of the over-all picture of conservation, restoration and protection of our vital top soil. It is trying to make all of our industrialists, merchants, and professional men realize that the basis of our civilization, the level of our economic stability, the health of our people, lies in the abundance of the natural resources of the United States of America. Of these resources, the basic one is the soil with its water.

HOW

Friends of the Land informs the people and helps them to inform others of the problems of conservation through its publications, THE LAND and THE LAND NEWS.

The LAND, expertly edited by Russell Lord, is America's foremost conservation magazine, superbly written by the best and most authoratative authors. It is a countryman's magazine and repository of opinions, serving the cause of conservation through the inspiration that its pages afford.

THE LAND NEWS is a journal of current events in the field of Soil and Man. Edited by Jonathan Forman, M.D., one of the foremost authorities on soil-food-health relationships, it gives a report on field development throughout the nation in the wiser use of our natural resources.

Friends of the Land also publishes annual symposiums—**Soil, Food and Health** (1949); **Water and Man** (1950); and **Our Soil—A Dynamic Community** (1951); **Forever the Land** (1950) is an anthology from **The Land** magazine.

Friends of the Land have reached thousands of individuals who have never even thought about their own relationship to conservation. To date, over 60 conservation forums have been held in an equal number of our industrial centers; nine annual institutes on conservation, nutrition and health; ten annual meetings of its membership. Competent authorities have said that if **Friends of the Land** had done nothing else but hold these institutes on soil-health relationships they would have justified their existence.

The official family is composed of men, each of whom makes dozens of speeches to large audiences every year, and some, like William Albrecht, Louis Bromfield, Chester Davis, Ollie Fink, and Jonathan Forman, make one or two such speeches every week. Some have their own radio programs, and all are frequently on other radio programs.

Too much emphasis cannot be placed upon the fact that literally scores of our own members are constantly stimulated, through their association with **Friends of the Land** to make speeches, to write books and to contribute effective articles on conservation to our popular magazines with their millions of readers.

Finally, our School Garden program has hundreds of thousands of children learning about the land through vegetable-gardening, and we continue the awarding of medals to Boy and Girl Scouts and to State Champion Canners.

YOUR MEMBERSHIP WILL HELP THE PROGRAM OF FRIENDS OF THE LAND

1368 N. High St., Columbus 1, Ohio

There Will Be No City And No Industry Unless There Are Farm Products To Sell

The Farmer produces the basic needs of Man. Production beyond the needs of his farm family is the food and fiber he has to sell that which makes life in the city possible. From the farm comes most of the things we eat and wear, some of our shelter and fuel, as well as two-thirds of the raw material used in industry. Thus, farming is basic to our American way of life. In addition, the farm is the continuing source of the labor supply needed to man industrial machines. *Agriculture's problems are industry's problems.*

In the final analysis the farmer sells one thing, basic to all of the products which he takes to market . . . the fertility of his soil. With fertile soil, efficient tools and equipment, and "know how", the farmer can maintain a high degree of efficiency in operation. The result is a more prosperous and profitable agriculture and a higher standard of living for the farmer. Agriculture's capacity to produce is the greatest in our history, and represents the greatest market in the nation for the products of business and industry. *Agriculture's problems are industry's problems.*

Businessmen and industrialists are coming to realize that the basis of our civilization and the level of our economic stability is an abundance of natural resources. Of these resources, soil, water and forests are eternally vital. Without these the whole of our economic structure will collapse. Intensive use of soil, without restoring lost fertility, loss of water and soil through erosion and wasteful run-off, all lead to ruin and eviction for both the farmer and the nation. And so it is that *business and industrial leaders have a direct and vital interest in the high efficiency of American Agriculture.*

We, of Friends of the Land, believe our objectives and accomplishments justify the financial support of business and industry. With adequate financial support, Friends of the Land is prepared to carry on and expand an educational program beneficial to all citizens and the general welfare of our nation.

We welcome the opportunity to provide additional information and to explain these objectives in greater detail.

FRIENDS OF THE LAND

1368 North High Street

COLUMBUS 1, OHIO

THE ACTION PROGRAM O

Non-partisan, non-political, non-profit educational Society dedicated to the promotion of

Things That Are Being Done

Institutes, Conferences, and Forums

1. Over 60 conservation forums in metropolitan areas with effective speakers designed to reach city people have been held.
2. Ten annual institutes on soil-health relationships have been conducted.
3. Twenty annual and semi-annual meetings have been held in metropolitan centers with attendant crowds, radio and newspaper publicity, which carried our message to millions.
4. The official family is composed of men, each of whom makes scores of speeches to large audiences throughout the nation each year, and some, like C. W. Bailey, William Albrecht, Louis Bromfield, Chester Davis, Edward Condon, Ollie Fink and Jonathan Forman, make one or two speeches every week. Some have their own radio programs and all are frequently on the radio and television programs of others.

Publications

1. Outstanding countryman's magazine—THE LAND edited by Russell Lord, containing some 500 pages per year of the finest inspirational and informative material.
2. The news magazine—THE LAND NEWS edited by Jonathan Forman, M.D., gives a field report on soil and water conservation, forestry, pending legislation and latest research in soil-health relationships.
3. Monographs and books
   (a) *Forever the Land*—an anthology—(Harpers). (b) *Soil, Food and Health*—(1000 copies printed; published by the Society itself; supply exhausted). (c) *Water and Man*—(1000 copies printed; published by the Society itself; supply going rapidly). (d) *Our Soil—A Dynamic Community.*
4. Pamphlets
   Hundreds of thousands of pamphlets for the dissemination of useful information on all phases of conservation have been distributed. These include the following:
   Living Off Land—by E. J. Condon
   Sustained Yield Management for Hardwood Forests—by Ollie Diller
   Soil and Health—the "Albrecht Concept"—by Ollie Fink
   Man and Nature in Modern Ohio—by Paul B. Sears
   Farm Ponds—by Virgil Overholt
   How to Read a Landscape—by Louis Bromfield
   Promoting Prosperity for All Ohio—by Jonathan Forman
   Hidden Hunger—by Jonathan Forman
   Miracle of the Ozarks—by Jonathan Forman
   Friends of the Land—by Chester Davis
   Food—The Money of a Hungry World—by Ollie E. Fink

"Quotes and Comments"—selected from the speeches and writings of Friends of the Land is now being mailed to more than 300 press and radio editors as well as writers for agricultural and science magazines. There is an increasing demand for "Quotes and Comments". In order to economize each mailing includes a supply of 13 weeks. Additional funds would permit a more frequent mailing and a wider distribution. This educational service of Friends of the Land should be expanded.

Stimulation of Writers and Speakers

Too much emphasis cannot be placed upon the fact that literally scores of our own members are kept constantly stimulated to speak more, to write more, and to work harder for conservation of our resources because of the existence of this Society. Through these volunteer workers millions of our people are being exposed to the need for conservation and their dependence upon the land. These are people who otherwise would never learn of such things.

Cooperation With O And Agencies

(a) Ollie E. Fink, Secretary ar hundred speaking engageme telling the story of conservat

(b) All of our leaders give the ti own work and private lives t organizations throughout the

(c) Helping to get such speak agencies is a function of our n exercised.

(d) As a former teacher, Ollie work with UNESCO, vario tories, church groups, farm g getting conservation educati

(e) We are too understaffed to a *is a need for more paid me more of this consultation wo such as FFA, 4H, Boy and Gi*

Service to Members

(a) THE LAND and THE LAN publication every six weeks pamphlets which are distrib

(b) Answers to many questions

(c) Making contacts with prope and current answer to such the correct authorities for te

(d) Keeping members on the ro

(e) *Conducting drives for new tensified.*

(f) Board of Judges of Friends of the Book of the Season. This field, Paul Sears, Mrs. Luis athan Forman.

(g) Operation of Book Store, so t any book on conservation ar

(h) Securing of speakers and m local conservation forums sp

The School Garden

Since 1949 Friends of the partially financed the School G Garden Institute which furnishes tional instruction on gardening to —public and parochial—througho have five rooms or more.

It is conservatively estimated hood of a million school childre program prepared by Paul Youn Program Committee of the Natio has himself done such a marvelou the Cleveland Schools.

These youths have learned s things grow therein, and of thei

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E. Fink has been called upon to
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rl Scouts, etc.

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questions; referring members to
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members. This should be in-

the Land who select each quarter
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John Francke, Russell Lord, Jon-

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Program

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own dependence upon the land.

Things That Should Be Done

A National Annual Conference

An annual national conference to evaluate the progress that has been made in conservation of soil and water, forestry, and other natural resources, should be held. Out of this conference should come a frank revelation of the obstacles currently faced by the program. The proceedings of this meeting, therefore, should get national circulation, with the cooperation of the National Association of Soil Conservation Districts, the Soil and Water Conservation Society of America, and other agencies.

This type of an annual conference at the national level is by far the greatest need at the present time and would be of great help in keeping the whole conservation movement rolling. Friends of the Land is the one society which is best fitted to do this job. Its leaders have an extensive experience in arranging programs of this kind, both for this Society and for many other organizations. Friends of the Land can and does cooperate with all the conservation organizations with special interests, since its own interests are broad and comprehensive, making this conference the ideal way for a common meeting ground of ALL conservation interests.

REGIONAL CONFERENCES with regional authorities taking part should be set up in each of the seven major regions in this country—corresponding to the seven regional offices of the Soil Conservation Service.

STATE CONFERENCES on this same topic with state authorities should be set up with the local chapters in the state being responsible for them. At first it would be necessary for the National Society to assist. Funds are needed for this project.

— o —

Radio and Press

This media should be exploited to the fullest to get the message across to the American people to convince them how pressing is the need for prompt application of conservation practices to all of our farm land and how much soil erosion affects them. Funds are needed for this project.

— o —

Education

There is an increasing demand for conservation literature. With additional funds we can supply more materials for schools and other agencies.

Conservation tours, sponsored by Friends of the Land designed for teachers and other educational leaders should be a part of our educational program. Good land management and all its related conservation aspects should be observed. Teachers should be trained to "read the landscape". These tours would be planned to cover regional and national conservation programs. There is a need for state and local tours also. Plans have been shelved for tours because of the lack of funds.

— o —

Exhibits and Displays

Until funds are available to construct and service exhibits we must continue to turn down requests for this service.

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GSM articles

May 16, 1951

Mr. Russell Lord
The Land
Bel Air, Maryland

Dear Russ:

Your Columbus folks came through handsomely with a stack of copies of the last issue of The Land. I wrote them in thanks, and now am thanking you.

Goodness no, no need to carry any note about Earl Mayhew. I wrote him pleasantly. He is a close friend, and he will need no explaining.

Channing Cope gave you a grand boost in this morning's Constitution. Here 'tis.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

THE LAND

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY FRIENDS OF THE LAND, A NON-PROFIT, NON-PARTISAN SOCIETY FOR THE CONSERVATION OF SOIL, RAIN & MAN

OFFICE OF THE EDITOR • BEL AIR, MARYLAND

April 30, 1951

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I am asking our Columbus office to send you ten copies of the Spring Issue and, if they can find it in their heart and exchequer to do so, not to bill you.

I had it at the back of my mind that the mountain style of your piece was borrowed from a colleague, but I did not have the name of the source. Will you apologize to Earl Mayhew for us? And should I, in fairness, make amended notice of his contribution to the excellent piece in our Summer Issue?

What ever became of your idea of going to Africa? Nothing, I hope. We need you where you are. Best of everything,

As ever,

Russ

Russell Lord

RL:dn

RECEIVED
MAY 3 1951
Southern Regional Council

April 27, 1951

Mr. Russell Lord
The Land
Bel Air
Harford City, Maryland

Dear Russ:

Thank Kate for the nice pictures on the "laid out plain" that you ran.

If you don't have a custom of sending an author eight or ten copies, you'd better mail me ten and send me a bill, and I will pay off.

Over our beer I must have done an inadequate job of telling you where that notion came from. It was got in impeccable English from the present State Director of the Farmers Home Administration (then FSA) for Kentucky. His name is Earl Mayhew. He is one of the wisest agricultural guys I ever met. You added to the story's appearance of authenticity by the explanatory note. But it has cost me a bit of voluntary apology to that able man, Earl Mayhew, who has no beard and, though mountain bred, suffers no lapses of grammar.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

1.

~~Sals.~~ "GSM wrote it." 1951

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION
231 West Maxwell Street
Lexington 29, Kentucky
May 29, 1951

RECEIVED
MAY 31 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N E
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor Mitchell:

Thank you very much for your letter of April 27 concerning the article to appear in THE LAND. I know you made good use of an idea I had several years ago concerning a solution for the Appalachian problem. I am glad to have you use it any way you see fit to use it.

Incidentally, we are losing population rather fast from the Kentucky portion of the Appalachians to Hamilton, Akron, Detroit, etc. As I look back on the many remedies we have tried in the past several years, I am confident that our program has helped some, but I am sure the NYA program with the youth made more contribution than all the other special kinds of activities put together. I am very convinced that the most satisfactory way to solve much of the Appalachian problem is to fit the youth into society and economies elsewhere than in the mountains.

I am glad to hear from you and glad you had the opportunity to pass the idea along.

Sincerely,

Earl Mayhew

EARL MAYHEW
State Director

Mts

April 27, 1951

Mr. Earl Mayhew
The Farmers Home Administration
U. S. Department of Agriculture
Lexington, Kentucky

Dear Earl:

The current quarterly issue of The Land carries over my name your dope on a mountain valley. That good brisk man, Russell Lord, put at the end a would-be explanatory note which (understandably in view of my lingo) confuses my unnamed informant with some bearded mountain character quite unlike yourself.

I ran into Russ casually in Washington and, knowing that he would enjoy that little bit of my routinized speech, drew it off for him. I did it for his amusement, but Russ said that he would pay me $25.00 if I would write it down and send it to The Land. I can only attribute the note as to the mountain character to an editor's poetic license.

If Russ ever sends me the $25.00 I will mail you a check for $12.50.

If your own friends thereabouts complain that your wisdom has been swiped, blame me; I accept all blame.

I am sure that in fifteen years my embroidery has touched not only the lingo but the theory of your idea -- but the purpose was to lay it out plain.

I am already getting fan mail praising me for my insight into the mountain economy. I pass all praise to you.

In continuing admiration,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Commencement Address
Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta, Ga.
May, 1951

Three ideals deeply appeal to the peoples of the world today. They are nationalism, economic control, and racial equality. Their mighty working, and our fear of the changes they threaten, are responsible for the state of danger and alarm in which we live.

Nationalism is an old story. Our history books have taught us how it arose in western Europe and of the long series of wars that accompanied its spread to central Europe, to eastern Europe, and now to the whole of Asia. Any of us who studied geography books printed before 1919 remember a purplish blob in the map of Europe called the Austro-Hungarian Empire. We were told that the area of that blob was the area of that empire, and that's about all that anybody said. But behold, in 1920 in the geography books four new nation-states appeared, two of them with unfamiliar and unpronounceable names, where the purple blob had been. And the history books began to say that the war was fought in large measure over whether those new nations should come to the surface or not. And the youngest of us here were taught a geography of India that showed it as one pink peninsula called India. How surprised we were when all of a sudden India became two different states and we had quickly to find out why there was the new one called Pakistan. That process is still being worked out in many parts of Asia. For instance, one of the danger spots of the world today is at the corner that joins Russia and Turkey and Persia. A suppressed

nationality lives there. They are the people called Kurds. Some are in Russia, some are in Persia, some are in Turkey. They would like to be an independent nation. If Russia gobbles them, that fatally weakens Turkey and the West. If Turkey got them free and united, Russia would hardly be happy about it. And if Persia released her Kurdish population, that already divided country is weakened further. But one way or another, the Kurds will find a way to build independence for themselves.

We were none of us prepared when British India shed its whole easternmost portion, which became the independent state of Burma. And behold, within Burma new nationalities began a civil war which is not yet ended. I suppose there are similar problems in what we now call Siam and French Indo-China. And the hope of strong national unity is one of the sustaining forces of the Chinese Revolution.

After Asia comes Africa. The map of that continent which has become familiar to us is a map of the holdings in Africa of great European states. The lines that mark off the Belgian Congo from Portuguese West Africa, or Nigeria from Kameroon, are meaningless to the peoples of Africa. Here and there, some learned cultural anthropologist may have made for himself guesses as to what a new map of Africa will look like. There will be many new names and boundaries to its national states that will bear no similarity at all to the lines which you and I have seen.

Nationalism is an old ideal, but one that has as yet by no means run its course.

Economic control is a new doctrine. It grew up in opposition to the laissez-faire economics of the nineteenth century. It has been converted now into the doctrine that a backward nation in its path to well-being can shorten or altogether escape a period in which the instruments and techniques

of modern production are owned and managed from outside by citizens of countries in which private capitalism has long been established. The Japanese have proved in this century that an Oriental country can found, develop, and manage a highly successful machine civilization modeled after, but independent of, the Western capitalist model. And the Russians have shown that, at a fierce price in supporession of individual liberties, a people ruthlessly disciplined can be brought to yield up from its current standard of living a surplus of labor and wealth which the state can put into planned investment, with resulting increases in material living conditions of all the peoples so disciplined. News has now reached the poor of the remotest corners of the earth that poverty is not inevitable, that organization and sacrifice and ingenuity can greatly reduce it in the space even of a single generation.

Any poor and backward people today is confronted with a choice of whether it will adopt some variation of the Russian device and at the cost of a cruel discipline build dams and power lines and railways, and sink mines and oil wells, and start factories, and pull itself up toward a modern standard of living, or whether it will strike a bargain with nations already experienced in the modern techniques and with investment funds to spare and, avoiding the degrading and consuming unity of Communism, enter on the path of development with its social order and its traditions subject to evolutionary rather than revolutionary change. But in either case, the people will insist that development be bent to the purpose of the public rather than to uncontrolled private gain.

The history books that I have read have taught me that racial equality is not a new idea, but is rather one that was little questioned until among certain European peoples the astounding advance of modern commerce and industry had taken hold. Only then did it begin to be said that certain

peoples were endowed by nature with capabilities far beyond those of the rest. And the doctrine reached a stridency only when the advanced Western peoples began to find their own wealth by holding other peoples in physical or in economic bondage. To justify the flow of wealth, the possessing peoples put it about that those who were poor were ordained of nature -- some even dared to say, of God -- to be bondsmen to the others.

In the world at large, men never accepted this idea. Wherever it has appeared it has been fought in fierce and bitter resentment. And fortunately, even among those who soothed their own consciences with the myth of white supremacy, modern science has shattered the doctrine. We know now that in capacity and promise, any people is as good as any other.

These three ideas are intertwined. Men assert, as though in a single emotion, their right to national independence, economic well-being, and racial equality. And the emotion is so deeply held that millions and millions of people are perfectly willing to die in the effort to make the things they yearn for come to pass. In the books, they told us that the armies of Xerxes, when they invaded Greece, were driven by the whips of their captains, and by that alone. Do we suppose that the impoverished peoples of Asia who today put their soft flesh in the path of bullets and rockets and bombs are driven by fear to face those screaming weapons? Surely they fight for ideals as they perceive them, and I don't know what other ideals they can be than these three I have described.

America's offer to the world's billions who are alive now with these ideals is pretty good as to two of them, and woefully weak as to the third. Were we not one of the first peoples in the world to assert our right to national independence? And have we not out of our knowledge of the strength of that ideal brought political independence to most of those over whom we took dominion? Our example with the Philippines was good. We have lately

gone very far toward the granting of complete independence to Puerto Rico. Various West Indian and Caribbean countries which we occupied for a time no longer live in fear of an American warship looming at their harbor's mouth. By and large we are in favor of any nation's right to stand alone. There are exceptions, and possibly our present anxiety for economic and military penetration will undercut our old insistence on the doctrine of political independence. Still, America is for the doctrine of national self-determination.

On economic control, the picture is not so clear. The propaganda which paints us as grasping monopoly capitalists desiring the economic enslavement of other peoples has found widespread acceptance. All the same, the standard of living which we have attained under our institutions is the envy of the rest of the world. And we begin to find now modifications of those institutions which make a tempting offer to those who are asked to choose between our system and the other. We have shared with the British in working out something called the Development Corporation, through the use of which quite large sums of public or private investment can be made to the advantage of backward areas. Such corporations are severely limited in their power to extract a profit, and their work is done by putting at the disposal of those in need both modern equipment and training in the technology needful to make the equipment yield ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ its maximum public benefit. Thus, in Haiti, American capital, linked with American technology, is bringing modernity to that nation without arousing any accusation that imperialist America is draining the lifeblood of the Republic of Haiti. And various great American corporations have set aside large sums to enable the peoples who live near mines or wells to move from ragged tenancy into land ownership and from hovels to decent homes. And in Liberia, those who seek steel and rubber, admittedly for private advantage, have found it expedient to put much effort into public health and transportation and better government. The Labor

government in Great Britain has peppered its colonies in Africa and in the West Indies with development corporations which are finding the way for mechanized production that will raise the level of income in those areas and in a manner subject to an ultimate public control. And is not the whole purpose of Mr. Truman's Point Four program an extension of this general effort to find a way to put modern machinery and modern scientific skill at the disposal of those who need it most without subjecting them to arrogant and private outside control? Indeed, the Marshall Plan and the Economic Cooperation Administration are a part of the same thing. Thus I think we can fairly say that America's real offer to the needy of the earth is not what is pictured in coarse propaganda, but is a groping and in intent a generous effort to apply at an adjusted pace in backward areas the things made of concrete and of steel and of copper, and the knowledge cherished in universities and in laboratories which together are the substance of American wealth. We have not thus far been very successful in popularizing this offer of a new kind of Western economic penetration. But neither have we as yet done much or offered really much along this line.

What is the persuasiveness of America's argument to peoples who have known the lash of racial disdain? We have been the melting pot. We have made room and rich opportunity for many who were despised in the lands from which they came. That is true. But the test is on this matter of color. Does democracy run throughout the United States? Do Mexican-Americans sit in the Texas legislature? Do black men have the vote without question? Is our boasted justice even-handed for all? Can any man rise to any job in private industry and in public life? Or do we fix a barrier against men of color and say that, for them, justice and democracy and opportunity and dignity shall be meted out in lesser degree? We all know the answer. And in all parts of

the world in which men ponder whether we or the Communists offer the most likely path of growth, they know the answer too.

The progress of the last fifteen or twenty years in this whole matter of race relations has strengthened our argument greatly. But there is real reason to question whether it has strengthened it enough. I have no fear that if America's story were clear and straight on nationalism and economic opportunity and racial equality, ours would be the victory in today's contention for the allegiance of the mind of mankind. But I dare to suggest that more is done to win that allegiance by any goodly advance in human brotherhood here in the South than by a commitment of tanks and planes and soldiers in some outlying country. This is really to suggest that the battle for peace is at home in our own slums and in our own courts and churches and colleges, and that the places of screaming death are sideshows in that struggle. In the long run, peace and victory will come more from what religion and morality and brotherhood can do in the United States than from what generals and soldiers can do abroad. It is proved now that even the poorest, driven by their aspirations, will face death bravely. Our task is to fit our goals and those of the earth's needy and apiring peoples together.

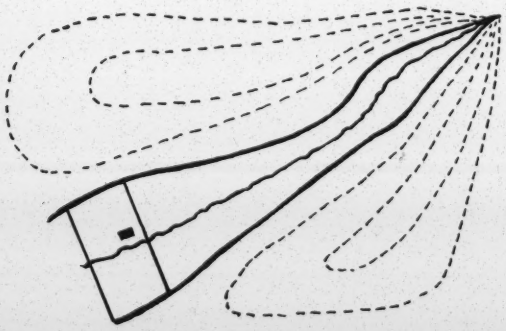
THE LAND
Spring, 1951

MOUNTAIN FARMING LAID OUT PLAIN

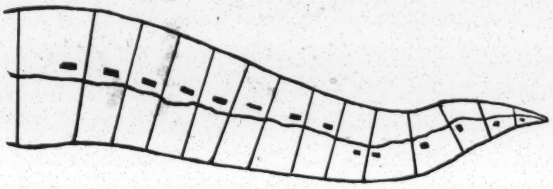
By George S. Mitchell

Georgia

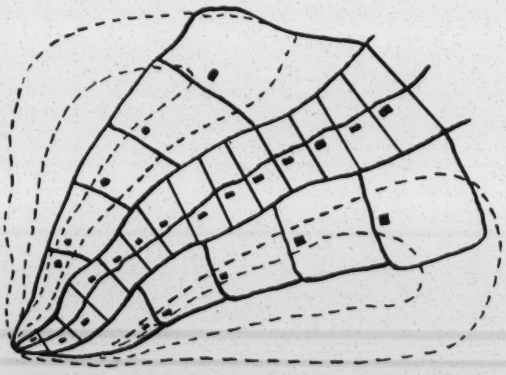
I NEVER understood about the Mountains until a man from Eastern Kentucky laid it out for me pretty plain. He drew himself a map of a mountain valley, about two miles long, with a stream down the middle. Put in Hogback Mountain on one side and Old Screamer on the other.



"Seventeen and ninety-one", he said, "a man name of Will Driggers came up in here from North Carolina. Took up a pretty farm down at the mouth of the valley. Built him a cabin right by the creek. Old Man Will had been married four times before ever he left North Carolina, and he brought sixteen head of boys up in here with him. And he was married two more times in Kentucky. So when they buried the old man it made twenty-four farms they had to cut back up in the valley for the Driggerses. Well by eighteen-fifty they'd turned the spring-bottom into a farm, and there wasn't any more flat land for anybody."



"But the young folks were still coming on, and one fellow went to his daddy and said, 'Pop, me and Janie Belle is going to pair off, but it ain't no flat land for us. And we thought if we'd go up the side of Hogback and skin off the trees and put us a cabin up on the spur we could get us in a crop of burley tobacco and some corn and make out'. 'Well', his daddy said, 'nobody around here ever farmed the side of a mountain before, but if you and Janie Belle want to try it, there's nothing to stop you.' So of course by eighteen-ninety the folks had gone clean to the top of both mountains."



"After they skinned off all the trees people on the bottom farms noticed every time it rained the water seemed to come

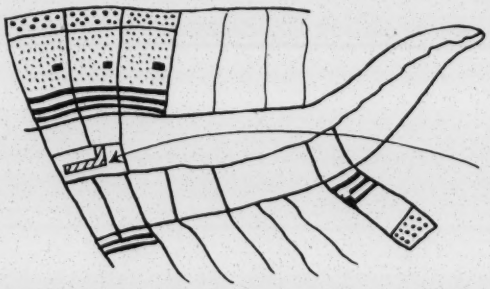
through the creek harder than it had before. But nobody paid it much mind till eighteen and ninety-five, my daddy told me, along about the second week in June, corn standing four and five inches high all through the bottoms, it come the terriblest rain storm that ever had hit Kentucky. First thing, the wind blew down the willow tree Old Man Will had planted, and it fell right across the creek, and kind of dammed it up. And that rain pouring down off of them naked hills, and carrying those roots and stones and stumps, backed up behind that willow-tree, and the water stood for four days mighty nearly the whole length of the valley. And of course that killed all the corn, and nobody didn't get no corn crop that year. And just to tell you the Lord's truth, nobody's ever got no real good corn crop out of that bottom ever since, because it floods every year.

"Well, if you've washed the dirt off the sides of the hills, and the bottom floods every year, although you live in the country and are called a farmer, you're hungry, and they are."

I asked my friend what you can do about that.

"Tisn't so tough", he said. "Send somebody in there who knows something about agriculture. A good preacher could do it. Let him stay at least a year and get to know the people. As far as he can, persuade them to swap land, so each man's farm will be a long strip running up the mountainside, and a nice piece of bottom. Then take in a work crew and dynamite out the snags in the streambed and straighten out some of the bends. Then get each fellow to work his place on what they call a farm plan. On the plans, the top of each farm goes back into trees, and the long slope goes into grass that you aren't going to plow, and the low slope into terraces and strip crops. Then for the whole valley the roots of the trees and the grass will hold the most of the water on the sides of the hills, and what does get down can get out. And each fellow can put cows on his grass, and corn on the bottom-land, and feed him some hogs, and that'll give him meat and meal and milk, and with those three he ought to be able to eat".

"But," said my friend, "even after you do that there's still one more thing you've yet got to do. You want to get the State of Kentucky to come down there where Old Man Will's house was—course it's burned—and build the biggest one of these vocational trade schools you can get. Because all those people up in there are still having children, and if those children will come through that school, then when they get to Deetroit they can light on their feet".



Virginia-born, and trained in economics at Johns Hopkins and Oxford, George S. Mitchell is Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, and works out from Atlanta, principally among the mountain farmers of the South. He was so impressed with this old mountaineer's summation of population pressure and its outcome that he wrote it down. The arrow is the final sketch drawing—representing one that the old man sketched on a table-top—points to the vocational school that will handle the human spillover.

file with
GSM wrote it?

(Oct 22 '51)

FOREWORD

The best of all the stories about Lucy is one she won't tell in the book. A Virginia town, far up the James River, has a newish factory. Something to do with textiles. Twice the union had tried to organize it and worked up a Labor Board election. Each time, at the crucial moment, the Lions Club had "scandalized" the union, and the vote went the wrong way. For the third effort the union sent Miss Lucy in ahead of time. Her business was to tame the Lions.

Lucy talked to this one and that and finally found herself in the office of a doctor, who by all accounts was the King. If he could be convinced, things would go better. So here was Miss Lucy, arguing the civil rights of the workers, when into the doctor's office lounged a tall fellow, a bit roughly dressed, with leggings. He wasn't introduced, and Lucy could only guess that he was a prosperous cattle-farmer. He just listened, but when Lucy was through he said:

> "Lady, I would like to ask you some questions. What's back of you? Who sent you here, and what salary do you make? And by what right do you come into the State of Virginia talking all this about civil rights?"

"Young man! You've asked for it, and I'll tell you!"

Whereupon, she called the roll of the famous Virginians, many of them statesmen in the cause of plain men's rights, to whom she was kin.

George Mason was her great-great-great-grandfather. He wrote the Virginia Declaration of Rights, which became the Bill of Rights in the Constitution of the United States; he drew the first Constitution of Virginia, model for that of many other States; and his thought is deep into the legal foundations of American life.

Three of her kinsmen signed the Declaration of Independence.

Chief Justice John Marshall was her mother's great-great-uncle.

For good measure, in the lush Colonial days, all the galaxy of notables clustered in the line of William Randolph of Turkey Island--the Carters, the Beverleys, the Bollings, the Chichesters; a genealogist's dream!

If the be-legginged gentleman questioned her Confederate titles, her great-grandfather, James Murray Mason, shared honors with Slidell as the Confederacy's envoy to Britain.

General Lee was her father's near cousin, and her father himself saw gallant service in Mosby's and other famous Confederate brigades.

And in the wars of this century, brothers had served and one had died for America's cause.

"Madam," said our friend, "I don't know what the C.I.O. pays you, but I am sure you are worth it."

There is an instructive comparison between George Mason in his time and Lucy Mason in hers. Helen Hill ~~Miller~~'s Life of Mason gives a clue.

After the ties with Britain had been cut, Mason played a leading role in hammering out at Williamsburg the new and independent civil community. There on the hat pegs of the Raleigh Tavern he would find both the plumed felts of the Tidewater gentry and the coonskin caps of the back-country farmers. Mason's task was to shape a State which could guarantee the rights of both groups. He achieved it, and in so doing set the basis for the identical achievement in the Constitution of the United States. His instrument was the Bill of Rights, which in law gave to every freeman the liberties of the richest citizen.

Coon tails and plumes have left our hat racks, but in an industrial society divisions are deep. And Lucy Randolph Mason has put all her life into getting for the disadvantaged of today the stature and strength that every American knows is his right.

Between those great builders of our independence and Lucy's time, the South turned to a less promising way of thought. And because of that, Lucy's own father, as a clergyman on pittance stipends at Drake's Branch and Marietta, knew a suffering region. But the clergyman's daughter, having in her bones the hurts of the South, remembered the human hope of old George and his friends, and set about recapturing that full vision for the people of the South.

This is the book that tells how she worked.

George Sinclair Mitchell

PREFACE

This is a book about the C.I.O. in the South in the last fourteen years. It is partly the story of my own small share in the movement, and partly what I could draw directly from many persons whose work I had a chance to help. It is honest reporting, from me and from them.

Now the book is written, a living story comes out of it. In the South there is still heavy concern with the ideas of an earlier period, still too little facing of new times and needs. Yet in our shadowed democracy there grows among the people a brave, independent determination to produce human equality and justice.

It has been my good fortune to be associated closely with that welling-up of promise in the South, wherein working people have sought a tool with which to win their hopes. The book is written to capture a record of this redeeming force.

In the years with the industrial unions of the C.I.O., I have learned that out of them come the true aristocracy of our times, the leaders who earnestly seek to serve their fellow men.

Lucy Randolph Mason

H F answer

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

DEPARTMENT OF RECORDS AND RESEARCH

December 13, 1951

DSM - article

RECEIVED
DEC 14 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

This comes to state that we may want to use the names and pictures of our contributors in connection with the advertisement of the Negro Year Book. Will you grant us such permission and also send us a recent glossy print photo that may be use for this purpose.

Sent 12/12/51 NCF

Kindly send also the exact way you wish your name to appear as contributor, with title of position and degrees.

Thank you very much for these favors.

Very truly yours,

Jessie P. Guzman

(Mrs.) Jessie P. Guzman
Director

JPG/jng

COMMENCEMENT 1951 - GAMMON

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which are finding the way for mecahnized production that will raise the level of income in those areas and in a manner subject to an ultimate public control. And is not the whole purpose of Mr. Truman's Point Four program an extension of this general effort to find a way to put modern machinery and modern scientific skill at the disposal of thos who need it most without subjecting them to arrogant and private outside control? Indeed, the Marshall Plan and the Economic Cooperation Administration are a part of the same thing. Thus I think we can fairly say that America's real offer to the needy of the earth is not what is pictured in coarse propaganda, but is a groping and in intent a generous effort to apply at an adjusted pace in backward areas the things made of concrete and of steel and of copper, and the knowledge cherished in universities and in laboratories which together are the substance of American wealth. We have not thus far been very successful in popularizing this offer of a new kind of western economic penetration. But neither have we as yet done much or offered really much along this line.

What is the persuasiveness of America's argument to peoples who have known the lash of racial disdain? We have been the melting pot. We have made room and rich opportunity for many who were despised in the lands from which they came. That is true. But the test is on this matter of color. Does democracy run throughout the United States? Do Mexican-Americans sit in the Texas legislature? Do black men have the vote without question? Is our boasted justice even-handed for all? Can any man rise to any job in private industry and in public life? Or do we fix a barrier against men of color and say that for them, justice and democracy and opportunity and dignity shall be meted out in lesser degree? We all know the answer. And in all parts of the world in which men ponder whether we or the Communists offer the most likely path of growth, they know the answer too.

The progress of the last fifteen or twenty years in this whole matter of race relations has strengthened our argument greatly. But there is real reason to question whether it has strengthened it enough. I have no fear that if America's story were clear and straight on nationalism and economic opportunity and racial equality, ours would be the victory in today's contention for the allegiance of the mind of mankind. But I dare to suggest that more is done to win that allegiance by any goodly advance in human brotherhood here in the South than by a commitment of tanks and planes and soldiers in some outlying country. This is really to suggest that the battle for peace is at home in our own slums and in our own courts + churches colleges, and that the places of screaming death are sideshows in that struggle. In the long run, peace and victory will come more from what religion and morality and brotherhood can do in the United States than from what generals and soldiers can do abroad. It is proved now that even the poorest, driven by their aspirations, will face death bravely. Our task is to fit our goals and those of the earth's needy and aspiring peoples together. together.

January 22, 1952

Mrs. Jessie P. Guzman
Dept. of Records & Research
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

Dear Mrs. Guzman:

How kind of you to send the check for $150! We are very appreciative.

We all look forward eagerly to the new Year Book's coming out.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

GSM acknowledged

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

RECEIVED
JAN 22 1952
Southern Regional Council

DEPARTMENT OF RECORDS AND RESEARCH

January 21, 1952

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director, Southern Regional
Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

We are winding up work on the new edition of the Negro Year Book and expect to have it ready to send to the publisher before February 1. We appreciate exceedingly your cooperation; and as we promised, we are enclosing a check for $150. K.S.

Sincere good wishes for you and your work.

Very truly yours,

Jessie P. Guzman

(Mrs.) Jessie P. Guzman
Director

g

March 16, 1952
(4 Pgs) Workers Ed. Institute
New Orleans La

NEXT STEPS IN SOUTHERN PROGRESS

Twenty-five years ago I journeyed in a Model T Ford from this fair city up the South bank of the Mississippi River to West Baton Rouge Parish. Having time on my hands, I stopped along the way to look closely at home after home in that astounding thirty-mile row of decayed plantation mansions. The land must have been sold off by the levee foot, for each place is narrow, and stretches back a long way from the river. That put the houses fairly close together, and near to the roadway. Those were late-built homes; the eighteen forties and fifties, I would guess, and by that time the families which worked a land-eating slave society had learned that they might build pretentiously, but not wisely for endurance. There they were, white-painted still, but empty and ruinous. They were a pretty fair sample of the best that the slave-South produced; flamboyant in their boast that their occupants had had money and power, in contrast with the sharecropper shacks which also dotted that road; monuments to an inequality of wealth which the Old South believed in, cherished, fought for, and died of.

My father used to say that the Nineteenth Century had three great ideas: liberty, industry, and democracy. And the Old South set its face against all three. Not liberty; slavery. Not industry; plantation agriculture. Not democracy, but a contrived system of aristocratic rule. And in pursuit of those three false aims we lost the better part of a century.

At Baton Rouge, on my journey, I found smokestacks and oil-tanks and refineries; the beginnings then of that rich industrial growth which makes the mid-South now one of the great productive areas of the continent.

Here was contrast on the very face of the land; Corinthian columns for the Old, and flaming gas-jets for the New South. But the contrast is even greater in what those two periods represented in their inner tendencies.

The first one gloried in human inequality. Its very root was the doctrine that some men were entitled to harness great numbers of other men to their wills, and by dint of that discipline bring out of nature, with the labor of men and of beasts, such excess as would permit survival for the many and luxury for the few. And in the South this doctrine added also that those entitled to the luxury had to be white, and those who were black were doomed to toil for survival alone. For more than a hundred years great stretches of the Old South made a living this way. And before that, other men, some British and some French, had conducted matters in the West Indies on the same principle. In those centuries they worked out an ideology to support their system. What they had was right, and who questioned it was wrong. Prejudice was right, inequality was right, ignorance for the masses was right, slavery was right,; harshness and cruelty were not right, but they were sometimes necessary.

Well in the end, as you all know, the South took arms to defend that way of life. Arms, but not chemistry. Cannon, but not ironworks. Horses, but not fodder. Uniforms, but not woolen-mills. Armies, but not locomotives. And the South lost. Not, I was brought up to believe, to greater valor, but to more iron and more wheat and more machinery and more gunpowder and better rifles and better transport.

We floundered for thirty years after the great defeat. And then, beginning about 1885, we began to nurse a principle opposit to that of the Old South; we began to build industry ourselves. With what success, you who live in this

great industrial and commercial city know. And for the rest of the South, the statistics are impressive:

DISTRIBUTION OF AGRICULTURAL AND NONAGRICULTURAL WORKERS IN THE SOUTH, 1950

States	Persons Employed in Non-Agricultural Industries*	All Farm ~~Labor (Families and/or Hired Help)~~ workers
Alabama	68%	32%
Arkansas	54	46
Florida	85	15
Georgia	73	27
Kentucky	58	42
Louisiana	77	23
Mississippi	46	54
North Carolina	70	30
Oklahoma	68	32
South Carolina	69	31
Tennessee	71	29
Texas	78	22
Virginia	81	19

*Nonagricultural employment includes the following industries: Manufacturing, trade, service, government, transportation and public utilities, construction, finance and mining. More persons in non-agricultural employment are working in manufacturing; 2nd largest category is trade.

SOURCE: U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, EMPLOYMENT, HOURS AND EARNINGS STATE AND AREA DATA, VOL. III, NONAGRICULTURAL EMPLOYMENT BY STATE, 1950 and US CENSUS OF AGRICULTURE, Vol. II

Now industry is a great equalizer. She puts cash money into every man's breeches pocket. She cuts old ties of personal dependence. She demands of everybody who serves her alertness, cleanliness, health, promptness, exactness, honesty, performance. Living competetively, she cannot suffer long the sluggard, the dolt, the sick, the fraudulent. And out of the fruits of machine productivity she will pay well for good human response. I grant you there were evil decades in idnustrial history overseas and here at home, when people toiled in poverty for long hours and short lives in steamy mills and factories. But the pace of modern industry is such that it can use only competent people, ~~xxxtax~~ working in tolerable surroundings, and paid somewhere near what they think is fair.

And despite a surviving differential in pay by race, industry steadily pushes toward equalization here, too. The basic need of an employing company is for its machines to be well tended. Whether the brain that directs the tending fingers is inside a white skin or a Negro skin is only a matter of custom, and custom gives ground to economics. We see this all around us. Only ten or twelve years ago the Negro pouplation of any Southern town or city bore the marks of genuine poverty; slum shacks for homes, ragged, cast-off clothing, pinched-faced children, grown men and women who were whining, humble, frightened, shuffling. We bristle to hear those days described. But they were here, and they were recent. But twenty years of prosperity, whether planned by the New Deal or built in later years on war and inflation, has brought us to a situation in which white men and colored men in cities and towns appear much the same sort of people. Oh! I know a great many distinctions and differences survive. But I want to make the main point that the distinctions are lessening, and that any white workingman can see in a Negro workingman a fellow much like himself, up against the same problems, and needing much the same remedies. And so, too, the other way around. A Negro still needs to decide, as to each white man, how

that white man stands, but he is finding more and more white men who stand on common ground with him, and with whom he can dare to be, if not quite frank, then franker by a lot than used to be possible.

This is happening in the (in)dustrialized South; what about the rural South?

Nobody quite knows the picture as yet. It is changing very rapidly. For great stretches of hill and mount in country the pattern has always been one of family-occupied farms, large enough in the hills, too small in most of the mountains, but democratic, and close enough now to industrial places to find jobs and markets, and so to make cash. It is the old plantation areas where the pace of change is so great. Negro friends of mine recently talked with an old colored farmer in the Alabama black-belt. "I have more friends in Fort Wayne, Indiana than I have right around here", he said. Certainly the overcrowded farm population on the plantation lands is thinning out. Machines do what was the work of many men and many mules. Certainly also sharecropping has dwindled until it is an oddity. Tenancy, which held half the farms of the South twenty years agom hold only a third now. Rural housing is vastly improved. The old black shacks are hard to find. Neat white, painted homes of farmers and farm-laborers have electric lights and running water. Not long ago I found a country-town hardware store in Alabama with a bathtub out in front, for sale along with the wheelbarrows and the hay-rakes. Many small people have bought land. The Government has helped thirty thousand Southern tenant farmers into landownership. Cows graze the grass that generations of cotton-choppers ~~xxxxxx~~ fought to kill. I am not sure that the emerging pattern is a lot more democratic than the old, but I am sure that it is somewhat more so. And I know that if the country wished, it could with steady public policy produce over most of the South a stable, tolerably equal arrangement of family-operated farms; enough at any rate to make the average-sized farmers

a political counter-weigh to the old unbalanced authority of the plantation landlords. So I think the future prospect is for more, and not less, pressure from the countryside toward the kind of basic equality I have been discussing.

These things mean that the New South we have been building is about to break the shell of the Old. The Old South, I have said, rested on fear, and needed deceit, submissiveness, and ignorance, and found a sly usefulness in prejudice of race against race; the New South needs sevry bit of knowledge and skill and courtesy and truthfulness and mutual human respect that it can muster.

Now that we have reached this point, what does the future contain? What shall we do next, in realizing the promise of investment and discipline and education, in gathering the fruits of this new and equalizing economy?

I would ask for six things in particular, and short of war or some other cataclysm, I would expect them to come within a very few years.

First, on employment. We must make it a perfectly regular thing for any kind of work to be open to anybody who has the skill to do it. That must go all the way up and all the way down. A smart girl who can type and take short hand, and who's colored, should get a job in the front office, if there's one open. A Negro chemist who's a good teacher should be offered a Professor's post in the University or in the College. A Negro clerk who learns the business should have a chance at being a Company Vice-President. And the electricians and the plumbers and the boilermakers should open up. Not sentimentally; but where there's skill it should be recognized, and rewarded. One of the first places to follow this principle should be the professionalassociations. If a Negro becomes a competent physician or dentist or librarian or nurse or lawyer, it is of the essence of the American system to admit him to the opportunities and privileges that go with professional standing. And I venture

to predict that in many a Southern city we will find it easier to make these changes than most people suppose; it is a habit, in the South, despite what anybody may say, to recognize ability, nomatter who has it, and make room for it to be used.

Second, on housing. This is the great neglected. I truly think that had it not been for the Korean war we would xxxx by this time have substantially rehoused the slum-dwelling population of our Southern cities. We had a good Federal act, and generous authorizations of money, and a housing book would have been used to take up the slack of a post-World-War II depression. As it was, the building book of the late 'forties did rehouse a substantial part of our city and town populations. But it did not reach the Negro population. Here are some figures for typical Southern cities, freshly dug out of the 1950 Census.

Birmingham had 76 % of its Negro population in sub-standard houses.

Atlanta had 70.

New Orleans had 60.

Nashville had 82.

Memphis had 75.

And so on.

Use overcrowing for another figure. In New Orleans 23% of the Negro houses in 1950 were overcrowded. Five per cent of the white. Atlanta, 25% of the Negro home and 5% of the white.

No use for figures. We live here, and we know. Most Negro and some white housing is below any level of American decency, and we must do something about it. Incidentally, the bombings and interracial violence that have xxxxxdx peppered the South in the last few months are in large measure traceable to the pressure of the Negro popukation for better housing. And the saving factor is that the Negro people now have the money to pay for cleanliness and space and decency, and they just can't buy it. That's one

we'll have to deal with.

Third, on education. At the very least, we must open graduate and some ordinary College education to all qualified students, and we must provide scrupulously equal physical arrangements in whatever school systems remain separate. I myself would hope that in each State there would be some experience, at least, at an early date, of operating certain schools in an unsegregated way. The present pattern is not eternal, and we might well begin to find out in detail how to operate one that will accord indisputably with the Constitution of the United States and the conscience of the civilized ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ World.

Fourth, on civic participation. We must open the processes of democratic government to everybody. That means city councils and school boards and State legislatures. It means jury service as a regular thing. IT means Negro policemen and Negro firemen on the force. IT means that in the daily conduct of our governmentalk affairs, Federal, State and local, we shall treat everybody alike as citizens, entitled to the vote and to run for office and to be elected and to serve, and entitled to a fair sahre of governmental appointments. I suspect that we will discover, in the South, that we know how to do this well, and courteously.

Fifth, on safety and justice. I quote first from a recent pamphlet my own Southern Regional Council has just put out, called RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT. "Negroes are especially sensitive to the daily ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ behavior of police officers. Their unhappy experiences with men in uniform have made them as a group, unusually watchful. They are quick to spot evidence of prejudice - and just as quick to spot fairness. Most Negroes, like most white, are respectable, law-abiding people. They want to feel they are safe on the streets, at their work, in their homes." This is an ambition we can saitify,

at the cost of nothing more than persistent public pressure, better salaries and better training for police officers, and greater vigilence by the courts. Many Southern cities are seriously tacking the problem, and are making headway with it. I am told that your own city bids fair to be in the forefront of this movement.

There is still another side of this one, and that's penalties in the courts of law. There is an old habit in the South of scoffingly light penalties for offenses of Negroes against Negroes, and a heavy clang of the jail-gate behind the Negro who offensed against a white. The extreme, of course, is in the cases where rape is charged. But the dragging, daily grievance of the Negro community is of judicial whim and prejudice, backed by a public opinion which expects the law to be applied thus unfairly. That is a matter we must recon with. I do not think it beyond the powr of public opinion and the bar and the bench to bring ~~akxxkx~~ us around to ~~to~~ the same penalty for the same offense, regardless of persons. After all, our judges are pledged to that, and they sit in great stone court buidlings which boast that on their very peridents.

Lastly, on <u>universal human respect</u>. Sensitive persons already in the South today deplore the separatinns and divisions that keep friends apart, raise embarrassments, make it difficult for us to behave toward each other in simple, friendly ways. That pattern must spread. If for no other reason, than that we dislike to give pain. But there are other reasons, written deep into our religious convictions, and it is not unreasonable to hope than in our time men can begin to live in the as their religions tell them to. It is nowhere a lasting part of the human tradition for men who approach equality in status to refuse to accord their material relations the grace of acceptance and common courtesy.

I said a while ago that the New South now cracks the shell of the Old. This is a dramatic time. This very meeting, this afternoon, is a dramatic occasion. Two traditions, two tendencies, meet ~~here.~~ in these years The one would hold some of our people down, in the hope that a few might benefit from the physical toil of those beneath; the other calls us all into full and equal productivity, that the whole society might be the richer and the more humane. I have no doubt of which is the victor, nor have I much doubt than the fruits of the victory will be known, very largely, in our own time.

GSM wrote it

May 19, 1952

Professor Mozell Hill
PHYLON
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mozell:

Here's the manuscript you asked for.

For a title, Cities of Shacks—Dixie Today. I'm not wedded to the title, and would take on a new one awful quick.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

May, 1952

GSM wrote

One of the things which I deplore about the reactionary politics of today is the neglect of the housing needs of the people of American, and particularly Southern, cities. Only a few years ago, in the Housing Act of 1949, the Congress solemnly declared "that the general welfare and security of the Nation and the health and living standards of its people require . . . the elimination of substandard and other inadequate housing through the clearance of slums and blighted areas, and the realization as soon as feasible of the goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family. . ." This is a goal which, ~~the Nation worked vigorously~~ between World War II and the Korean incident, (the Nation worked vigorously) to achieve, by private and public housing. But, as we all know, the price of Defense has been permitted to include rehousing for the people who need it, and we are now in a period in which private housing has come nearly to a standstill, and public housing is threatened with reduction to a mere token program.

The Census of 1950 gives a picture of how great our housing needs are. The figures have been collected to fit in with a definition of standard and substandard housing. ~~In the South, two-thirds~~. The Government considers a house substandard if it is either dilapidated or ~~does not have~~ lacking an inside flush toilet, ~~and~~ a bath exclusively for that home, and running hot water. On that basis, in the Southern States (5490) ~~two~~ one out of every ~~three~~ two houses are substandard, as against one in three in the rest of the country. And within the South itself, as we can know without the statistics, it is Negro housing which is by far the worst. ¶ Negro ~~houses~~ homes are valued at less than half the median value of all houses taken together. Overcrowding in Negro housing in Southern cities is three or

four times as great as in white housing in the same cities. And Negro home ownership in our cities, while increasing, is still far behind white home ownership. More than twice as many Negro homes are dilapidated as white homes in Southern cities. In sober truth, what the figures mean is that in the last ten or twelve years the white people of the major Southern cities have, except for a remnant, got themselves out of real slum conditions, and the Negro population hasn't. ¶ Let's turn to the figures.

A dilapidated house, by the Census definition, is so run down or so poorly built that it does not provide adequate or safe shelter. The available figures ~~report~~ combine dilapidation and no running water, ~~(combined)~~ but the latter does not importantly alter the proportion of dilapidated units. In our own city of Atlanta, in 1950, of all the white homes, 13% were dilapidated, but of Negro homes, 50%. In Memphis, white homes, 9%, but homes of Negroes, 48%. Nashville's ~~(the) worst~~ worse. There, 19% of white homes are shacky, but of homes of Negroes, 70%. In New Orleans, it's 8 and 42%. In Richmond, 8 and 41.

Plumbing facilities follow much the same pattern. ~~By the bathroom business.~~ For Atlanta 24% of homes occupied by white families have no private toilet or bath. For Negro families, 70%. In Birmingham, 25 and 76. In Nashville, 35 and 82. In New Orleans, 15 and 60.

Look at overcrowding: In Atlanta, in 1950, 5 ~~8 per cent~~ of the white homes were overcrowded, and 25% ~~33%~~ of the Negro homes. Birmingham, 4 ~~9~~ and 22 ~~28~~. Memphis, 8 ~~10~~ and 23 ~~27~~. Nashville, 6 ~~11~~ and 15 ~~17~~. Richmond, 2 ~~1~~ and 16 ~~17~~.

Home ownership is a lot better for both races in 1950 as against 1940, but the disparity between white and Negro families ~~in this~~ is still great. In Atlanta, 57% of the white families own their own homes, and 29% of the Negro families. Ten years ago it was 41 and 15, respectively. In Birmingham, 60% of the white people are home owners, and 31%

of the Negroes. In Nashville, 62 and 34. In New Orleans, 43 and 26. ~~Which is to say that~~ In sum, in the last ten years, Negroes in many Southern cities nearly doubled in home ownership, but they are still far behind the rest of the population in it.

All of which simply says what every Southerner knows, that the great bulk of the Negro population of our cities continues to live in disgraceful housing.

If you ~~check it out for~~ consider the South as a whole, you get the same result. It is ~~the Southern~~ our cities that have the bad housing problems. There are ~~63 cities~~ 59 metropolitan areas in the U. S. with populations of 250,000 and over. ~~in their metropolitan areas~~ Nineteen of these, ~~have~~ 30% or more of ~~their~~ the homes are substandard. Of the nineteen, ~~fourteen~~ 13 are in the South. ~~Figure~~ Let us look at it another way. The 1950 Census of Housing dug out the facts about substandard housing in 214 cities. Seventy-seven of the 214 had thirty per cent or more than thirty per cent of the homes substandard. Of the 77, 59 are in the South. Georgia has eight such cities. North Carolina has nine. Tennessee has four, and so on.

This all points to the South as an area of extreme housing need. We here know of that need from another whole train of events. What is it that has caused our sister-city of Birmingham to ~~be~~ become known as "Bombingham"? Why have we and many another Southern city had in the last three or four years a long string of incidents, explosions, tension-periods, and near riots, centering around housing questions? I submit that the root of the trouble is the wretched state of Negro housing, coupled with the new ability of the industrially employed and decently paid Negro citizen of today to pay for better housing than he has been getting. I needn't rehearse the typical train of events by which some ~~rather~~ poor white

neighborhood comes into Negro occupancy; it is the economics that matters for the moment. It is agreed that Negroes pay heavily for this new fringe housing which they acquire, and that the former occupants, if they are home-owners, receive payment which enables them to house themselves satisfactorily, and frequently in suburban surroundings. Thus we strengthen the already established pattern, under which white people live in decent housing, at a tolerable remove from the heart of the city, and Negro people live close in, in the slums.

One promising trend needs to be noticed. Between World War II and Korea, we made a start with excellent housing for the Negro professional and business classes, put up on strictly commercial terms, without any element of subsidy. Atlanta has been one of the leading Southern cities in this, with handsome suburban developments of detached homes, and with the building of High Point ~~Homes~~ Apartments. These developments have broken the myth that Negroes will not pay for good housing. They will pay for it if they can get it; the problem has been to find the enterprisers who would build and land which Negroes could occupy. There is the related problem of getting sound community planning, ~~which is~~ fully inclusive of all affected interests.

The other thing that it is only fair to bring out is the effect of rent-control. This whole field is controversial, but it seems ~~fair~~ reasonable to suppose that if private landlords could charge market figures ~~and not~~ instead of controlled ~~figures~~ rents for dwellings, in time a superior type of dwelling would replace the present shacks. I know that it is the opinion of those who operate Atlanta's program of slum-swelling rehabilitation, by municipal ordinance, that when rent controls are removed, much new home improvement will be undertaken privately.

Still, the best that is likely to happen with private construction will not remove the blight of the Southern slums. We are plainly going to have to have renewed public housing to do it. The public housing program of the current fiscal year is only 50,000 units, and the House of Representatives has put a limitation of 5,000 units on each year from July, 1952, forward, unless specifically increased by Congress. That limitation may not survive the Senate action, but it is an ill omen for the slums of the South, and not a few of our Southern Congressmen voted for the limitation.

There is the further point that private construction languishes now, not because of lack of materials, but because of lack of a market for the long-term mortgages involved. The Federal Government and the Federal Reserve Board have agreed to a policy of higher interest rates, as a measure of inflationary control, and the higher interest rates and absence of further authorization for direct Federal refinancing have combined to ~~knock out~~ reduce private house construction in other than critical defense areas. None can quarrel with controls which effectively combat inflation, but there is probably room for a selective application of credit controls which would enable the populations and cities in greatest need of housing relief to do an essential minimum of building.

Present-day Southern slum housing is incompatible with the prideful place of our Nation, and we should all have a concern to make the removal of these slums one of the immediate tasks of the American people.

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JUNE, 1952

p 489

The NORTH CAROLINA LAW REVIEW

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THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA SCHOOL OF LAW

By The University of North Carolina Press

BOOK REVIEW

The Legal Status of the Tenant Farmer in the Southeast. By Charles S. Mangum, Jr. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1952. Pp. 464, index. $7.50.

"A South Carolina merchant induced a landlord to indorse a lease in the following language: 'I hereby waive my landlord's lien for rent to the extent of $75.00, reserving the right to give or take the first bale weighing 400 pounds, and bale about afterwards.' "[1] Here, in a random sentence, are many of the problems this notable book takes up. It is an 1890 case, in an appellate court, in a cotton State, casual, indefinite, colloquial. And it involves the vexations of waiver of lien. It whiffs, too, of the easy authority of the landlord, and the distance of the tenant beneath him. The remarkable thing is that the waiver is in writing, for oral waivers, as Mangum shows, are valid and general.

It has been a mighty toil to collect and sort and size this body of law. No one had ever before made any serious study of it. And yet these statutes and decisions have ruled the lives of all the generations of Southern agriculture since 1865, and for free people before that.

Mangum has not prepared a collection of cases. He has undertaken to show the legal status of the tenant farmer as it has evolved. His illustrations are drawn from a succession of cases which have tested the law at its ill-defined edges.

It isn't easy law. Mangum covers eleven States: all of the South except Oklahoma and Texas. And he takes in most of a century. His authorities are the statutes and the decisions of State appellate courts. And he brings it all in: the growth of the distinction between tenancies and cropping contracts; the oral lease, frauds, holding over, how to get your farm back, how to resist unlawful eviction, such rights as remain to a tenant after eviction, whose business it is to repair the buildings, liens and whose lien comes ahead of whose, what happens when a landlord or a tenant sells out while the lease is still running, the pains and penalties that attach to hauling off liened crops in the dark of night, what devices a landlord or a merchant has for realizing on his liens, the rights of croppers and laborers, and even the law of peonage.

This is not a book for the farmer's own shelf. It will need a more concentrated peering into than your everyday layman will give it. But for the student of the Southern economy, or for the country lawyer with a hard case and a high court, or for the farmer-lawyer-legislator ap-

[1] P. 315.

pointed to a Commission to revise and codify the law of land tenure, or for a judge thinking to bend the law to modern needs, it is a necessary book.

Your good law-maker should read it, too. For here are the statutes and cases that rule in their several segments of the subject, assembled from the books of over a dozen States, ready for a strong man to mold them into a better Southern agricultural law.

For it has been a tight system. The oldest root is feudalism, and there is an unspoken tap down into slavery. The men who first dealt out the statutes in the years just after the Civil War were protecting their one remaining property. They had land, and they knew how to manage work. In putting idle land and a labor force of landless whites and the newly free together they began the rebuilding of the South. But they wrote a one-sided code, guarding their own rights with an automatic and rigid lien on the tenant's crop, but in most States visiting scant penalties on landlords who misappropriate from croppers, or provide poor equipment or wretched shacks.

One great cause of controversy is the annual oral lease, which every State recognizes, and which is still, in a literate age, the basis of by far the greater part of Southern leaseholds. Either party to such a lease, if he charges fraud, must convince a court on the basis of memory, often unassisted by witnesses. And notoriously, Southern courts have been reluctant to accept the word of a Negro tenant, or even a white tenant, against his landlord. Still, the system rubbed along, with many tenants feeling that they were getting unfair deals, and their landlords convinced that the men themselves were trifling.

Louisiana alone makes statutory provision for compensation to the tenant for unexhausted improvements he may have made. The lack of such a provision is a terrible damper to energy and thrift, and without it, the lands and the farm buildings and the character of the farm people of the South have suffered deeply.

Louisiana's differences are interesting. In point after point, her statutes and her courts, interpreting the Civil Law, are fairer to the men on each side of a lease than the common-law States. For instance, in Louisiana a tenant at the end of his contract is entitled to remove improvements, and laborers, landlords, and tenants have an ordered priority in crop liens.

On things to do Mangum is cautious, and doubtless wise. He mistrusts the remedies of statutory enactment, and wants instead a broad program of education of the farmers, private experience with better leases, and perhaps a Southwide commission to review the law and the practice, and recommend needed changes.

Meanwhile, some things are clear. If we retain the annual oral lease, we would be better served if by statute tenants hold over unless notified four or six months before the end of each year. We should find a way to compensate tenants for improvements, and landlords should have better remedies, in law, for waste by their tenants. Minimum standards of rural housing and for farm buildings could be afforded now. As a matter of fact, Southern agriculture has, in the last ten or fifteen years, greatly improved in housing for both men and stock. Some accessible and cheap system of arbitration would help a lot. Written leases, specially negotiated for each farmer, would do much to diminish the sense of grievance among both landlords and tenants.

The South is moving now into a new agricultural economy in which some of these problems of tenure are acute. Mangum's book is essentially the law of cotton and corn and tobacco. We are going to cows. And cows are not an annual crop. It was the virtue of sharecropping and tenancy that they enabled the landless man to go into the prevailing farm economy, and try to go up the ladder to ownership. But with livestock, your landless man must get a lease that's good for years, preferably for many years. Else, how build a herd, and a barn, and a dairy business, when you might be thrown off any December?

The answer thus far has been that the men who have gone in for livestock have been men with capital enough to buy both cattle and land. And the little fellow has stuck to the old crops, on his old lease. There are many exceptions, but the process of squeezing settled farm people off the land is certainly assisted by our addiction to the leasing system we adopted just at the end of the slavery period.

A note on usefulness. Pains have been taken to make this biggish book yield its contents. The index is detailed and accurate, and there is sufficient cross-indexing to let the layman find things under his own terms, if he has little command of *privity* and *champerty* and *attornment*. On certain more difficult topics the law is carefully laid out, State by State. And for the lawyer, the citations to the decisions, the statutes and the other legal literature appear to be complete.

GEORGE S. MITCHELL.

Executive Secretary

Southern Regional Council

Atlanta, Georgia

gm wrote

C O P Y

August 26, 1952

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta, 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Confirming our telephone conversation of a few moments ago, I would be delighted if you could send us a short (say 750 or 1,000 word) statement which might serve as a kind of editorial foreword to the excerpt which we are using from Lucy Randolph Mason's book in our special issue on the Southern Negro. Specifically: 1. to what extent is Southern labor organized today? 2. to what extent have the various organizational campaigns succeeded in organizing Negro workers? In short, we need some facts and figures which might throw some light on the extent to which Operation Dixie failed or succeeded but more particularly which would indicate to a reader unfamiliar with the background just what progress has been made in organizing the labor market and in integrating Negro and white workers in the trade union movement. The excerpts from Miss Mason's manuscript constitute an eloquent account of the way in which Negroes have responded to the trade union movement but the average reader would, I am sure, want to know something more about the general picture. I would like to have the statement as soon as possible.

With best wishes and many thanks, I am,

Cordially yours,

(Signed) Carey McWilliams

CY 7046

Results
W + C Tchrs
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AU
- Mays
Robeson

That idea has made a secure place for itself in the life of the South. People at first were skittish. This was bound to cause "trouble." But it didn't, except where some foreman stirred it up. And by now industrial unions, habitually organizing workers of both races, are powerful in steel, aluminum, automobiles and aircraft, in rubber, in mining, and in stone and allied products, in oil, and in the chemical industries. In all of these unions both white and Negro workers are employed.

This is also true in paper and pulp; and in lumbering and wood-working in the South's Piney Woods, both races work in. Ship building uses both races and the CIO has locals of this union in most of the southern states. The AFofL is also active in the ship building industry.

The furniture industry has been hard to organize, but progress has been made. It employs white and colored. Meat packing is a heavy employer of Negroes and its locals are strong in little towns as well as in the great cities. Its policies on racial justice are marked as good.

The new telephone workers union, called "Communications Workers,"

Textiles have not really been cracked - the big job of organizing still lies ahead, though in a financial report of April 23, 1948, the Textile Workers Union of America reported more than 450,000 members as then covered by union contracts. It is doubtful if over twenty per cent of Southern textile workers have been organized at any one time in recent years. The outlying locals are found in both the AFofL and the CIO. The textile industry was built on white labor. Few cotton mills use more than ten per cent of Negro employees, and they are jealously kept out of everything except the heavier operations. Many locals have admitted Negroes. Others have ignored them. Some have put them into separate units. On the surface, what a particular textile local does about the Negro workers appears at any one time unimportant. But underneath the

Mason's copy, page 2, 4 lines from top.

+ 13 And by now industrial unions, habitually organizing workers of both races, are powerful in steel, aluminum, automobiles amd aircraft, in rubber, in mining and in stone and allied productd, oil and the chemical industries.

In the South's Piney Woods, both races work in lumbering and wood-working and in pulp and paper - in ship building, too. CIO and AFofL are working on ship building in most southern states.

The furniture industry, widely scattered protests unionism, ~~xxx~~ progresses. Meat packing is a heavy employer of Negroes. Its locals are strong in little towns as well as in great cities, and its policies on racial policies are marked as good.

The new "Communications Workers" includes the telephone workers in almost every town in the South. Officers of this union tell me that all employees have the same rights, benefits and priviliges, attend the same union meetings and participates in discussions, ~~xxx~~ voting. and business of union. There are, however, job limitations which apply only to Negro members. (Vernon 2292 Smallwood White

Textiles have not really been cracked.

failure of the white people in this predominant Southern industry to accept a forward-looking pattern on matters of race is closely tied to the weakness of the textile union.

A good measure of the strength of some of the unions is their ability to hold outlying plants. Steel union members are strong, not only in the main centers, but also at plants three or five hundred miles away. Meat packing plants in little ~~plants~~ places are often as well organized as those in the great cities.

Many of the biggest employers in various industries bargain honestly (or - "in good faith") ~~For half~~ a dozen or more of the largest southern industries, collective bargaining has won its battle.

How far along is the Southern labor movement - just in organizing? The figures are hard to come by. Both the CIO and the AFofL have put on major Southern organizing drives in the last few years. Both have probably doubled their Southern membership since 1946, when Van A. Bitter was put in cahrge of the CIO drive. I would give the CIO close to 500,000 dues-paying members in the South, as of now, and the AFofL something over a million The United Mine Workers, including District 50, probably have at least 50,000. Add the independents and you get a total of perhaps 1,800,000.

The gainfully employed persons in non-agricultural industry in the South number somewhere around 9,300,000, by no means all of whom would ordinarily be accounted organizable. That percentage of union members is a good long start. And the unions have strong home bases in many operations, from which they have every chance to grow. A long stride into the orange groves to organize the citrus workers of Florida has been taken by the CIO.with both races on the job.

On Negro membership in the unions, things are even more shadowy. A flying guess would be 300,000 1,800,000.

~~100~~ Rhoads
Sep 2. 52

Fla	200,000	—
Ga	150,000	
SC	75	925
NC	100	1290
Tenn	200	2,214
Ala	200	+
Miss	60	925
Ark	80	990
La	200	1,440
Tex	300	1,835
	~~1,000~~	—
	~~600~~	
Ky	200	—
Okla	100	
	~~7,900~~	~~1,065,000~~
Va	150	

600,000 N.S.

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Pie.....

A Challenge to the NEGRO WORKER

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

SOUTHERN POLICY COMMITTEE

AFL NEGRO MEMBERS

750,000 in U.S.
475,000 in South

CIO-Where have you been?

In the South the AFL has more Negro members than the CIO has both Negro and White members.

Published by

SOUTHERN POLICY COMMITTEE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
416 Hurt Building
Atlanta, Ga.

The American Federation of Labor has over 650,000 dues-paying Negro members.

These Negro members know the policy of the AFL to be one of fine purpose and great accomplishments on behalf of Negro wage earners.

The cheap peddling of propaganda that the AFL discriminates against Negro workers is a false and lying campaign to deceive the unorganized Negro worker, and is an injury and set-back to that worker.

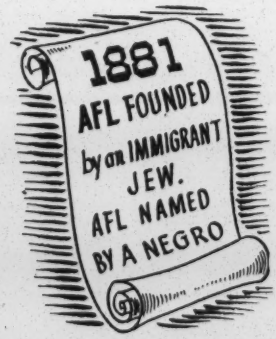
The AFL has the largest, and best paid Negro membership of any labor organization in the world.

This booklet is issued so that the Negro wage earner may learn the truth about this important race and labor issue.

Know the Facts and Nail the Lies

The professional propagandist uses a technique that is an insult to your intelligence—he emphasizes the exceptional and deliberatly withholds the general picture. He paints his enemy as a devil and himself as a lily-pure angel. He is selling you pie in the sky . . . with little chance of delivery. The AFL does not offer you words—but results. We invite you to join our ranks of the over 7,000,000 paid up AFL members, and offer you—not pie in the sky—but a hard fight shoulder to shoulder with all workers of whatever race or creed to improve the common lot of all.

For the millions of as-yet-unorganized Negro workers of America here are a few facts that our enemies forgot to tell you:



Discrimination—1881 Style:

Did the Congress of Industrial Organization-Communists peddlers tell you that the AFL was formed in 1881 and led for forty years by an immigrant Jew, Samuel Gompers, the greatest labor leader of history?

Did they tell you that the AFL got its name from a recommendation and motion by Brother Grandison, colored delegate from Pittsburgh. Yes, the voice of the Negro worker has been heard and respected on the floor of AFL conventions since 1881, and always will be.

Formed by an immigrant Jew and named by an American Negro—Is that race discrimination?

DISCRIMINATION—1946 STYLE:

The concern of the AFL for the welfare of the colored worker is more than idealistic concern for our fellow men.

As long as wage standards for Negro workers are lower than those for other groups, no worker can feel secure in his job. Equal opportunity and equal pay for Negro workers are practical objectives of the AFL—for they protect everyone.

Resolution Vs. Results:

As every Negro worker knows, since 1881 the AFL has passed resolution after resolution condemning discrimination on the basis of race, religion, color, national origin, or sex. In the words of Sam Gompers "We do not want to exclude any working man who believes in and belongs to organized labor."

But the AFL knows that resolutions and edicts from above don't get results. Unless there is a meeting of minds upon objectives and a will to carry out these objectives, all the laws in the world can be sidestepped.

It is the basic premise of sound trade unionism that any form of discrimination that wedges its insidious head between the ranks of labor weakens our strength. Discrimination is a crime against democracy, against the union, and takes bread out of the mouths of workers who allow discrimination to exist.

So, for 65 years we have battled to educate workers—whether they be black or white, Protestant, Catholic or Jew, male or female, first or second generation—that they must stand solidly united as union members.

THE RECORD:

What is our record of ACTUAL RESULTS today? With over 7,000,000 members, (107) International Unions, and 47,000 local unions, and a 65 years history—do you think you could pick a few skeletons out of our closet? CERTAINLY—you can pick dozens of examples of mistakes committed by union men against their own self-interest. But don't fall into the propagandist's trap—take a look at the big picture:

Wherever discrimination exists today it is the result of isolated, mistaken, local mal-practice in defiance of sound trade union principles. In spite of what the propagandists will tell you, out of 107 Internationals affiliated with the AFL there are only a half dozen small AFL unions with no Negro members. But a check of these unions shows that employer employment practice—not union discrimination—is the reason. If the Air Line Pilots Association has no colored members it is no more the union's fault than it is the fault of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters that they have no white members. Don't confuse discrimination with employment practice of management.

The chances of local union discrimination are rare as shown by Government reports, but the record also shows that the number of actual wartime race strikes wherein white union members refused to work with black were evenly divided between the AFL and the CIO and the number of workers involved was less in the case of the AFL. That is our record in spite of the fact that the AFL has four times as many unions and twice as many members as the CIO.

PROPAGANDA:

Yes, all unions—no matter what their affiliation—must carry on the never ending battle against discrimination. AFL and CIO policy is identical. Rare cases of local discrimination occur in both. The difference is in the propaganda.

Why does the dual organization appeal to you with baloney? There are two obvious reasons:

First—The race problems seldom arises in unions organizing workers in occupations where Negroes have been traditionally employed. This is true of most AFL and CIO unions. As stated above, it is a few small, highly-skilled AFL crafts, in which whites have been traditionally employed that become targets for criticism. The fact that the same employment practice would prevail, union or no unions, is overlooked by the bunko-peddlers—It makes good propaganda. They paint the exception as the rule.

Second—Out of 36 CIO International Unions, 21 are dominated by leaders who follow the Communist Party line. It is a well known fact that Moscow has given orders to its American Fifth Columnists to give special attention to spreading unrest and dissension among American Negroes. If you fall for this you are Dictator Joe Stalin's prize suckers.

Don't throw away your faith in democracy. Let's take a look at what the free American labor movement has done for you:

THE BIG PICTURE:

Two AF of L detailed surveys conducted in the last five years indicate certain generalizations:

Of 650,000 Negro members in the AFL, 450,000 are located in the 14 Southern states. In other words, the AFL has many more Negro members in the South than the CIO has both Negro and White members in the South. The CIO only claims to represent 400,000 and a good percentage of this figure is not paid up members.

The percentage of Negro workers in AFL unions is in almost direct proportion to the Negro workers in the community. Approximately one in eleven AFL members is Negro for the country as a whole. In the South more than 20 percent of all AFL members are Negro. Locals of the same Internationals would typically have from fifteen to 95 percent Negro membership in the State of Georgia, and from 2 to 10 percent Negro in Northern Ohio.

The survey shows that participation by Negro workers as union officers was in direct proportion to their membership in the respective unions.

AFL unions have succeeded in wiping out differentials in pay rates in all contracts. Upgrading, hiring and firing on the basis of seniority and ability without regard for race, creed or color is standard in AFL contracts.

The auxiliary local has become virtually a museum piece, and the separate local is almost entirely confined to certain regions in the South, where and when it is the choice of the Negro members themselves.

Unskilled, Semi-Skilled and Skilled—

Workers must organize to obtain decent pay and conditions in every job in every industry. The Negro has been traditionally employed in low skilled, low paid work. The first objective of the AFL has been to organize these workers and to raise their standards in these jobs.

All the sleeping car porters have their own militant, 100 percent Negro-led union.

The Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union with thousands upon thousands of colored workers now receive wages throughout the country that are higher than some skilled trades.

All the Chicago junk dealers' employees were organized 5 years ago. Traditionally overworked and underpaid, these workers, 75 percent of whom are Negro, now have 500 percent higher pay, strict seniority clause, and a model health benefit plan financed by the employers.

The AFL Carpenters have spent a fortune in organizing the low wage southern lumber mills. In the last four years in the Arkansas area alone, they have organized 9000 new members, of whom 50 percent are Negro.

And so it has been on down the line. Negro laborers, laundry workers, tobacco workers, truck drivers, longshoremen, waiters and waitresses, janitors, mill workers, and even bowling alley pin boys have benefited by AFL unions.

The second fight has been to open up opportunities for Negroes to higher skilled work. Some times it has been a legislative fight.—Sometimes a fight with employers. Sometimes it has been with selfish white workers. But the results are there.

Today there are thousands of highly skilled Negro bricklayers, plasterers, carpenters, painters, bridge and structural iron workers, moulders and foundry workers, meat cutters, actors, musicians, paper and pulp workers, chemical workers, government employees, coopers, printers, brick and clay workers—all of them protected by AFL contracts with equal pay and opportunities.

Equal Participation

AFL unions have a long tradition of insisting that the colored workers produce their own leadership.

The separate local is rapidly disappearing but is still found in the South. They were often necessary when local, state laws and community tradition made even the hiring of a hall for a mixed meeting impossible. Curiously enough where they still exist it is more often the

This is a section of the famed As
of the American Federatio

AFL

UNION GARMENT INSPECTOR

The biggest and most important lab

AFL

SKILLED IRON WORKER

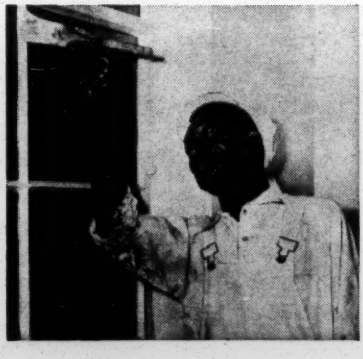
AFL

UNION OFFICE WORKER

heville, North Carolina Conference
of Labor, May 11-12, 1946

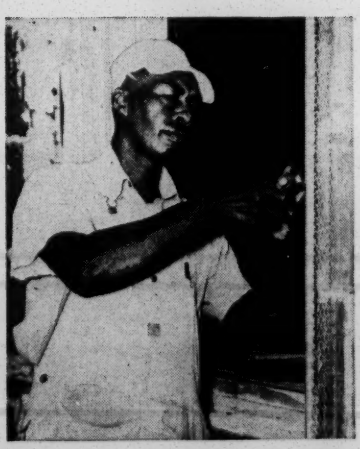
or gathering ever held in the South

AFL



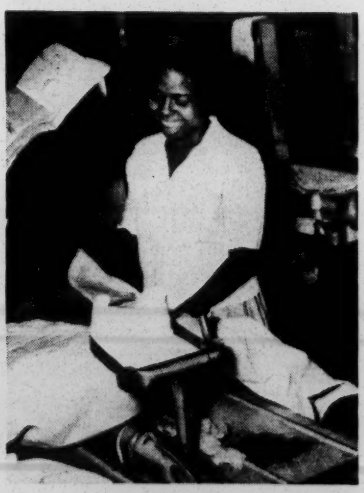
UNION PAINTER
$1.50 per hour

AFL



UNION SKILLED LATHER
$1.75 per hour

AFL



UNION LAUNDRY WORKER

Negro members who desire separate locals. Negro workers in the South sometimes feel that if they are a minority in numbers in a union they will not have the best opportunity to participate and control their affairs.

Today there is one Negro AFL International President, dozens of Negro International vice-presidents, and hundreds into thousands of Negro local officers, business agents and organizers. Extensive Negro participation as officers in central labor unions and state federations is universal from coast to coast. We not only permit but insist that you participate in guiding your own destinies as union men and women.

Do you remember why the AFL Longshoremen closed down every port on the South Atlantic in 1936? The coast was organized in 1935. Longshoremen on the South Atlantic Coast are all colored, so in true AFL tradition it was a Negro negotiating committee that met with the employers in 1936. The employers refused to negotiate with Negroes. What was the answer? It took a five day strike to change their minds. Wages have been raised 600 percent in eleven years. No longer do longshoremen stand by for days in order to get a few hours work at 15 or 20 cents an hour. The Gulf Coast rate of $1.40 per hour is 3 cents higher than the noisy left-wing CIO longshoremen get on the high-wage West Coast. Who accomplished this? Splendid Negro leadership developed from the ranks of the men they represent.

A few sample responses from the 1946 Survey:

Atlanta, Georgia, June 1946:

"Brother W. Paul Smartt, Negro, is president of Local 234, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers, a mixed union with 60 percent Negro membership. He is also Secretary of the State Lathers Council and a full time organizer for the State Federation. Non-discrimination in apprenticeship, job opportunities, and pay scale is militantly enforced. However this union is no exception. In many Southern cities well over half of the Building Trades Union members are Negro and for mixed unions to have Negro officers and business agents is not uncommon."

Newburgh, New York, May 28, 1946:

"I thought you might be interested in the fact that in our newly installed Charter in Newburgh, N. Y., Union 24018, the members unanimously elected as President, Brother Elsworth Potter, the only Negro employed by the company . . . Brother Potter was also instrumental in having the plant organized. . . ."

Birmingham, Ala., May 10, 1946:

"When the CIO had the plant they permitted a race differential in pay, race discrimination in upgrading, and no Negro leadership. Today we are AFL with equal pay and opportunities, a mixed local, and a White and a Negro business agent working side by side in the same office. No false promises—but results."

Meadville, Pennsylvania, May 15, 1946:

"Although the percentage of Negro population in this area is small, discrimination is absolutely non-existent. Pay and conditions are equal. A. M. Simmons, Negro, has been president and business representative for Laborers Union No. 631, Meadville, Pa., for many years although most of the members are white.

Southern Teamsters, May 1946:

"A short time ago we promoted a Negro local officer to serve as International organizer—he is the hottest fire ball we've seen in years—he organizes workers so fast we can't keep up with him. A real credit to his union and to his race."

Bradford, Pa., May 1946:

"Howard Matthews, Negro, has held every office and is the most popular leader of Musicians No. 84, although most of the members are white. Note: as far as can be checked we believe that every Negro industrial worker of Bradford, Pa., is an AFL union member."

An added note from the same town on AFL cooperation: "When the Negroes at the Koppers Tie plant were on strike, the AFL Laborers and Blacksmiths unions arranged for those in need to have temporary employment on their jobs. Now that the Blacksmiths are on strike, the Negro tie workers have reciprocated by arranging with their boss to provide their temporary work for needy strikers. Color isn't considered here, it is whether you are a union man and a square shooter."

Equal Pay—Equal Opportunities

One of the neatest ways to split a union right down the center is to permit a differential in wages for the same job on the basis of race. Another way is to allow race discrimination to be the basis for selection for higher skills and job classifications.

Before the day of unions, the Negro traditionally had unequal job opportunities. It is the very foundation of trade unionism that as long as one worker is paid less than another on the same job and as long

as one worker has less opportunities than another—the lower paid, restricted worker will remain a constant menace to the standards of all workers. Equality of pay irrespective of race, creed, or color, is the primary MUST of any genuine union.

Some employers still try to drive a wedge into the solid front of union solidarity by proposing unequal terms in contracts. The AFL has but one answer—equal pay for equal work and strict seniority clauses.

Here are a few recent examples from the South:

Anniston, Ala., April 1946:

"In negotiating a new contract in the Monsanto Chemical Company the company's final offer included a 5 cent differential between white and Negro workers—50 percent of membership was colored. At the membership meeting the colored workers accustomed to pay differentials in pre-union days moved to accept the offer. In lively debate the white workers argued that the company not be allowed to divide their union on the color line, and a request for strike vote was unanimously carried. The result—25 cent increase across the board and retroactive for six months, irrevocable checkoff, seniority clauses, and liberal sick leave and vacation clause for all workers regardless of race."

Comment by the "Alabama Worker" on this case:

"In spite of what the dual organization would have you believe, this is a wonderful example of the AFL membership sticking together regardless of race, creed, or color, and winning out."

Atlanta, Ga., 1946:

"The AFL Bridge and Structural Iron Workers spent $200,000 in a bitter fight to organize 300 Atlanta iron workers of whom a large percent were colored. The employers tried to throw the wedge of a race wage differential into the contract this Spring. To weaken their union after fighting so hard was unthinkable to good union men. The result—the union fought and won a big increase with no differential and an iron-bound clause making it a violation of contract to discriminate in hiring, firing, and promotion on the basis of color.

Mobile, Ala.

"When organization work began in the Mobile Pulley works, white moulders were receiving 90 cents and Negro moulders 45 cents per hour for the same work. In 1944 in negotiations before the Regional War Labor Board the Moulders and Foundry Workers Union contended for equal pay. The Board requested the union to withdraw its demand since equal pay would cause a race riot in Mobile. The union refused and carried the case to the national board and won the case for their Negro AFL members. All molders in Mobile now receive $1.38 per hour and a race riot has not occurred. The secretary of the Mobile local 238 is colored and a Vice-President of the State Federation."

Baltimore, Md., May 5, 1946:

"The union has opened rather than closed the door of opportunity to colored workers." Here is a 1946 Survey response from Baltimore:

"Baltimore is . . . right on the Mason Dixon line. Not withstanding this condition, the labor unions in Baltimore alone have been responsible for the fact that today colored workers are permitted to enjoy full employment privileges and other benefits which prior to labor unions were enjoyed by white workers only. Today colored employees work side by side with white employees and there is no distinction in working privileges on the job, such as seniority rights, the right to be shop stewards. . . ." Two dozen skilled trades show from 20 to 60 percent colored membership.

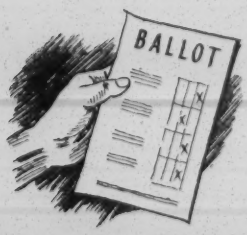
EQUAL CIVIL RIGHTS:

The AFL for 65 years has carried on a war on two fronts — one battle of direct action negotiating for better pay and conditions for organized workers, and the other battle on the legislative front to gain protective and social security laws for all workers.

Workmen's Compensation laws, unemployment insurance, old age and survivors insurance, minimum wage and hour laws, minimum safety and health standards laws, fair employment practices legislation, special laws for women and children, health laws, the National Labor Relations Act—all are the result of constant pressure by International Unions, State Federations, and the AFL nationally. Such laws protect all workers—union and non-union—irrespective of race, creed, or color.

The AFL looks upon the present gains as entirely inadequate. National and state AFL organizations still spend millions to maintain the nation's largest and most effective legislative program to raise these minimums higher—and to increase and extend social security to all workers.

Last but not least is the AFL fight for abolution of the poll tax. For years state federations in the South have hammered for revision of the laws that excluded American citizens from the polls. But it was two years ago that the AFL unions in Savannah, Ga., found the effective answer to the problem. The local longshoremen's union with the backing and support of all AFL members in Savannah through their central labor union marched in a body to the County Court where the back poll tax for every single member was paid off out of the union treasury and every single member of the union voted that year. This move set in motion a wave of similar actions by many different Negro groups throughout the state resulting in forty thousand NEW colored voters to four thousand new white voters in Georgia that year. In self defense the state politicians wasted no time abolishing the poll tax.



As one Negro AFL organizer expressed it at the Asheville Conference in May 1946,

> "If all the professional agitation organizations for Negro rights would put one tenth of the money they spend on propaganda into paying off back poll tax as the Savannah AFL people did, the poll tax could be wiped out overnight in the poll tax states."

RACE RELATIONS—AFL STYLE:

The battlefront on which labor fights is broad. To throw all our strength into a propaganda campaign for the Negro and ignore all other issues would do no one any good. When the AFL gets you a full day's wage for a full day's work, it means decent food on your plate, a decent home, decent medical attention, decent clothes, and an education for your children. You will never be Class A citizens on Class C wages. And all the hot air in the world won't get you Class A wages—the union will.

Since we don't take orders from Moscow, we won't subject you to Red-Fascist false propaganda and lies.

However, it would be easy. We could tell you that the dual movement was all bad and point out a lot of isolated examples such as—

When the CIO Southern Campaign Committee wanted to hold a meeting in Columbia, South Carolina, their local union refused them their hall because the meeting would be mixed—no Negroes in their hall!

Or when the CIO metal miners of Butte, Montana, refused to admit into their union or even work with Negroes sent in by the government during the war, the headlines screamed with pious orders and criticisms from their National leaders. What didn't hit the headlines was the local's very salty reply telling their national leaders what they could do with their orders and policy—no Negroes in their union or even permitted to work with their members. Local defiance of both government order and national union policy, as when the white CIO members struck the Alabama Dry Dock Company at Mobile, Ala., because a Negro was given a skilled job at skilled pay.

NOISY- ISNT IT?

Propaganda is a cinch, but we are not going to stoop to blasting our opposition for many slips—telling you they are bad and we are perfect. All we ask is that you recognize their exaggerated attack on us for what it is—Moscow ordered, phoney lieing propaganda. We both have local problems, but the odds are about 100 to 1 that you will in the long run gain much more by joining an AFL union in preference to the dual Congress of Industrial Organization.

The AFL offers you results NOW—not hot-air promises of pie in the sky by and by.

Labor's battle to assure all Negro workers of this country decent pay, decent job opportunities, and decent treatment as citizens has a long way to go. But Negro workers must make up their minds whether they are going to damn labor for isolated local mistakes or recognize that the AFL has done more to raise the standards and life of Negro workers than any other organization in this country.

Remember the words of the Nashville Negro printer, who this Spring stood up in the Central Labor Union meeting and said: "Since the printers in the Negro printing houses went out on strike, some of our Negro Civic leaders have told us to go back to work and that the Union would never do right by a Negro. Yet here in Nashville the schools are Jim Crow, politics Jim Crow, and the Churches are Jim Crow—the only place in town that I can stand on my own two feet in mixed meeting and enjoy the right of free speech is here in the AFL Labor Temple." Needless to say, with the full support of the AFL, they won their strike.

We invite you to join with us to share in the fight for your own rights and those of all other workers. We invite you to share our problems and mistakes as well as our successes. The rights of Negroes can best advance and be protected by a stronger and stronger voice of Negro workers within the American Federation of Labor.

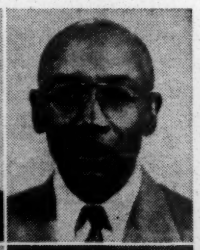
The AFL needs the colored workers and the colored workers need the AFL—to make the Proclamation of Emancipation a *practical reality.*

Fellow Negro Worker:

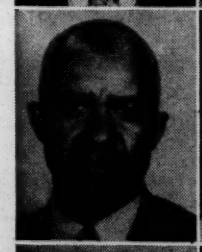
"The AFL has done more to raise the standards of the Negro worker than any other organization in America. The 650,000 negro AFL members know this to be true. In response to the requests of Southern Negro labor leaders, the AFL Southern Policy Committee has issued this publication as a message to the millions of as-yet-unorganized negro workers of America. We make you no wild promises—but invite you as free workingmen and women to join with us and fight for the rights of all workers irrespective of race, creed, or color."

Sincerely yours,

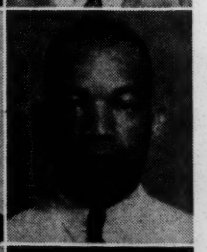
I. P. CONNALLY
President, Local 102
Painters & Decorators
Organizer—Atlanta
Federation of Trades,
A. F. of L.
Atlanta, Ga.



GEORGE BENJAMIN
Vice-President
Tobacco Workers
International Union
Member Southern
Policy Board
Richmond, Va.

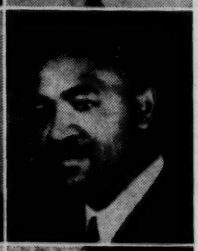


F. R. BETTON
Vice-President
National Farm Labor
Union, A. F. of L.
Memphis, Tenn.



CHAS. LOCKHART
Vice-President
Int'l Longshoremen's
Association
Member Southern
Policy Board
Miami, Fla.

R. F. FINKLEY
Organizer
American Federation
of Labor
Mobile, Ala.



CORNELIUS
MAIDEN
Organizer
American Federation
of Labor
Birmingham, Ala.

E. J. McCOY
Vice-President
N. C. Federation of
Labor, Durham, N. C.

JAMES HAMPTON
Gen'l Representative
Hod Carriers &
Common Laborers
Member Southern
Policy Board
Sheffield, Ala.

J. HARVEY
NETTERS
President
Longshoremen's
Union
New Orleans, La.

DR. D. G. GARLAND
Organizer
American Federation
of Labor
Winston-Salem, N. C.

GSM wrote

September 5, 1952

Mr. William Mitch
United Mine Workers of America
517-22 Comer Bldg.
Birmingham 3, Ala.

Dear Bill:

I thank you a lot for that fine letter of September 4. I called the NATION in New York and made the following changes:

> Final sentence of paragraph 1 now reads: "True, the coal miners were organized, and they had learned from experience that they were only powerful if their unions contained both the white and the Negro workers. And that was established UMW policy."
>
> On page 2, the list of industries in which industrial unions are now powerful begins with mining.
>
> On page 3: "The United Mine Workers, including District 50, probably have at least 125,000."

I greatly honor the United Mine Workers (and you) for setting a policy as to mixed unions that has so greatly strengthened the whole South.

Many thanks again, and warm regards. And every best with to the Union.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

United Mine Workers of America

DISTRICT NO. 20
William Mitch,
President

TELEPHONES
4-0306 — 4-0307

517-22 COMER BUILDING
Birmingham 3, Alabama

RECEIVED
SEP 5 1952
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
SEP 4 1952
Southern Regional Council

September 4, 1952

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Friend George:

This will acknowledge your letter enclosing a copy of "Introduction For Lucy Mason Excerpts". On page 1, you begin by stating "Eighteen years ago in Birmingham". The Mine Workers campaign, which was the initial campaign of organization in the South, started in June, 1933, which is more than nineteen years ago.

I will not offer suggestions on any part except that which pertains to the United Mine Workers, which is what I believe you want. I presume the period these excerpts covers is that which Miss Mason has first hand information on, which may be near eighteen years as I am not sure just when she came South, but it was quite a while after our campaign started in Alabama.

Following on the first page, which might be misunderstood or misconstrued is: "True, the coal miners were organized, and they had learned from bitter experience that they were only powerful if their unions contained both the white and the Negro workers, who, in any case, did much the same jobs in the pits."

Good

Our Constitution has always provided that there shall be no discrimination on account of creed, color or nationality. Back in 1920, when they tried to organize there were some locals organized composed of white workers and others composed of negro workers, but at no time did the United Mine Workers in this campaign of organization which started nineteen years ago attempt or even think of organizing the workers into separate local unions. It would be better if you would say: "The coal miners were organized on an industrial basis, and ~~all workers except the advisory and technical forces of the employers~~ were taken into membership, and contracts were made accordingly".

and look on the whole working men without regard to race

Good

On the second page you state "And by now industrial unions, habitually organizing workers of both races, are powerful in steel, aluminum, meat packing, in rubber, automobiles and aircract, lumber and woodworking, in the chemical industries,

mining

#2.
Mr. George S. Mitchell
9/4/52

in mining, in communications, and in paper and pulp". You put MINING away down among the lower industries on the list, when steel and all the others you mention had no semblance of an organization. What I am trying to point out is the coal miners were organized first, yet you put mining near the bottom of the list, but I presume this is to be a CIO publication. Even so, it is undoubtedly for public consumption and presumed to be on an unbiased basis.

On page 3, second paragraph you refer to the CIO having some 500,000 members, and "the United Mine Workers, including District 50, probably have at least 50,000". The estimation that has been given to me by representatives of other districts (which I understand would be included when you refer to the South - Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Virginia and Arkansas) would be a membership of some 105,000 not including District 50. I do not at the moment have figures on District 50, but if I get the information will give them to you.

125,000

Sincerely yours

Wm Mitch

President District 20
United Mine Workers of America

WM/cr

May 5, 1953

Mr. Joseph E. Nettles
Alumni Office
University of Richmond
Richmond, Va.

Dear Joe:

Here is something I dictated. It follows pretty much the lines of what I said in the talk to the Richmond meeting of the Catholic Committee of the South.

Your readers will doubtless want some explanation of what this Southern Regional Council is. To care for this or that delicacy, I have written out what seems to me a proper box, but I give you editorial license, of course, to make it suit your needs.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

68 wrote

ARTICLE BY GEORGE S. MITCHELL FOR PUBLICATION IN ALUMNI BULLETIN

Many older generations of U. of R. students remember teaching they had on Southern history. It was explained to them that the ante-bellum South, in resting its economy upon the plantation and upon the labor of men and of mules, deliberately forewent the benefits of machine technology. In defense of the old system, men elaborated the doctrine that only a few could have full status as citizens and a developed culture; and that most had perforce to labor beyond the pale of civil society, without hope of achieving full human stature. The North went on to an enriching technology which carried with it the possibility that every man could share in the rights, duties, and common humanity of the society. The conflict of those two economies ended, as we all know, in destructive war.

And then, beginning about 1880, the South began to take on the new way of making a living. We have not yet gotten around to putting up the monuments for those Southern citizens who taught us how to build and operate factories and railways and hydro-electric power systems; who, as business pioneers, brought in the economic corrective of what was poor and narrow in our past.

We can see that in seventy years of this new kind of effort in the South the basis has been achieved for a new level of citizenship and of human stature for all of the people of the South. Nobody claims that the last vestiges of our poverty have been cleared away. Every graduate of the University knows in his own county some pocket of people who linger on in slums or in rural poverty. Yet, almost everywhere, twenty years of uninterrupted prosperity within a manufacturing economy have brought manifold new opportunities for well-being. So rapid has been our industrialization that the

Southern Association of Science and Industry reported that in 1951 and 1952 the South brought in one multi-million-dollar industrial plant for each working day.

Now we enter into a new period of Southern history. The industrial and agricultural basis of well-being for all has been firmly laid. We have spelled out in public principle the rule of equal citizenship and equal consideration. It is tradition and inertia alone which hold us back from implementing, town by town, county by county, this new respect for human dignity.

There is much to do. Negroes are excluded from many jobs for which they are qualified. Negro housing is still intolerably bad. Our tenure arrangements on agricultural land, enshrining the annual oral lease, would scandalize many societies which we think behind us in progress. And merely on grounds of race, we systematically exclude a fourth of our citizens from level participation in worship, government, education, and normal community facilities.

Yet, along with the general growth in public well-being has come the laying down of guiding principles in a variety of fields. In religion we are all familiar with the central teachings of brotherhood, and to a gratifying degree our Church organizations have within recent years said that these principles ought now to be carried out in full detail. In public transportation, successive Supreme Court decisions have made it clear that in Pullman travel, in diners, and on interstate coaches, segregation is outside the law. A Virginia case made it clear also that interstate bus passengers have a right to sit where they please. In education, all the Southern States except five have now acceded to the principle that in graduate teaching, white and Negro students may be enrolled together. The seminaries of

the Southern Baptist Convention are open to both groups of students. In all, more than 28 private colleges or seminaries in the South admit all qualified candidates. And the Supreme Court is expected some day this spring to lay down a ruling on equal, and perhaps no longer separate, education in the public schools.

There is a contest on within the South, little perceived, and seldom mentioned. Which of our States will set the example in achieving the common citizenship made possible by our greater wealth? Ten years from now it will be plain that some one or two of our States have gone farthest in this new direction.

Which State is most richly endowed with democratic doctrine? Which cast up at the time of the nation's birth the greatest figures pleading for equal human rights? Which has therefore a head start of all the rest in putting its public doctrines into tangible practice? Surely graduates of this university have a ready answer. Surely, therefore, their duty is clear. A man's stature is to be judged no longer by what he contributes to the overcoming of the former poverty of the South, but by what he contributes to bringing about equal humanity in every department of Southern life.

COMMENTS TO GO IN BOX ACCOMPANYING ARTICLE BY GEORGE S. MITCHELL

George Mitchell, class of '23, received at the Richmond convention of the Catholic Committee of the South April 24 the Committee's biennial award to the person who has "most contributed to the welfare and progress of the South."

Mitchell is the son of professor S. C. Mitchell, who was for many years professor of history and government at the University of Richmond.

George Mitchell now serves as executive director of the Southern Regional Council, a voluntary organization promoting the ideal and practice of equal opportunity for all the people of the South. Many distinguished Virginians took part in the organization of the Council in 1944 and have continued to assist its work.

The award to Mitchell was presented by the Most Rev. John J. Russell, Bishop of Charleston, and the tribute was given by Paul Williams of Richmond. Others who have received the award in recent years are: George Washington Carver, David Lillienthal, Guy B. Johnson, Howard W. Odum, and Archbishop Gerald P. O'Hara.

George Mitchell lives in Atlanta, where the Southern Regional Council has its headquarters office. He is serving this year as one of the class correspondents in the alumni campaign.

University of Richmond

Richmond, Virginia

ALUMNI OFFICE

April 22, 1953

Dr. George S. Mitchell
906 Lullwater Road, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I read with delight your selection by the Catholics for the biennial award for "significant contribution to the welfare and progress of the South."

What about this work? Write me 1500 words of observation about the South-- its progress and its problems. Pull no punches and spare no heads. It will make interesting reading in the next issue of the Alumni Bulletin. The deadline is June 15th. Say yes!

Again, my congratulations!

Sincerely yours,

Joseph E. Nettles
Executive Secretary

SUMMARY OF TALK BY GEORGE S. MITCHELL TO FELLOWSHIP OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN, MAY 5, 1953

George Mitchell drew a contrast between the rules elaborated for the conduct of society in the ante-bellum South and the rules appropriate to the present-day industrial economy in the Southern States. A hundred years ago the South had been committed to plantation agriculture, which, on the labor of men and mules, proposed to provide for a narrow class, education, culture, and genuine citizenship, and expected that for its foreseeable future, the vast body of society would have to toil under orders and at little more than at a subsistence level.

The North and the West, he said, had embraced technology and machine production, and even then expected a future in which every man would have modest comfort, equal rights, and democratic participation in society. After the clash of these two economies and the victory of the stronger, the South had turned itself to machine production.

By 1953 we had so far achieved an industrial economy that we were confronted with a revision of the rules of our society. We had now to insist upon full and equal education for all, because the industrial economy demands an educationally competent people and is in danger if any large class of those within it are without the skills and discipline needed for its conduct. We had also to insist on equal opportunity, because this new society limps if any of its components are denied their fullest possible contribution to it and earnings appropriate to their highest skill. Neither could an industrial South succeed in a milieu in which full democracy and even-handed justice are suspect. Men would only contribute honest effort to the industrial process if they believed in the justice of the society around them.

For all these reasons, he said, we had a duty to rewrite the rules of Southern life, purging our States and communities of the habits that hang over us

from an earlier economy, and abetting industrialization by providing the technical competence, inclusiveness, and democratic arrangements necessary to sustained success with machine production. He reminded the group of those not inconsiderable pockets of the South in which the older society lives on, but expressed confidence that even in those areas, the new non-discriminatory principles could, in a fairly short while, be brought into application.

June 2, 1953

THE RULES OF INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

by

George S. Mitchell

In material things our deepest faith in America is that we can permanently keep, and enlarge, both individual freedom and rewarding industrial technology. When we say that we cherish a free, competitive economy, and wish always to minimize governmental controls, we express this American faith. The American people stand before the world as defenders of this hope, and our civilization will be judged by whether we can, over the long pull, continue to make industrial society work within a framework of free institutions.

We in the South have special cause to know the full meaning of this American purpose. For it is only a century ago since our own Southern statesmen defended another principle. They based their economy on plantation agriculture, and said that the labor of men and of mules, harnessed to the wishes of a landed governing class, could produce staple crops the money yields from which would pay for food for the men, hay and grain for the mules, and such a trickle of surplus earnings as would support the culture of a small, directing group. Nobody supposed that this ante-bellum Southern economy would ever yield culture and education and economic and political freedom for the masses of the Southern people; that was not the dream. That earlier dream took comfort from the text, "the poor ye have always with ye," and asked only that a society so grounded in physical toil and agricultural production should be left alone, to make what successit could in the world. Industry was tried in scattered spots, but it found a slave society a poor environment, and remained exceptional and suspicioned.

Meanwhile, the rest of America went forward with all the technology it could muster. A thriving industrial society was built in New England, and industry followed early upon the heels of the settlers of the Middle West. The dream here was the

true American dream; that man, by advantaging himself of the wonders of mechanical power and machine production, could offer to every citizen reasonable earnings, stability and some comfort in his home, education for his children, and full participation in the processes of government.

These two principles for the conduct of society came to the clash in 1861-65, and the stronger system won. And we in the South, after some years of quandary, decided that we would play our part in the general American effort, and would adopt as rapidly as we could the principle of mechanical power and the new technology. We are here today within the very area which was the heart of this resolve. A generation of far-seeing Carolinians, chief among whom was perhaps D. A. Tompkins of Charlotte, preached industrialization with almost religious fervor, and found the capital and the skills and business links on which to build a solid foundation for Southern industry. They determined to relieve the poverty around them by putting into gainful work the families that were idle and hungry on hill and mountain farmsteads, and against many obstacles they achieved that purpose, and converted a whole society to belief in the regular American hope.

That movement, getting under way in the 1880's, has grown with the decades, until today nearly all the Southern States are predominantly industrial economies. The Southern Association of Science and Industry recently pronounced that in 1951 and 1952 the South added one new multi-million dollar industrial plant for every working day.

Industry has by no means as yet reached into every nook and cranny of the South. The mountain country is still gravely deficient in industrial opportunity, and the old plantation belt, stretching across the Coastal Plain of nine of our States, is still a region of large-scale farming and isolation and dependence and low earnings in its working population; and we still have great stretches of pine barrens

and swampy country where almost everyone is poor. But the pattern of hydroelectric power and machine production has conquered our allegiance, and it is only the occasional county in which a jealous group of landlords, working their places with insistent demand for cheap labor, still fights, behind the scenes, to keep industry out.

With this rich achievement in industrialization go some changes in the rules by which society must run. Let me try a list of some of these new rules:

1. Everybody has to be educated. You trust no tool more complicated than the hoe or the plough of the axe to the man who is illiterate. To be useful in modern industry a worker must command genuine literacy, alertness of mind, and responsibility of character. He needs also skill, and often technical skill of a high quality. And we cannot limit knowledge and training of this kind to the white population only. In the peak period of manpower demand in the last World War we began to draw into many Southern industries the reserve of the Negro work force. We will do that increasingly in the future, and meanwhile, in areas where equal industrial opportunity has not yet been achieved, we can ill afford to have the lesser grades of servicing and commercial work done by people lacking in the educational essentials of the industrial discipline. Modernity and efficiency, even simply safety, depend upon our achieving rapidly a condition in which the whole population of the South is trained well into the High School level, at least.

2. Everybody has to have full opportunity to use his highest skills. That means not merely full employment, but a habit pervasive throughout industry and commerce of hiring and firing without discrimination on grounds of race religion, or color, and a habit also of promoting members of the working force of every factory and shop and institution simply on each man's showing of skill and ability. Industry and labor, particularly organized labor, working together can do much to

bring this about in a spirit of freedom and by voluntary methods. So long as we shirk this task, just so long do we lessen our total opportunity to grow in industrial greatness.

3. We have to admit the principle and practice of collective bargaining. Economists never agree on anything, but the great majority, I think, would say that continued prosperity in the industrial society depends upon passing on to the workers the full fruits of increasing productivity, and that trade unionism has proved itself an effective instrument for seeing to it that a full share of industrial earnings goes into the pockets of direct consumers. And there are other reasons, too. A great modern factory is a hive of petty jealousies and real or fancied grievances against managers and foremen and second-hands. I marvel that non-union plants keep going at all when they have no truly democratic machinery for resolving these disputes, and I know that in organized plants a vast amount of unselfish and devoted smoothing-out is done by shop-stewards and committee men, working with the company under an agreed set of rules, and controlled ultimately by democratic elections from the body of the working force. It is to be noted, also, that trade unionism is every man's school of experience in the working of economic democracy. A laboring population in industrial society, unschooled in the orderly handling of economic questions great and small is a population little disciplined to industrial responsibility. It will ultimately be a danger to the orderly conduct of this complicated and interrelated society, in which things cannot be safely and wisely done in haste and ignorance and anger. I need hardly add that trade unionism in a bi-racial society must be inclusive and non-discriminatory.

4. People must have faith in the justice of government. If men have cause to believe that our county commissions and town councils and school boards and legislatures and courts and the Congress itself are partial, unrepresentative, prejudiced,

and given to double-dealing, that lack of faith in civil society will inevitably be reflected in lack of faith in the industrial economy, and a kind of ideological sabotage will infect the whole process of business. I submit that our former practice in the South, in excluding everyone with pigment in his skin from official place in government--local, State and national--is incompatible with faith in the justice of government; is a very school for the chicaneries that corrupt government among white people themselves, and should now be rapidly abandoned. In passing, it should be said also that no single step so easily available to us will do so much good, materially and morally, in binding to us that two-thirds of the world's population who have dark skins, and whose friendship is recognized by all to be the essential goal of a valid American foreign policy.

These are not such difficult rules. They are an essential part of the concept of American democracy. If here and there we hang back, it is because our minds are still ridden by the rules of that old society of men and mules which we abandoned over most of the South long ago. There is another force, also, that holds us back artificially. It so happens that in most of the Southern States the system of apportioning the seats in the legislature gravely over-represents those very parts of the South least advanced in the industrial technology. Wherefore, we permit our laws to be drawn, and too frequently our governors to be elected, by men little touched by the spirit of the New South, and reluctant to recognize these new rules of the game.

Now at the end, may I point out that these new rules of the game are, by other names, the very things that fill our newspapers with impassioned dispute, under the term Civil Rights. What do men ask for as Civil Rights? That all shall receive a fully equal education; that in industry we shall follow fair employment practices; that the right to organize shall be fully respected; and that everyone shall have

full access to the ballot and full opportunity to be elected or appointed to governmental office. These are the same simple rules, rules demanded as the price of successful conduct of the industrial society, which we talked of in other terms just now. I don't care particularly what name the rules go by, but I do urge that we concern ourselves to adopt the rules in practice.

One other rule it is proper to set out. Not a negative rule, about rights, but a positive rule, about courtesy. "We have heard with our ears, and our fathers have told us" of the mighty power of gentleness and kindness and sympathy. We are people believing in religion, and we know in our hearts that its teachings in human conduct should extend to every human being. We know how to do it, as between the races, here in the South. It is submitted that the next test of the quality of our civilization, of the depth of our moral and religious conviction, is in this matter of extending the bounds of our courtesy to include the whole people of the South. When we can boast of achievement in that, we can be sure that the American dream of a free and a just and a wealthy society shall have been achieved in these our own particular States.

I urge finally that your own careers shall give testimony to these new demands of faith in the future of the South.

697 wrote

May 29, 1953

Mrs. Alice N. Spearman
1511 Laurel St.
Columbia, S. C.

Dear Alice:

Here is what I have writ. It may not be at all what you can use.

We never did find in the mails the copy of the South Carolina Clubwoman, so I never had that advantage toward knowing just what your audience was accustomed to.

As to the map. I don't trust myself to draw such a map as you want for the cover. I go ahead with abandon and draw it on a blackboard when I need to, but then I rub it out. To print it thus roughly violates every canon of the geographers and of the social scientists, and I do not authorize you to do or print any map based on what little I know or have said about South Carolina regional geography. To do it right, you have to hire batteries of clerks to work through census after census, and then you have to have field parties to trace it out, and then you will be wrong a little. But at least you can defend what you did. So I am all against a map.

You hurt not my feelings in the least if you reject this manuscript as being off beam. It looks a little queer to me. I think the fundamental fault is that I pontificate about things that I don't know enough detail on.

Howsomever, look it over and maybe you can change it yourself or tell me where to fix it.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

The South Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs

1511 Laurel St.
Columbia, S.C.
April 7, 1953

RECEIVED
APR 9
Southern Regional Council

Dear George Mitchell,

Your ideas sound fine... will look forward to hearing more about them.

Under separate cover I am sending you a recent issue of The S.C. Clubwoman which will give you some idea as to what I have in mind. Since we have not so far succeeded in getting you as a speaker, it has seemed like a good idea to see what might be done through our magazine. You will see that GFWC is stressing AMERICANISM, and that we are trying to further as liberal an interpretation as possible. We are emphasizing "starting in our own backyard", "on our own street", in the community, and in the state.

What would you think of the idea of using a map of S.C. for the cover and have drawn off on it the divisions you wrote me you use in making talks. Then might not you in an article show that in order to work most effectively for progress one is greatly helped by an understanding of the effects of geography, history, etc. on producing present conditions. Human resources properly developed are our greatest asset; yet their development is so often thwarted if not entirely blocked by ideas and attitudes which have grown out of an outgrown past, but which have failed to "change with the times". You know the picture much more scientifically than I do, and surely the inferences you draw will give us clubwomen much food for thought. Wish you'd go so far as to suggest study and action programs based upon the analyses you make. Quite an assignment! Since you have done this type thing in talks though, I hope it isn't asking too much of you.

Now, when would we like the article and the map? It may be that I shall not edit but one or two more issues so for that reason, I hope you can let us have this at your very earliest convenience. Hope to be able to keep a hand on things though, so if for any reason you can't let us have it right away, let us have when you can and we will be able to work it in, I'm sure. Just prefer it when I'm in complete charge.

Had hoped until this a.m. to be able to attend the Southeastern Adult Education Association conference in Knoxville. Will write you about the New Orleans conference called by the National Citizens Council for the Public Schools, if it develops anything significant for our purposes.

Appreciatively,

Alice M. Spearman

Mrs. Eugene H. Spearman

TO WIN THESE RIGHTS. A Personal Story of the C I O in the South. By Lucy Randolph Mason. New York, Harper & Bros., 1952. pp.200, index.

special type

Lucy Mason is the nearest thing to a Beatrice Webb the South has produced. Here is a maiden lady, descended from Virginia's best, the climax of whose career has been helping the labor movement to settle into the South.

It was a queer job she made for herself. Partly she just went where the unions went, taking the shock of each new town's fear of the C I O's disturbance to its accustomed pattern of power. Often she was kinswoman to notables there or nearby; ~~always~~ usually in courtesy she could see the mayor or the Chief of Police or the employer and open local eyes to the meaning and purposes of labor organization. Usually she had to explain the mystery of rights protected in civil law of men and women to organize, to bargain with the boss, to strike, to picket, to distribute leaflets, to be free of police persecution. Many a Southern town hall first heard this gospel from Miss Mason. She was respected by Federal officials who in a pinch would back up her statements that these are valid rights, and some of the oddest turns in her story bring out the surpise of Southern sheriffs when she proved her word.

use

She's a methodical lady, with a habit of making notes and keeping files. Sixteen years of ~~good~~ records during the unfolding of industrial unionism in the queer economy of the South pay out their gold in this small book. They were action years, when unions first pushed into steel and automobiles and textiles and meat-packing and woodworking and the garment trades and the rubber industry, and but for Lucy's green cabinets the tales of what happened and the names and personalities of the people who unselfconsciously played their pioneer parts would never have seen print.

cut out "good"

Miss Mason put all her urging into bringing to plain people the right to have their voice respected. White or Negro, she knew no difference. And at the end of her book she ventures some helpful paragraphs on the sociological process (that she does not call it!) by which power comes into the hands of those who have never had it.

It is not a history of the Southern labor movement; it only covers the cutting edge of the movement that has had a C I O link. But every Southern historian and student will find it a case-book to illustrate the difficult task of labor in the South.

George Sinclair Mitchell

Atlanta

CYPRESS 5065

CIO

Organizing Committee

40 PRYOR STREET, S. W.
ATLANTA 3, GA.

JOHN V. RIFFE
NATIONAL DIRECTOR

10

ORAL L. GARRISON
SECRETARY-TREASURER

January 6, 1953

Dear George:

Your review is the best resume of the facts any one has made up yet - thanks for showing it to me. And Iam glad I have a friend who writes so well and uses the talent so unselfishly. I look forward to it in print.

Herewith it returns to you.

Faithfully yours.

I am covered in letters, etc., - moral is don't write a book, as you know.

Yours,

Lucy

~~44~~
69 N

JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION

A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE PROBLEMS
INCIDENT TO THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES

BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

June 9, 1953

RECEIVED
JUN 12
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Receipt is acknowledged of your article for the summer 1953 Yearbook, which you very kindly prepared.

When galley proof is ready, a copy will be sent to you for whatever minor corrections may be necessary.

Sincerely yours,

Chas. H. Thompson

Chas. H. Thompson
Editor

MONEY INCOME OF NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES

George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Anna Holden, Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council

The decade since the publication of the Census of 1940 has brought a subtle change in America's attitude toward its Negro population. People think and talk less about a "Negro problem" and begin to see in Negro Americans fellow-citizens in our common economic and political advance; a resource in our need for additional manpower and brainpower; in short, simply another of the many streams of in-migration from which our population is built.

This change reflects and is reflected in a substantial growth in the relative position of Negro income. There is a surviving difference, here and there still monumental, between white and Negro income. But on the figures of 1950 we can begin to see a time when the gap shall be closed.

Definitions and Sources

Any picture just now of present Negro income must be based mainly upon preliminary 1950 Census releases. Income is thus defined in terms of the 1950 Census concept of income: money received, less losses, from wages, salaries, fees, self-employment, pensions and other governmental assistance, as well as income from investments or from persons who are not members of the same household. Income "in kind," such as food produced and consumed

in the home, or free living quarters, is not considered money income.[1] Rural incomes, for this reason, suggest a much lower level of living than actually exists.

Emphasis is placed on family income, or the combined money resources of all members of the family unit. Where family income data was not available, personal income data was substituted.

Material from the National Resources Committee's study Consumer Income In the United States. Their Distribution in 1935-36 is used in working out trends in Negro income in the past fifteen years. Though only four states (Georgia, Mississippi, North and South Carolina) were sampled for the NRC study, it is the best source of comparable material from the 1930's.[2]

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[1]Income, as fully defined in the 1950 Census, is the sum of money received, less losses, from the following sources: wages or salary; net income (or loss) from the operation of a farm, ranch, business, or profession; net income (or loss) from rents, or receipts from roomers or boarders; royalties; interest, dividends, periodic income from estates and trust funds; pensions; veterans' payments, armed-forces allotments for dependents, and other governmental payments or assistance; and other income such as contributions for support from persons who are not members of the household, alimony, and periodic receipts from insurance policies or annuities. The figures in reports used for this analysis represent the amount of income received before deductions for personal income taxes, social security, bond purchases, union dues, etc.

Receipts from the following sources were not included as income in the 1950 Census: money received from the sale of property, unless the recipient was engaged in the business of selling such property; the value of income "in kind" such as food produced and consumed in the home, free living quarters; withdrawals of bank deposits; money borrowed; tax refunds; gifts; and lump-sum inheritance or insurance payments. U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1950. Vol. II, Characteristics of the Population, P-B Series. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1952, xiv.

[2]The first U. S. Census to include data on income was the 1940 Census. Published family income data by race in that Census appears only in a regional summary for sixteen Southern states and for cities of one million or more population. Changes in the Census definition of both income and family further complicate the comparability of 1940 and 1950 data until final reports of the 1950 census, with adjustments for the changes in definition, are released.

In comparing the NRC study of four Southern states in 1935-36 with the 1940 Census summary of sixteen Southern states we find urban Negro income somewhat higher in the 1940 census data and rural farm Negro income somewhat lower than reported in the 1935-36 study.

THE NEGRO INCOME PATTERN IN THE US

Low Income Prevails

Despite areas of progress, the overall picture of contemporary Negro income in the United States is one of relatively low income. The 1950 Census shows:

Average family income relatively low. Median family income of all Negro families in the U. S. in 1949 was $1,650 or 51% of median white family income. At that time median white family income was $3,232.

Many families at subsistence level. Almost one-fifth of all Negro families in the country received a cash income totaling less than $500 a year in 1949. Roughly one-twelth of all white families were in similar circumstances.

Large proportion of families with minimum incomes. One out of every three Negro families in the U. S. reported a total cash income of $1,000 or less in 1949. Just one out of every eight white families were in the $1,000 a year or less bracket in 1949.

Few families at comfort or luxury levels. In 1949 ten per cent of all Negro families had a total money income of $3,000 or above. Only four per cent had money resources amounting to $5,000 or more. In contrast, 44% of all white families had incomes of $3,000 or above in 1949. Twenty-one per cent of all white families reported their total incomes as $5,000 or above.

Drawing a division line between "high," "moderate" and "low" incomes is, of course, an arbitrary proceedure. In 1949 a committee of the Eighty-First Congress, the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, conducting a special investigation of low income families and economic stability, considered the following incomes sufficiently low to be the concern of Congress--$2,000 a year or less income for city families and $1,000 a year or less cash income for farm families.[3]

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[3] U. S. Congress, Eighty-First, Second Session, Joint Committee on the Economic Report, Low Income Families and Economic Stability. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1950, p. 2

Table 1

Income of White and Negro[1] Families in the United States in 1949, Urban and Rural. Percentage Distribution.

Income Level	All Families		Urban & Rural Non-farm Families		Rural Farm Families	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
Under $500	7.6	18.2	6.6	14.4	14.0	35.3
$500 - $999	5.7	18.4	4.4	15.3	13.8	32.0
$1000 - $1499	6.5	15.8	5.4	15.9	12.6	15.5
$1500 - $1999	7.0	12.6	6.3	13.7	10.9	7.5
$2000 - $2499	9.0	11.9	8.8	13.5	10.5	4.4
$2500 - $2999	9.2	7.0	9.4	8.1	8.1	1.9
$3000 - $3499	11.4	6.2	12.1	7.5	7.4	0.7
$3500 - $3999	9.3	3.0	10.0	3.6	4.9	0.3
$4000 - $4499	7.7	2.1	8.2	2.5	4.3	0.3
$4500 - $4999	5.3	1.0	5.8	1.2	2.3	0.2
$5000 - $5999	8.4	1.8	9.3	2.1	3.6	0.7
$6000 - $6999	4.6	1.0	4.9	1.1	2.5	0.5
$7000 - $9999	5.1	0.8	5.5	0.8	2.9	0.5
$10000 and Over	3.2	0.2	3.3	0.2	2.2	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

[1]Negro data is actually nonwhite data

SOURCE: Based on U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1950, Preliminary Reports, "Employment and Income in the U. S., By Regions, 1950," (Series PC-7, April 11, 1951), Table 9

How many Negro families came within the Congressional low income definition in 1949?

Table 1 shows the per cent of white and Negro families at various income levels in 1949. Adding the percentage of Negro families at the lowest levels we find that 59%, or six out of each ten Negro families in the U. S. living in urban areas fell into the Congressional committee's conception of low income families. Only 23% or a little less than two out of ten white families living in cities throughout the country had incomes of $2,000 or less in 1949.

Using $1,000 or less cash income a year as the dividing line for low income farm families, 67% or nearly seven out of every ten Negro farm families were low income families in 1949. In comparison, just 29% or three out of every ten white farm families fell below the $1,000 a year or less income mark.

Farm and Nonfarm Income

Table 1 also clearly outlines the discrepancy between Negro farm and nonfarm income. In all categories of Negro income--urban, rural nonfarm, rural farm--the lower the income level the larger the proportion of Negro families. But the concentration of Negro families in the very lowest income levels is most pronounced in rural farm income.

Keeping in mind that farm families raise food for home consumption that is not considered money income, we see that thirty-five per cent of all Negro farm families had incomes of $500 or less in 1949. Adding the percentages of Negro farm families at the low income levels shows us further that 67% had incomes of $1,000 or less; 83%, $1,500 or less; 90%, $2,000 or less.

While Negro farm income ranks below all other categories of white and Negro income, it is encouraging to note that Negro income in urban areas compares somewhat more favorably with white income. Comparison of median farm and nonfarm income of white and Negro families in the U. S. in 1949 illustrates this point:

	Median Income		Negro Income as
	White	Negro	Per Cent of White
Urban families.....	$3,619	$2,084	58%
Rural nonfarm families....	$2,851	$1,240	44%
Rural farm families.....	$1,757	$ 691	39%

Arranging these averages in descending order we see even more plainly the position of the urban Negro family in the structure of income distribution in the United States.

Highest incomes	-	Urban white families
Next highest	-	Rural nonfarm white families
Next highest	-	Urban Negro families
Next highest	-	Rural farm white families
Next highest	-	Rural nonfarm Negro families
Lowest incomes	-	Rural farm Negro families

On a nation-wide basis the urban Negro family occupies a middle position between nonfarm white families and white farm and rural Negro families. Disadvantaged in terms of higher white incomes, the urban Negro family enjoys higher incomes than both rural farm whites and Negro families.

Workers Per Family and Income

Increased Negro income is usually achieved through the combined efforts of several wage workers per family. A sample survey conducted by the Bureau of the Census in 1948 indicated that 52% of all Negro families with male heads had more than one wage worker. Thirty-nine per cent of the white families with male heads surveyed had two or more workers at that time. The proportion of Negro families with more than one wage earner was greater than

the proportion of white families with multiple workers at all income levels and increased as Negro income increased. Three out of every four Negro families included in the 1948 sample study making $3,000 or more a year had two or more workers. Nearly one out of every three Negro families in the $3,000 a year or more category had three or more persons working. In contrast, half of the white families included had two or more workers. Only one out of ten white families making $3,000 a year or more had three or more wage earners.[4]

REGIONAL INCOME PATTERNS

The South

With 61% of the U. S. Negro population still living in the thirteen Southern states, Negro income trends in the South are of particular importance and interest.

Chart 1 and the table accompanying outline the distribution of incomes of white and Negro families and unrelated individuals in the thirteen Southern states in 1949. The dotted line overlying the shaded areas in Chart 1 indicates the extent to which the South departs from the national income distribution of families and unrelated individuals.

Comparing Southern Negro family income with the income of all Negro families in the U. S. we find a substantial disparity:

More Negro families at the subsistence level. Three out of every ten Negro families in the South had atotal income of $500 or less in 1949. In the nation as a whole, two out of every ten Negro families had total money resources of $500 or less in 1949.

Larger number of both urban and farm families in low income group. Using the rule-of-thumb for defining low income families set by the

[4] Ibid. p. 68

the Congressional committee mentioned earlier, 74% of all Negro families in Southern cities are low income families (below $2,000 annual cash income). Ninety-two per cent of Negro farm families were low income families in 1949, having a total cash income of $1,000 or less. For the total U. S., 59% of all urban Negro families were low income families in 1949. Sixty-seven per cent of all farm families throughout the country fell into the Congressional low income category.

Fewer families at comfort or luxury levels. Only six per cent of Southern Negro families had a total cash income of $3,000 a year or more in 1949. One per cent had a total cash income of $5,000 or more a year. The figure for all U. S. Negro families above $3,000 in 1949 was ten per cent; above $5,000, four per cent.

Median income figures for the Southern states point up the gap between farm and nonfarm income in the South. In North Carolina, Texas and Virginia, urban Negro family income was as high as $1,314, $1,366 and $1,489 in 1949. In six other Southern states--Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana and Tennessee--median Negro family income in urban areas in 1949 was $1,200 or slightly more. Only in Arkansas and Mississippi did urban Negro family income medians fall as low as $920 and $984.

In 1949 rural farm Negro family income medians ranged from $446 and $449 in Alabama and Mississippi to $814 in Florida and $898 in Virginia. Georgia, Arkansas and Oklahoma were among the Southern states with the lowest Negro farm income, having median Negro farm family incomes of $479, $576 and $580 for the year 1949. In Louisiana, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee and Texas, Negro farm faxmily income medians were between $700 and $800 in 1949.

Other Regions

1950 Census figures on personal income indicate the extent to which migration has improved the economic well-being of the American Negro.

Negro income comes closest to approximating white income in the east north central states. In Michigan, for example, the average Negro worker's income was 89% of the average white worker's in 1949. Average Negro income in both Indiana and Illinois was equal to 76% of white income. In Wisconsin, 1949 Negro income was 75% of white income. In Ohio, 71%.

In several of the midwestern states adjoining the east north central states, average Negro income is also relatively high in relation to white income. In Nebraska, Iowa and Kansas, ave age Negro personal income ranged from 68 to 72% of average white income in 1949. On the Pacific coast, Negro incomes ranged from 66 to 72% of white incomes at that time.

In dollars and cents, Negro personal income was also highest in 1949 in the east north central region, varying from $2,175 a year in Michigan to $1,507 a year in Wisconsin. It was next highest in severalindustralized states in the north east, ranging from $1,594 a year in Connecticut to $1,517 a year in Massachusetts. Inthe Pacific coastal states average income of Negro workers varied from $1,612 a year in California to $1,300 in Oregon.

Exclusive of the South, the lowest income range for Negroes with income is found in the western mountain states. There Negro average income was as low as $583 a year in North Dakota, $754 a year in Montana, $929 in Idaho. Exceptions to the low income averages in the mountain states were found in Utah, Colorado and Nevada, where income was comparable to the higher averages in California and the state of Washington.

Actually, once outside the South, there seems to be little uniformity of Negro income on a regional basis. With the exception of the east north

central states (Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin) and the Pacific-southwest states (Washington, Oregon, California, Nevada, Utah) and clusterings of states such as Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania in the north east, Nebraska, Iowa and Kansas in the midwest, the states generally grouped together as regions show little homogenity in terms of average Negro income.

Lack of uniformity within regional lines is true for both farm and nonfarm incomes, though urban income averages within the various "regions" probably show more similarity than rural incomes. By way of illustration, the states with the highest Negro farm income averages in 1949 were Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Iowa, Colorado, Nevada and California. Next to them were the states with the lowest averages: Maine, Rhode Island, Arizona, and New Mexico. Negro farm income was much lower than white farm income in these states.

PROGRESS AND PROBLEMS

Gains since 1935

Negro income figures of ten and fifteen years ago show that recent years have been times of economic progress for the urban, if not the rural Negro family.

Income increases among Negroes in the north central states point up the growth of urban Negro income since the mid-thirties. According to a study of consumer income by the National Resources Committee, Negro family income in north central cities averaged $1095 a year in 1935-36.[5] By 1949 the average personal income of Negro workers in Michigan's cities had reached $2,189 a year. Other north central states experienced similar

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5 [5]National Resources Committee, Consumer Income in the United States. Their Distribution in 1935-36. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1938.

increases. In Illinois and Ohio, ave age personal income for urban Negro workers was $1,817 and $1,613 for the year 1949.

Urban Negroes in the South shared in the marked increases in nonfarm income characteristic of the rest of the country.

The same National Resources Committee study found that one-half of all Negro families in Southern cities had incomes of $500 a year or less in 1935-36, and that nine-tenths were living on money incomes of $1,000 a year or less. The 1950 census indicated that by 1949 the proportion of urban Negro families with extremely low incomes had been cut down considerably. One-fifth of Negro urban families in the South had incomes of $500 a year or less in 1949. The proportion of urban Negro families with total money resources of $1,000 a year or less had dropped from ninety to forty per cent by 1949.

Median family income figures also reflect the economic progress of the Southern urban Negro since 1935. Negro families in cities of the South averaged a total money income of $525 a year in 1935-36. In 1949 median income in most cities of Southern states was at least twice as high as the overall regional figure for 1935-36. In others, more than twice as high. As mentioned earlier, median income for urban Negro families in the South in 1949 ranged from $920 to $1,489.

Little Change in Rural Income

The continuing low income of farm families, especially Negro farm families in the South, stands in contrast to the income gains of urban Negroes. Turning again to the National Resources Committee study, we find that slightly more than half of all Negro farm families in the South had a total cash inco e of $500 a year or less in 1935-36. By 1949 approximately the same proportion--44%--were at the $500 a year or less level. The

proportion of Negro farm families with incomes of $1,000 a year or less decreased from nine out of ten, to seven out of ten, from 1935-36 to 1949.

LOW INCOME FAMILIES AND AMERICAN SOCIETY

The impact of large numbers of low income families upon American society should not be underestimated.

Low Income and the Family

Individual families attempting to survive for a year on the price of an automatic Bendix washer or a third-hand car suffer innumerable deprivations in a society where nearly everything must be bought or rented. The list of family inadequacies attendant low income is all too familiar to public welfare agencies, social workers and citizens of conscience: substandard housing in run-down, overcrowded neighborhoods; too many people for living space, with resulting health hazards; family tensions; lowered vitality, limited work capacity and health problems traceable to insufficient food; inadequate clothing, which may mean children stay away from school; mothers working outside the home, often without provision for proper supervision of children at home; inability to buy or repair household equipment, which in turn, increases family labor; postponement of needed medical and dental care; financial impossibility of caring for aged or sick members of the family. Not to mention inability to afford recreational and cultural opportunities, and most important of all, the inability of members of low income families to stay in school and receive training that would aid in climbing out of the low income group.

The situation of the low income Negro farm family is undoubtedly one of the most limited of all low income families. Hardly able to raise sufficient foodstuff to sustain life, the rural Negro at the low income level

can purchase only the barest minimum of clothing and furniture. Decent housing, medical services and other middle class essentials are out of the question.

Something of the starkness and difficulty of the lives of rural farm Negroes is depicted in the several case descriptions Mr. Ernest Neal, Director of the Rural Life Council, Tuskegee Institute, presented to the Congressional committee on low income families in 1949. Here is one description of a Negro owner of a small farm. His family is perhaps better off than many of the farm families in his area:

> Mr. G is in the same house that his father lived in. The old house with the "dog run" separating the two rooms and the "lean to" kitchen on the back is typical of the architecture in the Deep South fifty years ago. Mr. G is 48. He has three grown children away from home in Cleveland, and three at home ranging from six years of age to sixteen. They all attend the consolidated school in the community. Mr. G's mother, who is about 85 years old, lives with him. His wife, a sickly woman of 40, carries on the duties of a farmer's wife in spite of being cripple and not very well otherwise.
>
> Mr. G has no source of income but what he makes off his thirty-acre farm. His source of cash is from his seven acres of cotton that yield 150 pounds of lent cotton to the acre, and the two or three calves he sells each year. The total cash income for this family averages $600 per year. . . . This family has enough to eat, but there is never enough cash to purchase fertilizer and seed needed to operate the farm or to purchase adequte clothing or household furnishings for the family's needs.[6]

As Mr. Neal commented on a similar rural farm Negro family whose total cash income did not exceed $250 a year, "The only thing about the household that connects it with 1949 is a battery radio in the front bedroom on a marble top dresser."[7]

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[6]U. S. Congress, Eighty-First, First Session, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Low Income Families of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1950, pp. 230-231

[7]Ibid, p. 230

Societal Costs

The cost of many low income families to American society can be measured in two ways: first, in terms of the publicly supported programs which help meet family inadequacies, and second, in terms of the negative effect of low income families on our economy.

Annual federal, state and county appropriations for welfare programs alone run into the expenditure of billions of dollars. Additional aid to low income families in the form of hospital and clinic care, public housing, juvenile courts and training schools means further demands on public funds. Low income families are not the only families served by public agencies and programs, of course. But the need for assistance in meeting family requirements is greater among low income families.

At the same time that public funds are used in an attempt to supplement and rehabilitate low income families, these families, because they are low income families, are able to contribute little to the economic life of society in return. They buy only minimum food, clothing, household equipment and furniture. Increased income would mean increased consumption of goods and services. If Negro median income in the United States were as high as white median income in 1949, for example, an additional $5,117,770,000 would have flowed into our economy. In the South alone, over three billion dollars in purchasing power would have resulted from equal white and Negro family income in 1949.

White and Negro low income families share a common background of limitations that make it difficult to increase earning power. Lack of education and training mean starting out at the lowest paying jobs or part-time, irregular work. Insufficient meals, health problems and overcrowded housing impair alertness and attentiveness at work. In fact, the qualities that job

promotion and higher salaries are based on--special skills, dependability, responsibility and punctuality--develop only with difficulty in the environment of low income families.

Added to environmental hindrances shared with white low income workers, the Negro worker has several special handicaps. Employment barriers and discrimination in up-grading are widely discussed limitations to the Negro's economic advance. Less frequently mentioned, but important, is the tradition of dependency, inferior status and fear that overshadows the Negro migrant to better jobs.

Yet despite all these handicaps, Negro earning power goes steadily up, a tribute to a people's native capacity in advancing American economy.

File w.
GSM. wrote it.

THE LAST TEN YEARS IN SOUTHERN PROGRESS

by

George S. Mitchell
Fisk University
July 9, 1953

The topic I am here to discuss is "The Last Ten Years in Southern Progress." It has been an amazing ten years, full of achievement and rich in trends which can reasonably be projected on into a period ahead. I must admit that my heart is in the next ten years, and I concern myself with history for what, like an economist reading a chart, we can draw from it in the way of prediction about the period just ahead.

I find ten wiggley lines to draw. We can call them citizenship, organization, industrialization, land tenure, legal segregation, education, housing, health, employment, and general recognition. The curve for nearly all these lines is steeply up.

On citizenship, 1940 found the thirteen Southern States with a registered Negro vote that did not exceed 250,000. Today's figure is somewhere around 1,100,000. That's an increase of 440%. It is still true that Negroes over the South vote in proportion to population only about half as well as white people, but the increase that has been achieved already is enough to have turned the tide in most of our States away from the old demagogic appeal to race prejudice as the election issue. There are wide areas in the South in which the Negro vote is still negligible and in which the principal effort of politics is to keep it so. But such counties dwindle in number, year by year. It has now become the exception, rather than the rule, for people to climb into office in the South by abusing the Negro race. And, as you all know, this new Negro electorate is having remarkable success in putting candidates on to city councils and school boards, in many cases with significant or even preponderant white help.

For a famous example, Mr. Rufus Clement was lately elected to the city school board in Atlanta, by a vote of about 8,000 Negro supporters and 12,000 whites. He carried every ward in the city except two. This new acceptance of Negro citizens is partly a reflection of the general progress of the people of the region, but is probably due in the main to the success of the NAACP in its legal battles to bring about enforcement of constitutional rights.

That brings us to organization. This is a world in which people, generally speaking, get what they organize for. The vigor, courage, and skill of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and its steady advance in membership support from all over the South is one of the most significant features of the recent period. Still, it is true that far lesshas been done in Negro organization than is needed. Those of you who have taken part in community drives for increased membership in the NAACP have been, I fear, uniformly disappointed in finding how difficult it is to get active participation by the great mass of Negro citizens. That leading organization and others which assist in similar ways press their strategy with skill, and increasingly earn the mass support which we hope in the future they will have.

Industry is a great equalizer. And in the last ten years the South has made the transition from a predominantly agricultural to a predominantly industrial society. The Southern Association for Science and Industry is authority for the recent figure that in 1951 and 1952 in the Southern States one new multi-million-dollar industrial plant was opened for every working day.

In any long view, industry requires for itself a set of working rules which are the antithesis of those elaborated for a plantation economy that depended upon heavily disciplined and unthinking labor of men and mules. Industry needs the full drive of the motive of private ambition, and it needs

as its work force people who have had the benefit of good schooling, who, through their own organizations, have achieved self-discipline and democracy in the conduct of their relations with employers.

Our industrial arrangements have until recently been narrowly confined. The old plantation belt has had all too little of this new industry. But the trend now seems to be to scatter outside its old points of concentration in the Piedmont country, the Tennessee Valley, East Texas, and the lower Mississippi Valley. We can hope that industry, in its search for labor resources, will go out to the old agricultural area in which there is still much semi- and under-employment.

Here is another great gain in the last ten years. Between 1940 and 1950 the gainfully employed in Southern agriculture dropped a full million. That means four or five million Southern farm people who have left the farms and gone into factory jobs or commercial work. That thins out our agricultural population by something like a fourth. I can remember being told in agricultural circles ten years ago that if the farm land of the South were divided up, there would be something like nineteen acres per farm family. All the agricultural experts are agreed that to support an American standard of living now, a family needs a farm from four times to ten times that size.

I am sorry to say that America and the South have not put their thought and energy into the task of achieving for the basic farming population of the South a democratic pattern of family farm ownership. White and Negro farm ownership, it is true, are up. Tenancy is down. White farm ownership is up more than Negro farm ownership, by a good deal. The old dependence of sharecroppers is sharply off, and in some Southern States it has almost disappeared. But on

a basic pattern of agricultural democracy we are merely drifting.

The legal institution of segregation cracks all around us. Its foundations are undermined in higher education and in interstate travel. In the fringes of the South it falls into disuse in local transportation and even in the secondary schools. There seems every likelihood that, as a consequence of what the Supreme Court may rule, it will begin to disappear throughout the whole educational system. When the South can become accustomed to nonsegregation in schools and trains and buses, its people can increasingly adjust to that arrangement in other fields.

The advance in formal education is startling. I remember making a rough calculation ten years ago that in the lower South the average white child of, say, twelve or fourteen had had something like five times as much spent on his education as the average Negro child of the same age.

To everyone's observance, this gap closed sharply in the last few years. I agree that even the new tiled and chromium plated separate Negro schools which our Southern cities are fast a building do not provide a truly equal education. But as a matter of comparison, it is certainly true that they are turning out children tolerably equipped in the formal parts of instruction for a place in modern society.

By and large, this transformation has not occurred as yet in the rural parts of the lower South. Excellent consolidated white rural schools have been the rule for many years. We have yet to pay the bill for bringing up the Negro schools in most of our rural areas, and still in many cities, to anything like the white standard.

We lag sadly on housing. I will not burden you with the statistics. What has happened in the cities and towns is that in the last ten years all but a remnant of the white people have escaped the slums. Except for a tiny fringe of the best off Negro families, who have found it possible to build suburban homes and plant flowers and cut the grass with power mowers, (and except for slum-clearance projects) the Negro population of the South still lives in wretched slum shacks. In our own city of Nashville in 1950 eighty-two per cent of the Negro homes had no private toilet or bath, and seventy per cent of the Negro homes met the census definition of "dilapidated."

Some improvement begins to show. The New Deal showed the way with some slum clearance. A number of Southern cities and towns are enforcing their ordinances requiring the bringing up of substandard housing, but the standards are low, and enforcement is slow. Private enterprise begins to sprinkle the Negro slums with sounder buildings and modern plumbing, but with hopelessly crowded rooms. There are even some examples of excellent private housing developments for Negro families with better incomes. We cannot claim to be truly civilized people so long as the great bulk of our Negro population lives in the wretched shotgun shacks which stretch, block after block, across the cities and towns of the South.

One bright fact should be mentioned. Rural housing for everybody has vastly improved since 1940. The thinning of the farm population has been part of it. Rural electrification has made a great contribution. I think the students of rural housing are agreed that the improvement in Southern rural housing has been not less than a hundred per cent.

On employment, the line is good, but not good enough. This has been a decade of full employment. Negroes in the South have found their way in great

numbers into industrial and trade jobs. But the old barriers against up-grading of Negroes have fallen only in a few spots and there to only a limited degree. Education and prosperity are a part of the answer. More trade union organization will have a good deal to do with the ultimate answer. Enforcement of fair employment practices in the government and in the work done on contract with the government can be very helpful. And the ultimate answer is doubtless some form of general fair employment practices legislation.

Finally, there is the broader field of general public and private recognition of the Negro as a participant in the life of the region. I need not instance details. We are aware of them on every hand. Ten years ago those of us who worked at race relations cherished every incident in which a white church served a supper to mixed Negro and white delegates to a meeting. If a Southern university football team played a team with a Negro halfback, the word went around with the speed of a cherished bit of gossip. When Mr. and Mrs. so and so had Mr. so and so home to dinner, that was a notable matter. If the school board permitted a Negro school official to sit with it as a consultant, we all made careful note. Southern students of the labor movement knew with exactness which locals had admitted how many Negro members. Lists were made of courageous newspapers which had dared a courtesy title for a Negro in the news.

In these days we have all lost count. Here, I think, the example of the armed forces has had a powerful play. So also has Negro participation in professional sports. These loosenings of the old lines affect as yet only the upper fringe of the Negro population, but they are certainly significant, and they would not occur if the masses of the white people of the South retained in full the prejudices of a dozen years ago.

These are the main trends on my chart. They all point upward and, given a reasonable degree of prosperity, it is safe to say that they will continue to pull up, and in mounting steepness. But I would ~~end~~ enter on a note of caution.

Much of this progress has been over the heads of two-thirds of the Negro people of the South. They still live dependent lives in Southern agriculture. They still live slum lives in Southern cities. They are still denied and forbidden in a thousand ways normal participation in American life. Culture and personal character development remain at a level we can, none of us, see with pride. Amusement and recreation are crude. Life is hot, crowded, dirty, confined. Mental development of the whole people is warped and twisted by prejudice and exclusion. Your mass Negro population in our Southern States is made up of men and women who do not vote, who do not pay dues to organizations for their own betterment, and who suffer stolidly or sullenly the slights and intimidations of the white man's world. Our boasted American democracy hardly reaches them at all. Our State and city governments are conducted by and for groups of which they are not a part. I think we can congratulate ourselves that the over-riding rules of American constitutional society of freedom and equality have appeared at the upper edges of the ~~mass~~ Southern Negro population. But surely the job of the next ten years is to make these rules apply all the way down.

Perhaps we can draw some conclusions as to the most fruitful places to put our efforts in the coming few years. Anybody's choice is good, and everybody's own choice will be made. Here are mine:

1. Agricultural reorganization. I have said already that the trend is generally in the right direction. The population on the land of the South is thinning out. Rural amenities are better. Country people have tolerable homes

and conveniences and farm-to-market roads. I see many new or newly painted rural churches. A lot has been happening lately. In matters of land tenure it is too soon as yet to know, really, what the trend is. But I think it is clear that in most of the old plantation country in which the Negro rural population is heaviest, we are not moving toward independent family-operated farms. On the contrary, we are going toward still larger land holding in the hands of white owners, with a greatly reduced population of farm laborers, white and Negro. The original sin in Southern life is our pattern of large land ownership with a basic rural population dependent on big owners. I do not see that the forces of the market are curing this.

Much effort went in the New Deal days into a direct program of making land owners out of selected farm tenants. So far as it has gone, the program has been a success, but in the present situation the direct government effort to convert tenants into owners is hardly operable. We who worked with this program in the government ten years ago were bitterly criticized for daring to invest eight, ten, or twelve thousand dollars in the future of a hitherto non-landowning family. Today the capital cost of establishing a family as owners, with enough land and machinery to make success probable, is double or triple the old figures. And it does not seem probable that the government in present circumstances will lift into land ownership any significant number of tenant farmers at a price of twenty or thirty thousand dollars per family. I think the money would be repaid, but the matter of getting the appropriations is defeating.

So we are left with the prospect of a few fortunate or particularly industrious tenant families climbing slowly into ownership, while the great bulk leave the land or carry along at a low level of living as they are, or lose

their leases and become farm laborers. Farm labor on dairy and cattle and specialty farms demands a much higher degree of skill and knowledge today than did cotton labor, and there is always the possibility that Southern agricultural workers could combine into some effective organization which would tend to balance their power against that of farm owners. But this is a difficult course, long and full of strife, and one for which the world affords few examples of success.

One other proposal should be made. No other civilized Western country permits its farm land to be rented out on annual unwritten leasing bargaining. That is still the habit all over the South. We adopted it, understandably, at a time when it was imperative to get land and people back into production on any terms, and held it through decades in which the work population on the land was blankly illiterate, with little benefit from a written lease had one been offered and signed. But now we have a literate farm population which could read and value a three or five-year written lease. The industrial worker finds his charter of liberty in a written contract covering the terms of his employment. The terms are different, but the analogy has some value for agriculture. Farm tenants ought also to have a written contract giving them greater security on the land and tempting out enterprise and better husbandry by clauses providing compensation for unexhaustive improvements. Here and there in the South a few landlords have experimented with such leases. It seems to me one of the larger concerns of the forces of agricultural improvement in the coming decades should be to obtain voluntary adoption across the South of a system of written farm leases.

There is the reserve measure of enacting, State by State, a statutory lease which the courts would be required to deem to be the terms upon which land was rented in the absence of a written contract in other terms. I do not see any early likelihood of State legislation in this direction, and my lawyer friends tell me that so many farmers would contract out that the proposal is of little value. Still, I raise the hope that if the industrially employed in the cities would add their effort to some spontaneous movement among tenant farmers themselves in this direction, the basis would be laid for a cooperation in political affairs which could be far-reaching in the consequences it would effect in State and local government. In any case, our pattern of dependence on the land infects still the whole body politic in the South, and we do not plan realistically for democracy unless we contrive, in the face of all our history, a basically democratic pattern of farm land tenure.

2. The second one is housing. Perhaps I have said enough already to show us what we have to do. It is not American, it is something sub-American, to have a third of our population in the South living as the Negro third does. I have no concern as to whether the cure shall come by private enterprise or by public housing. I want houses and decent ones, and hundreds and hundreds of thousands of them. The South can hold up its head as a fully participating part of Western civilization when this sore of our Negro slums is healed.

3. Third is employment. Full employment is not enough. It must be full employment at everyone's highest skill. I think here the most fruitful channel for working is through and with the unions. Any honest union is a little FEPC all to itself, negotiating out inequities of the old arrangement, quietly, by agreement, and with public good will. Legislation ought not to be refused. It could help. But the more than can be done by the voluntary efforts of employers and working people together, the better off we are.

4. Our Southern Regional Council a couple of years ago raised a slogan "Representation for All." We said that in the critical issues coming before the South now, the American way to get democratic agreement is to include on all the official bodies which will take the decisions trustworthy representatives of the affected minority interests. Carry that along a bit, and it means simply that it must become a practice, stretching right across the South, for Negro citizens to be on school boards and welfare boards and library boards and prison boards and city councils and in State legislatures. And I would add that they must have a fair share of general administrative employment also. There is no other way to induce in the Negro community confidence that its interests are being honestly and fairly looked after. If those who make decisions are all of one color, few of the other color will believe that justice is being done. Many in this room could give instances of the way in which representation of the Negro population on city councils or school boards has already paved the way for agreement in good faith. It has been proven already that this representation is workable within the South today. One of our major tasks must be to expand it rapidly in the years ahead. That's partly a matter of stepping up voting participation by the whole population of the South. It is partly also, I suggest, a matter of offering to the various disadvantaged groups in the region far-reaching programs for which they will care to vote and vote together.

5. Lastly, there is again this matter of culture. It is a difficult field in which to speak at all. It is a difficult field in which to describe measures of improvement. One very hopeful thing can be said. Those Negro families who have come to the surface of Southern society have certainly set an example of dignity, of balance, of individual cultural achievement which is supremely fine.

In the normal way of things, that example should be emulated by the whole Negro population. Much can be done with the schools and colleges. Even more, I suppose, will be done if the barriers of segregation come down and greatly increased interchange is afforded between the white and Negro population. It will not be a one-way street. It is not merely a matter of transferring to the Negro population that cultural level thus far reached by the mass of the white population. Much will come back the other way. Much will be done by opening ambition through broadened economic opportunity. The churches have an abundant part to play. So also have professional and occupational associations of all kinds. So also has purely private friendship. Already, I, as an individual Southern white man, find that my terms of speech, my own cherished and perhaps artificial Southernisms are outside the ken, or distasteful to the graduating classes of Negro colleges and high schools. That presages a time when good grammar, good diction, the keenly reasonable in argument, tolerance, and gentlemanliness of mind will, by a mighty educational effort, have carried through to the whole Negro population in the South. I think this is ~~the~~ a task which all of us, white and Negro alike, too often overlook. In its solution, bound up as it will be with all these economic and educational and political changes, lies the hope of a South which will have overcome prejudice and which will share fully in the world's hardest task of making democracy come true.

VITAL SPEECHES OF THE DAY

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THE BEST THOUGHT OF THE BEST MINDS ON CURRENT NATIONAL QUESTIONS

national policy and, ultimately, through the United Nations, upon world polity more significant than any revolutionary scientific discovery of our time, because it offers to the employer an incentive under government-approved plans to pay over to his workers a part of that which the government heretofore took away as taxes and expended for other than governmental functions.

V

Finally, there is nothing new in the principles involved; they represent but a return to the precepts upon which this nation was founded—a fact clearly set forth by Mr. Vale in these trenchant words: "Liberty, Equality and Justice are the highest virtures of man; and, like the kingdom of God are within him as eternal aspirations rooted to his nature and in the higher law of nature as discerned by him. Individual freedom and equality of opportunity are self-seeking, but justice gives stability to order and to another his due; and so, is the true foundation of society and principle of humanity, being compensatory and not acquisitive.

The current demand for tax reform is predicated less upon the magnitude of the burdens than upon the manifest injustices of the code; prompt eradication of these injustices will release the dynamism of creative American capitalism and, ultimately, destroy Marxism.

The Rules of Industrial Society

FUTURE OF THE SOUTH

By DR. GEORGE S. MITCHELL, *Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia*

Delivered at Belmont Abbey College Commencement, Belmont, North Carolina, May 28, 1953

IN MATERIAL things our deepest faith in America is that we can permanently keep, and enlarge, both individual freedom and rewarding technology. When we say that we cherish a free, competitive economy, and wish always to minimize governmental controls, we express this American faith. The American people stand before the world as defenders of this hope, and our civilization will be judged by whether we can, over the long pull, continue to make industrial society work within a framework of free institutions.

We in the South have special cause to know the full meaning of this American purpose. For it is only a century ago since our own Southern Statesmen defended another principle. They based their economy on plantation agriculture, and said that the labor of men and of mules, harnessed to the wishes of a landed governing class, could produce staple crops the money yields from which would pay for food for the men, hay and grain for the mules, and such a trickle of surplus earnings as would support the culture of a small, directing group. Nobody supposed that this ante-bellum Southern economy would ever yield culture and education and economic and political freedom for the masses of the Southern people; that was not the dream. That earlier dream took comfort from the text, "the poor ye have always with ye," and asked only that a society so grounded in physical toil and agricultural production should be left alone, to make what success it could in the world. Industry was tried in scattered spots, but it found a slave society a poor environment, and remained exceptional and suspicioned.

Meanwhile, the rest of America went forward with all the technology it could muster. A thriving industrial society was built in New England, and industry followed early upon the heels of the settlers of the Middle West. The dream here was the true American dream; that man, by advantaging himself of the wonders of mechanical power and machine production, could offer to every citizen reasonable earnings, stability and some comfort in his home, education for his children, and full participation in the processes of government.

These two principles for the conduct of society came to the clash in 1861-65, and the stronger system won. And we in the South, after some years of quandary, decided that we would play our part in the general American effort, and would adopt as rapidly as we could the principle of mechanical power and the new technology. We are here today within the very area which was the heart of this resolve. A generation of far-seeing Carolinians, chief among whom was perhaps D. A. Tompkins of Charlotte, preached industrialization with almost religious fervor, and found the capital and the skills and business links on which to build a solid foundation for Southern industry. They determined to relieve the poverty around them by putting into gainful work the families that were idle and hungry on hill and mountain farmsteads, and against many obstacles they achieved that purpose, and converted a whole society to belief in the regular American hope.

That movement, getting under way in the 1880's, has grown with the decades, until today nearly all the Southern States are predominantly industrial economies. The Southern Association of Science and Industry recently pronounced that in 1951 and 1952 the South added one new multi-million dollar industrial plant for every working day.

Industry has by no means as yet reached into every nook and crany of the South. The mountain country is still gravely deficient in industrial opportunity, and the old plantation belt, stretching across the Coastal Plain of nine of our States, is still a region of large-scale farming and isolation and dependence and low earnings in its working population; and we still have great stretches of pine barrens and swampy country where almost everyone is poor. But the pattern of hydro-electric power and machine production has conquered our allegiance, and it is only the occasional county in which a jealous group of landlords, working their places with insistent demand for cheap labor, still fights, behind the scenes, to keep industry out.

With this rich achievement in industrialization go some changes in the rules by which society must run. Let me try a list of some of these new rules:

1. Everybody has to be educated. You trust no tool more complicated than the hoe or the plough or the axe to the man who is illiterate. To be useful in modern industry a worker must command genuine literacy, alertness of mind, and responsibility of character. He needs also skill, and often technical skill of a high quality. And we cannot limit knowledge and training of this kind to the white population only. In the peak period of manpower demand in the last World War we began to draw into many Southern industries the reserve of the Negro work force. We will do that increasingly in the future, and meanwhile, in areas where equal industrial opportunity has not yet been achieved, we can ill afford to have the lesser grades of servicing and commercial work done by people lacking in the educational essentials of the industrial discipline. Modernity and efficiency, even simply safety, depend

upon our achieving rapidly a condition in which the whole population of the South is trained well into the High School level, at least.

2. Everybody has to have full opportunity to use his highest skills. That means not merely full employment, but a habit pervasive throughout industry and commerce of hiring and firing without discrimination on grounds of race, religion, or color, and a habit also of promoting members of the working force of every factory and shop and institution simply on each man's showing of skill and ability. Industry and labor, particularly organized labor, working together can do much to bring this about in a spirit of freedom and by voluntary methods. So long as we shirk this task, just so long do we lessen our total opportunity to grow in industrial greatness.

3. We have to admit the principle and practice or collective bargaining. Economists never agree on anything, but the great majority, I think, would say that continued prosperity in the industrial society depends upon passing on to the workers the full fruits of increasing productivity, and that trade unionism has proved itself an effective instrument for seeing to it that a full share of industrial earnings goes into the pockets of direct consumers. And there are other reasons, too. A great modern factory is a hive of petty jealousies and real or fancied grievances against managers and foremen and second-hands. I marvel that non-union plants keep going at all when they have no truly democratic machinery for resolving these disputes, and I know that in organized plants a vast amount of unselfish and devoted smoothing-out is done by shop-stewards and committee men, working with the company under an agreed set of rules, and controlled ultimately by democratic elections from the body of the working force. It is to be noted, also, that trade unionism is every man's school of experience in the working of economic democracy. A laboring population in industrial society, unschooled in the orderly handling of economic questions great and small is a population little disciplined to industrial responsibility. It will ultimately be a danger to the orderly conduct of this complicated and interrelated society, in which things cannot be safely and wisely done in haste and ignorance and anger. I need hardly add that trade unionism in a bi-racial society must be inclusive and non-discriminatory.

4. People must have faith in the justice of government. If men have cause to believe that our country commissions and town councils and school boards and legislatures and courts and the Congress itself are partial, unrepresentative, prejudiced, and given to double-dealing, that lack of faith in civil society will inevitably be reflected in lack of faith in the industrial economy, and a kind of ideological sabotage will infect the whole process of business. I submit that our former practice in the South, in excluding everyone with pigment in his skin from official place in government—local, State and national—is incompatible with faith in the justice of government; is a very school for the chicaneries that corrupt government among white people themselves, and should now be rapidly abandoned. In passing, it should be said also that no single step so easily available to us will do so much good, materially and morally, in binding to us that two-thirds of the world's population who have dark skins, and whose friendship is recognized by all to be the essential goal of a valid American foreign policy.

These are not such difficult rules. They are an essential part of the concept of American democracy. If here and there we hang back, it is because our minds are still ridden by the rules of that old society of men and mules which we abandoned over most of the South long ago. There is another force, also, that holds us back artificially. It so happens that in most of the Southern States the system of apportioning the seats in the legislature gravely over-represents those very parts of the South least advanced in the industrial technology. Wherefore, we permit our laws to be drawn, and too frequently our governors to be elected, by men little touched by the spirit of the New South, and reluctant to recognize these rules of the game.

Now at the end, may I point out that these new rules of the game are, by other names, the very things that fill our newspapers with impassioned dispute, under the term Civil Rights. What do men ask for as Civil Rights? That all shall receive a fully equal education; that in industry we shall follow fair employment practice; that the right to organize shall be fully respected; and that everyone shall have full access to the ballot and full opportunity to be elected or appointed to governmental office. These are the same simple rules, rules demanded as the price of successful conduct of the industrial society, which we talked of in other terms just now. I don't care particularly what name the rules go by, but I do urge that we concern ourselves to adopt the rules in practice.

One other rule it is proper to set out. Not a negative rule, about rights, but a positive rule, about courtesy. "We have heard with our ears, and our fathers have told us" of the mighty power of gentleness and kindness and sympathy. We are people believing in religion, and we know in our hearts that its teachings in human conduct should extend to every human being. We know how to do it, as between the races, here in the South. It is submitted that the next test of the quality of our civilization, of the depth of our moral and religious conviction, is in this matter of extending the bounds of our courtesy to include the whole people of the South. When we can boast of achievement in that, we can be sure that the American dream of a free and a just and a wealthy society shall have been achieved in these our own particular States.

I urge finally that your own careers shall give testimony to these new demands of faith in the future of the South.

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PROGRESS IN RACE RELATIONS

Experts Look at Today and Tomorrow

WHERE DO WE STAND *and where are we going in race relations?* This is the double question which interests everyone at all concerned about the progress which democratic America desires and seeks in the social dealings and attitudes of all her citizens.

Who can best inform us, if not the experts and observers long active in the field?

SOCIAL ORDER, therefore, has consulted a select number of national leaders in race relations. Here the editors present the result of their inquiries among Protestants, Catholics and Jews.

Selected after consultation were: Rabbi Louis Finkelstein, Father Albert S. Foley, S.J., Miss Margaret Garrity, Dr. James H. Kirk, Mr. George K. Hunton, Father John LaFarge, S.J., Archbishop Robert E. Lucey, Dr. George S. Mitchell and Dr. Galen Weaver.

Their answers—limited to fifty words, incidentally—are presented together to show relation between their various ideas, to show clearly the noticeable focusing on certain points and to make the study of their answers (particularly to Question Two) more fruitful.

The answers are followed by a short summation of the contributions and biographical notes on the participants.

Question One: *What constructive development in the past ten years do you consider as having contributed most to progress in U. S. race relations?*

Rabbi Finkelstein. The Supreme Court decision which outlawed contracts leading to segregation in housing could be held one of the most constructive developments in race relations in our country in the past ten years.

Father Foley. Progress in race relations has been immeasurably accelerated during the past decade by the Supreme Court's action in the matter of the franchise, of trial by impartial juries, of housing covenants and of educational segregation. All these point to the new and final Emancipation Proclamation soon to come—the Supreme Court's decision that segregation is unconstitutional in principle (reversing the Plessy decision) and in practice (outlawing the network of restrictive laws).

Miss Garrity. The change in attitude among both discriminatee and discriminator—the increasingly militant but tempered demand for rights not yet accorded by one, and the increasing acceptance of the obligations of justice by the other—has established a climate of opinion favorable to legislation, court decisions and to the voluntary abandonment of segregation.

Mr. Hunton. Of the many gains in race relations, I believe the most significant and important is that of the integration of Negro soldiers into the armed forces of the United States. It has done much to improve the morale of Negroes and has had lasting results in communities throughout the country.

Dr. Kirk. The advances made in employment have done much to break the barriers erected by lack of interracial contact as well as by the traditionally low wages of various racial groups. With higher wages have come better housing, better medical care, better education and, subsequently, better intergroup understanding and cooperation.

Father LaFarge. The widening of the conviction among decisive factors of our American public that our group tensions are not a sheer calamity but an opportunity to interpret our democracy to the world and build a better community, local and national, as well as to exemplify the teachings of religion, particularly world-religion.

Archbishop Lucey. An awareness on the part of citizens generally of the evils of our past conduct and their resolve to set the situation right. The international situation, involving millions of colored people, has helped American citizens to conform more nearly to the norms of justice and charity in the field of race relations.

Dr. Mitchell. The near-elimination of racial distinctions in the armed forces of the United States, as providing for all young people in the Services experience of the growing purpose in this constitutional democracy to see to it that citizens shall not be discriminated against on ground of race.

Dr. Weaver. The radically changed climate of public opinion making possible striking advances via far-reaching Supreme Court decisions on civil rights and the work of scores of governmental and voluntary organizations for extending civil rights.

Question Two: *What critical area in U. S. race relations do you consider most in need of attention?*

Rabbi Finkelstein. As a citizen of New York City, certainly it seems to me that the critical area of race relations most in need of attention here is housing. With almost four-fifths of Manhattan Island slums, housing conditions are scandalous. Obviously, the situation has direct bearing on the problems of education, of health—both mental and physical—and of crime. Present housing here troubles all those who have consciences.

Father Foley. At present, the most critical area in need of immediate attention is the preparation of whites in the South and in northern urban communities for the non-violent acceptance of the Supreme Court's impending decision. Large-scale programs of adult education, school-community programs, re-training of teachers and curbing of demagogues are imperative if the ominous predictions of violence and even civil disturbances on wide fronts are not to be verified.

Miss Garrity. *The* critical area remains, ironically, the whole social order. To advance in race relations we must have fuller reforms in employment, housing, education, health care, voting privileges, etc. Race relations is a part of all these—all these affect race relations. They are complementary; disproportionate emphasis on *one* retards all. The solution must be an heroic and worthy attempt "to restore all things in Christ."

Mr. Hunton. I regard the problems incidental to residential segregation as most in need of attention. I believe that good human relations can best be achieved in unsegregated neighborhoods where representative community councils do effective work. Integration is the answer to the problems of depreciation, panic selling and racial tensions.

Dr. Kirk. Proper housing, *adequately* integrated, would do much toward relieving many of the social ills involved in the present system of segregation. There are countless violations, based on racial grounds, of freedom of residence. Tension areas throughout the nation attest to the necessity for considering this critical area of race relations.

Father LaFarge. *The area of home ownership* in our highly mobile society. I view this not as a strictly delimited area, but as the polarization of the whole complex of questions that turn on family life, human dignity, livelihood, education, civil rights, parish and

community organization, standards of public morality and decency. [Father LaFarge later added an interesting postscript alternative.] Another area where most urgent work is needed in the field of race relations is in the *region of the imagination*, as expressed and influenced by the audio-visual apparatus of our age. It is what the millions *see* and *hear* that will determine their attitudes: the interpretation of the genuinely Christian personality through living word, gesture, movement and drama.

Archbishop Lucey. The field of education. With the fine cooperation of priests, sisters and the laity, we have ended educational segregation in our seminaries, colleges, high schools and elementary schools in this archdiocese. We are just trying to be Christians.

Dr. Mitchell. The transition to genuinely equal and greatly stepped-up educational opportunity for all. Racial distinctions are incompatible with acquisition of the American standards of knowledge and skill.

Dr. Weaver. Unsegregated residential living throughout the nation perhaps first; but also unsegregated education and church life.

OF THE comments on Question One, four definitely point to what they consider an accomplished change in the public attitude, an observation which should not be surprising, since so many movements and individuals have been working toward this general objective. On the other hand, the steady clarification and confirmation of its own mind by the United States Supreme Court is cited by two contributors as the chief factor in improvement and viewed by two others as the consequence of the change in public attitude. Two mentioned the educational impact made by improved race relations in the armed forces, two the general economic advance brought through more adequate wages and better jobs. Still another narrowed down the influence of court decisions to the field of restrictive housing covenants.

Catholics among the commentators seemed to concentrate on changes in public attitude. One non-Catholic concurred in this view, but two others selected two different, specific programs (or actions) which they felt largely caused the public change.

Question Two called for answers somewhat more specific, and only one was rather general (even it insisted on the absolute need for uniform and harmonious action in all areas). All but three answers mentioned either non-segregated housing or home ownership as critical, and four were unequivocal and strong. Five were concerned, at least to some degree, with education or the need of anticipating the expected court decision that could cause some racial disturbance. The two answers devoted to popular preparation for the court decision on public-school segregation came from native Southerners active in the South today. Television and radio as potentially constructive educational means received a special mention.

In general the response to the first question focused on at least a partial re-education of the public and on several contributing factors. But the various and somewhat localized answers to the second question indicate that many critical areas still exist and the task of re-education is far from finished.

The Contributors

Dr. Louis Finkelstein, born in Cincinnati in 1895, is an important leader in Jewish life throughout the whole country. He was appointed instructor in the Talmud at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York in 1920, and his association has been uninterrupted except for lecturing at Johns Hopkins, Oberlin, Hartford Seminary, Duke, Harvard and Princeton. He has participated in various symposia aiming at improved group understanding. The author of at least eleven works on Jewish theology and history, this learned scholar modestly felt that his comments on race relations are those of "a layman."

Father Foley, now teaching at Spring Hill College, Mobile, Ala., spent last year at the Center for Group Dynamics, University of Michigan, and directed a workshop in human relations last summer at Loyola University, Los Angeles. Author of many articles in periodicals, he has written also **St. Regis: Social Reformer, God's Men of Color** and a biography of Bishop Healy, the Negro prelate of Maine—the last two works to be published early in 1954.

Active in N.C.W.C.'s Social Action Department, **Miss Margaret Garrity** has become one of the leading Catholic laywomen in the social field. She directed two N.C.W.C. seminars on the race question. Last year she merited the Scroll of Honor from the National Council of Negro Women. At present she is Race Relations Secretary of the Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems. A Missourian, she lives in Virginia "because I like to vote."

Editor of **The Interracial Review** and secretary of the Catholic Interracial Council of New York since 1935, **George K. Hunton** has had wide experience in race relations through his work in the Brooklyn Legal Aid Society, the Cardinal Gibbons Institute and the advisory committee on human relations of the New York City superintendent of schools.

Dr. James H. Kirk, who completed his doctoral studies at St. Louis University in 1951 after investigating the all-Negro surburban community of Kinloch, is at present on the faculty of Loyola University of Los Angeles. He is a native of Indianapolis.

Father LaFarge's experience covers a vast area—from Harvard to Innsbruck, from Welfare Island to the Maryland "counties." He founded the Catholic Interracial Council in New York in 1934, which has served as inspiration and model for 21 similar councils in other cities. Father LaFarge's autobiography, **Manner is Ordinary,** will be published by Harcourt-Brace next month. His work, **Interracial Justice** (1937) was a pioneer Catholic effort.

A Californian, **Archbishop Lucey** is an alumnus of the North American College in Rome. He was engaged in parochial work for eighteen years when he was named Bishop of Amarillo, Texas, in 1934. He has been Archbishop of San Antonio since 1941. He served on the special committee named by President Truman in 1950 to study the whole question of migrant agricultural workers.

One of the best known figures in the South, **Dr. George S. Mitchell** is probably the scholar who knows the South best. Born in Richmond, 1902, he studied at the University of Delaware, University of Richmond and Johns Hopkins University. From 1926-1929 he was at Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar, then taught economics at Columbia for six years. His publications include **Textile Unionism and the South** (1930), **The Industrial Revolution in the South** (with Broadus Mitchell, 1931) and **Black Workers and the New Unions** (with Horace Cayton, 1940). Dr. Mitchell now is executive secretary of the Southern Regional Council. He received the 1953 medal of the Catholic Committee of the South.

Prominent in seminar and institute work, particularly at Fisk University and Eden Seminary (St. Louis), **Dr. Weaver** has long been on the staff of the Congregationalist Social Action Department as a specialist in race relations.

file w. GSM wrote.
JB.

DISTRICT 8 COUNCIL MEETING

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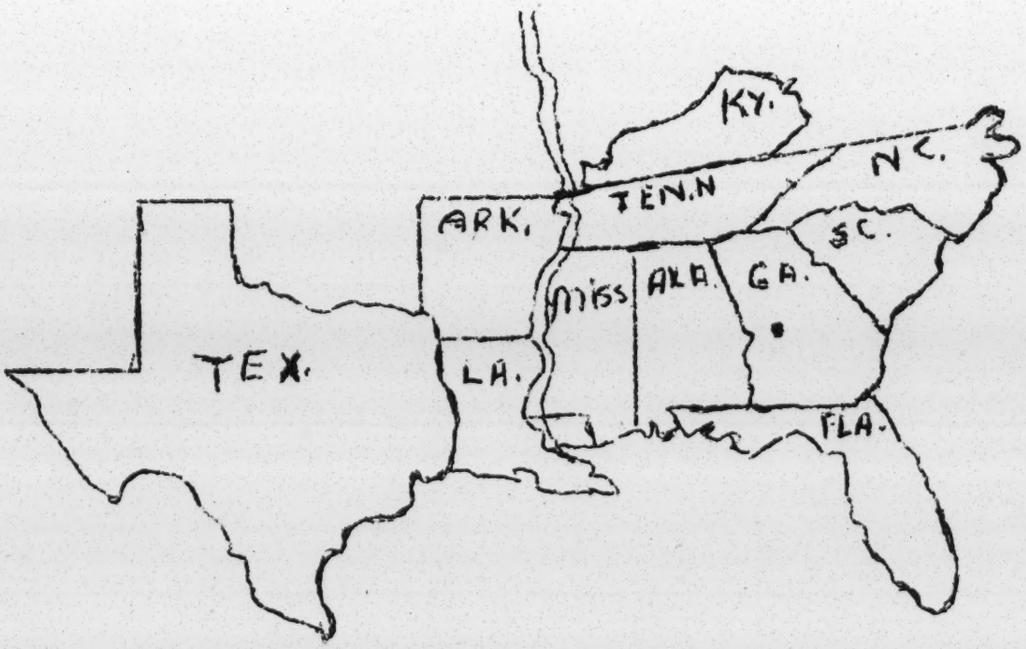

DECEMBER 5 and 6
1953

MINUTES OF NEWLY ORGANIZED DISTRICT #8 COUNCIL

CIO HEADQUARTERS
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

DECEMBER 5, 6, 1953

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1953 - MORNING SESSION

District No. 8 Council meeting called to order by Executive Secretary Ray C. Nixon.

Prayer by Elizabeth Mitchell, Local No. 277, Waynesville, North Carolina.

Welcome by District Director Ray C. Nixon to all delegates of District No. 8 and officers and department heads of the international union:

In welcoming the delegates, Director Nixon gave a short resume of all plants being organized in the South. District No. 8 is composed of the following states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee and Texas. At the present time, there are 16 chartered local unions in District No. 8. These organized plants represent over 95 percent of the plants within our jurisdiction throughout the South.

Director Nixon expressed his appreciation for the large representation of the local unions at this first meeting of District No. 8 Council. Director Nixon then introduced the speaker who gave the welcoming address.

Welcoming Address: - David S. Burgess, Executive Secretary, Georgia CIO Council

The labor movement of the South has been built on the blood and sweat of working people. Our states were settled by poor debtors. The small independent farmer had no desire to defend slavery--since only one out of six white men were slave owners at the time of the Civil War. We are inspired by the Populist movement of the 1890's when poor farmers and sharecroppers revolted against the bourbon aristocracy and upset southern politics for a decade. We remember the deeds--the deaths and the shootings--of striking textile workers of the 1930's. And today, it is the labor movement which is the main force struggling for the liberation of the Negro, and for the daily fight for human decency in all southern industry.

Our enemies--the industrial magnates, the racial demagogues, the landed gentry--are attempting to kill off the labor movement of the South because they fear it. That is why we are getting into politics, why our members are registering, voting, organizing precinct by precinct, block by block. That is why we are attempting to expose the record of Congressmen who wear the clothing of Democrats, but have the hearts and the voting habits of reactionary Republicans. These phoney Democrats, who deserted the Party in 1952 and support Eisenhower's "Give-Away" administration in Washington, are now attempting to clasp Adlai Stevenson to their bosoms and claim historical loyalty to the Party they deserted.

With the help of the Rubber Workers, the South can be organized. There can be a rebirth of freedom today. The days of paternalism are numbered. The company town with its timid workers, its tyrannical boss, its kept policemen and clergymen, is a thing of the past. Workers, desirous of a measure of independence and self-respect, are slowly awakening to the fact that the labor movement is the instrument of their freedom.

Executive Secretary Nixon called the roll of all local unions present and had them stand and be recognized.

Executive Secretary Nixon appointed a Credentials Committee as follows: Florence Drinnon, Local No. 277, Secretary, and Kenneth Cotton, Local No. 383, Chairman. They were assisted by Field Representative Joseph Cramer.

Address: - General President L. S. Buckmaster

General President Buckmaster welcomed the delegates to this first District No. 8 Council Meeting and stated this was a rather historical occasion as it was the first time a meeting was held where only District No. 8 delegates were present. President Buckmaster commented on the former speaker's remarks on some of the things that are wrong in the South and stated that he could probably tell of some things just as bad in the North. He said that only a few years ago it was dangerous to belong to a union in the North. President Buckmaster stated that prior to the time Congress had passed a law giving the right to organize a union in the North, they were confronted with the same obstacles that have been found in the South.

He stated that coming down from the North, he could see the tremendous changes and improvements in the South. The South is being industrialized and great changes have taken place which

are affecting the lives of practically all people in this part of the country. People have been taken from the hills, farms and plantations and brought to work in the factories. Therefore, it is more important and much more constructive to look ahead and see what the future holds for us than to look back at the obstacles and hinderances that we have overcome.

President Buckmaster stated that District No. 8 was next to the smallest district, however, it does not rank near the bottom because it is more completely organized than any other district in the country.

President Buckmaster said he was very proud of the Rubber Workers for the job they have done in the South. He said that no other CIO organization in this country has done as much in the South to secure the rights for the people. He pointed out the advantage of association with one another through district councils and outlined the functions and authority of a district council. He was very happy to see that there was better representation in this district council than in other districts.

Because of this being the first meeting of District No. 8 Council with no officers elected and no By-Laws as yet adopted, Executive Secretary Nixon read the proposed agenda to be followed at this two-day meeting. After the reading of the proposed agenda, a motion was made and seconded that the agenda be adopted. Motion unanimously carried.

Report of Credentials Committee:

The following report of the Credentials Committee was given by Florence Drinnon, Secretary:

Local No. 12, Gadsden, Alabama	4 delegates 1 alternate
Local No. 186, Memphis, Tenn.	5 delegates
Local No. 194, Clarksville, Tenn.	3 delegates 1 alternate
Local No. 277, Waynesville, N.C.	4 delegates 1 alternate
Local No. 303, Natchez, Miss.	3 delegates
Local No. 312, Waco, Texas	3 delegates

Local No. 345, Hazelwood, N.C.	4 delegates
Local No. 371, Atlanta, Georgia	2 delegates
Local No. 383, Milan, Tenn.	5 delegates
Local No. 410, Newnan, Georgia	4 delegates
Local No. 351, Tuscaloosa, Ala.	3 delegates
Total Delegates Present - -	40
Total Alternates Present -	3
Locals represented	11

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the Credentials Committee be accepted. Motion carried.

Address: - Assistant to General President Herbert D. Dawson

Assistant to General President H. D. Dawson was introduced by Executive Secretary Nixon. Mr. Dawson expressed pleasure in being in the South, stating that this was not necessarily a new experience for him, since he had assisted many years ago in organizing rubber workers in Tennessee. He also made reference to his activities in Charlotte, North Carolina, during the campaign among U. S. Rubber Company employees.

Brother Dawson congratulated the local unions in this district, and told them he was pleased with the many improvements they have made over the years. He also urged the delegates to continue their efforts in building their own local unions and not to forget to assist in every way possible in organizing the un-organized throughout the Southland.

Meeting adjourned at 12:30 P.M.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1953 - AFTERNOON SESSION

Meeting called to order by Executive Secretary Nixon at 2:00 P.M.

A temporary By-Laws Committee was appointed by Executive Secretary Nixon consisting of the following and assisted by Assistant to General President Herbert D. Dawson:

E. K. Bowers	Local No. 12
H. D. Lynn	Local No. 312
Clyde Mullins	Local No. 303
G. W. Clark	Local No. 186
Louise Marklin	Local No. 194

Address: - Francis M. Hannley, Assistant Director
Pensions and Insurance

Assistant Director, Francis Hannley, of our Pension and Insurance Department addressed the meeting on the subject of "the progress of our Union's activities in the fields of pension and insurance" and "the functions of the Pension and Insurance Department".

In his opening remarks Brother Hannley conveyed to the meeting Director Paul E. Bowers' regrets for being unable to be present due to previous commitments and his best wishes for the future of the newly formed District #8 Council.

Briefly summarized, Brother Hannley's remarks covered the following:

The first formal activity of our International Union in the fields of pensions and insurance might be said to have been the negotiations that resulted in the Big Four Pension Agreements of 1950. These agreements set the first "pension pattern" in our Union and resulted in a heavy demand by our Local Unions for information, assistance, and advice in negotiating pension benefits for their members. This service for the most part was provided by our Research Department and Brother Paul Bowers who was assigned as a special representative on these matters.

The establishment of a pension pattern served to provide impetus to further expansion of local union activity in the field of welfare benefits such as life insurance, hospitalization, medical, surgical and sickness and accident benefits.

The demand for service in the field of welfare benefits grew rapidly and in early 1952, the General Executive Board authorized the establishment of a separate Pension and Insurance Department within our international union in order to provide the special information, advice and assistance required by our membership to properly negotiate agreements covering welfare benefits and to relieve the Research Department of the extra load it had been carrying during the past few years. Brother Bowers was appointed director of the department.

In 1952 also, the General Executive Board adopted an Interim Policy for our union respecting pensions and insurance. Basically the policy of our union provides that pension and insurance agreements should be separate from the regular collective bargaining agreement. In such case, pension and insurance benefits continue in effect even if the collective bargaining agreement is cancelled or otherwise terminated. Our policy also provides that local unions generally should not assume the responsibility for administering insurance programs. In the matter of pensions, our policy provides further that the assistance of the international union should be sought in all cases. It is particularly important that our local unions follow this procedure since there are complications involved in pension negotiations that are not met with generally in negotiating regular collective bargaining agreements. By its very nature, a pension agreement requires somewhat more technical wording in some provisions than is required in a collective bargaining agreement.

With the establishment of the Pension and Insurance Department, our local unions lost no time in availing themselves of the service it provides. It should be noted that where local unions have failed to adhere to union policy in these matters, they have almost invariably found themselves in difficulty.

By 1953, it had become apparent that the minimum pensions of $100 (including Social Security) that had been established in 1950 were inadequate. It was the feeling also in our union that the employer should assume the cost of other benefits such as hospitalization, medical and surgical services. That employers were of the same opinion was evidenced by the agreement of the Big Four Companies to re-open the 1950 contracts on pensions and insurance for the purpose of amendment. These contracts were not subject to re-negotiation until 1955. The results of the re-opening of these contracts is now history, and the year 1953 stands as another milestone marking the advance of our union along the road of collective bargaining.

The 1953 settlements in the Big Four generally have increased minimum pensions to $125 and in some cases slightly more. In addition, the Big Four now provide fully paid hospitalization in semi-private accommodations for 120 days, maternity benefits, emergency hospital, in-hospital medical benefits equal to $3.00 a day for 120 days, and surgical benefits in accordance with a $250 maximum schedule for employees and dependents. The cost of diagnostic x-rays for employees only (not confined in hospital) is also payable in

the amount of $70 for each separate condition. Some of the agreements provide benefits for pensioners under certain conditions.

Brother Hannley pointed out that our 1953 achievements should be regarded as a great step forward, but not as our goal. There remains a wide variety of benefits such as preventive medical treatment, rehabilitation, dentistry, etc. all of which are important and which may be obtained through future negotiations.

Brother Hannley concluded by reminding those present that the services of all the departments of the international union are always available when required.

Meetings of Industry Groups:

Mechanical Goods & Footwear - Local Nos. 277, 186, 345, 383, 410, 371, 12 and 194. Field Representatives Cramer and Taylor.

Tires and Tubes - Local Nos. 12, 186, 303, 312 and 351. Field Representatives Gammill and Steinke.

Both groups were assisted by Time Study Engineer Minch.

Meeting adjourned 5:00 P.M.

SATURDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 5, 1953 - A banquet was held in the CIO Headquarters for all delegates and guests.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1953 - MORNING SESSION

Meeting called to order by Executive Secretary Nixon at 10:00 A.M.

Prayer by Elizabeth Mitchell, Local No. 277, Waynesville, North Carolina.

Address: - Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council

Mitchell, with a blackboard and colored chalks, drew off the main sub-areas of the southern states, dividing them into the Mountains, the Piedmont, the Plantation Belt, and the Piney Woods. He spoke of the historical and geographical influences which had shaped the habits of people in each area, and then switched to the problem of producing, area by area, an equal and a democratic South.

For the mountains, he urged land-use reorganization, better forest care, more recreational industry, more manufacturing industry, and rapid spread of vocational education to impart skill to the steady surplus of young people coming off of family-owned farms too small in size to keep the population employed.

The Piedmont area he praised as having a democratic pattern of individual farm ownership, interspersed with a prosperous manufacturing economy. That gave a balance between agriculture and industry. Also, he said, the people in this area have a firm grasp of political democracy and a beginning grasp of economic democracy, through trade unions; and in both these fields the people are learning to overleap the barriers of race.

The problems of the thinly-populated Piney Woods area were conservation of the trees which are the great natural resource, and spread of the income from the tree-related industries to the people of the area. For this he relied largely on trade unionism, and praised the success of the paperworkers, the woodworkers, and the chemical workers in getting a higher standard of wages.

In the plantation belt he described the typical arrangements of a few years ago in sharecropping and tenant farming, and contrasted the privileges and power of landowners with the dependence of the greater part of those who worked the soil. He gave an imaginary speech advocating Civil Rights to a landlord group in the plantation area, and suggested what the replies of the members of the more privileged group would be. By way of reorganization he proposed a consistent public policy stretching over decades to come of encouraging independent family farming, the bringing in of industry to the plantation area, and the teaching of industrial arts in the schools of this belt particularly.

Turning at last to the States, he showed how within each of the States of the lower South, the plantation belt predominates in sheer size, and then touched on the artificially increased authority of the small voting population of this area in the various state legislatures, because of the devices used to prevent legislative apportionment to accord with the population changes of recent years.

Toward achieving the civil rights of all the people of the South, he advocated a program of fundamental change in health, housing, farm ownership, schooling, and industrial opportunity, coupled with legislative enactments to protect the rights of all, underpinned in this way with reorganization of the basic institutions of the whole region.

Report of By-Laws Committee:

E. K. Bowers, Local No. 12, Secretary, reported that the committee had gone over the proposed document with considerable discussion being held on the proposed By-Laws, and the committee recommended that the By-Laws be approved in their entirety. He also stated that after a year's operation under these By-Laws this council would possibly want to have the committee re-examine the rules and amend some of the provisions.

Brother Bowers said that the committee felt after the council was established, it would work better with six Executive Board members instead of four, but because of this being a newly established council with a small treasury, it would be advisable that four board members be elected for the first year.

In regards to Rule No. 6, the committee felt that the delegates should fully understand its meaning, in that a delegate at the convention has one vote and cannot cast all the ballots to which the local is entitled.

Josh Tools, Local No. 186, made a motion to amend Article IV, Section 2, to read "6" instead of "4" (Executive Board members). A vote was taken, and the motion was defeated.

After considerable discussion, the secretary of the By-Laws Committee made a motion for the adoption of the report, which motion was seconded, and it was voted unanimously to accept the By-Laws as recommended by the committee.

Nomination and Election of Officers:

Executive Secretary Nixon presided over the nominations.

Nominations were open for president of the council.

A. G. Trammell, Local No. 351, was nominated by Thomas Harless, Local No. 351. Trammell declined.

E. K. Bowers, Local No. 12, was nominated by Elizabeth Mitchell, Local No. 277. Bowers declined.

Thomas Taylor, Local No. 186, was nominated by Josh Tools, Local No. 186. Taylor accepted.

A motion was made and carried for Executive Secretary Nixon to cast a unanimous ballot for Thomas Taylor and so declare him president of District No. 8 Council.

Nominations were open for vice-president of the council.

H. D. Lynn, Local No. 312, was nominated by Robert Hipps, Local No. 277. Lynn accepted.

No other nominations were made.

A motion was made and carried for Executive Secretary Nixon to cast a unanimous ballot for H. D. Lynn and so declare him vice-president of District No. 8 Council.

Nominations were open for treasurer of the council.

Florence Drinnon, Local No. 277, was nominated by Paul Gentry, Local No. 277. Drinnon accepted.

E. L. Hayes, Local No. 12, was nominated by David Hood, Local No. 12. Hayes declined.

A motion was made and carried for Executive Secretary Nixon to cast a unanimous ballot for Florence Drinnon and so declare her treasurer of District No. 8 Council.

Nominations were open for members of the Executive Board.

Watkins Martin, Local No. 194, was nominated by E.K. Bowers, Local No. 12. Martin accepted.

J. C. Crayne, Local No. 345, was nominated by Elizabeth Mitchell, Local No. 277. Crayne accepted.

E. L. Hayes, Local No. 12, was nominated by Watkins Martin, Local No. 194. Hayes accepted.

A. G. Trammell, Local No. 351, was nominated by E.L. Hayes, Local No. 12. Trammell declined.

Edward Smallwood, Local No. 351, was nominated by Charles Cochran, Local No. 410. Smallwood accepted.

Kenneth Cotton, Local No. 383, was nominated by Eldon Clark, Local No. 383. Cotton accepted.

Henry Cullins, Local No. 312, was nominated by F. F. Haley, Local No. 186. Cullins accepted.

An Election Committee consisting of E. K. Bowers, Local No. 12; Elizabeth Mitchell, Local No. 277; A. G. Trammell, Local No. 351; Louise Marklin, Local No. 194; and J. A. Tools, Local No. 186, was appointed by the executive secretary to compute and report the results of the voting.

Results of the Executive Board election:

E. L. Hayes, Local No. 12	34
Kenneth Cotton, Local No. 383	28
J. C. Crayne, Local No. 345	23
Edward Smallwood, Local No. 351	23
Watkins Martin, Local No. 194	22
Henry Cullins, Local No. 312	21

Total Votes	151
Ballots cast	40
Void	0

The foregoing report of the Election Committee was given. A motion was made and seconded that the report be accepted. Motion carried.

The newly elected officers of District No. 8 Council were installed by General President Buckmaster.

Address: - Dr. A. L. Lewis, Director of Public Relations

Dr. Lewis stressed the importance of each individual person in every local union TAKING PART IN UNION ACTIVITIES AND BEING A SPHERE OF INFLUENCE TO ALL THOSE AROUND THEM.

Dr. Lewis also stressed the importance of forming a Women's Auxiliary which would tend to educate the wives of local union members on such matters as politics, labor history, local union functions, etc. Normally, wives of our members do not understand the functions of our union.

He pointed out the importance of each local union publishing its own newspaper and the good that can be gained by doing so.

Meeting adjourned at 12:30 P.M.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1953 - AFTERNOON SESSION

Meeting called to order by Executive Secretary Nixon at 2:00 P.M.

Reports from Industry Groups:

The Tire and Tube Industrial Group gave the following report:

H. D. Lynn, Local No. 312, was appointed chairman.
T. E. Harless, Local No. 351, was appointed secretary.

Q. Kelly Bowers, Local No. 12. How does his local raise funds for the P.A.C., including methods, policies, etc.?

A. He says his method is to sell his committeemen, stewards, and officers on the idea that the P.A.C. is beneficial to their welfare. "Right to Work" Bill was used to emphasize the importance of the P.A.C. Another thing is that at a meeting in Mobile, Alabama, the members of the Chamber of Commerce at this gathering were in favor of passing a bill to eliminate company-wide collective bargaining or to make it unlawful to bargain company-wide.

Clyde Mullins, Local No. 303, said his local helps people such as helping to build churches, etc. outside of their locality. This is the only way they can influence people in surrounding counties, areas and districts.

F. F. Haley, Local No. 186, said to choose the best liked man in a department to collect the P.A.C. dollars. He said this had worked well in his local.

E. H. Simon, Local No. 186, said people asked him whether or not the P.A.C. dollar goes toward supporting politicians.

H. D. Lynn, Local No. 312, said if you take them up in smokers, lockers, etc. this eliminates lost time. He said the important thing is to get people out to the polls.

Edward Smallwood, Local No. 351, said that people don't vote to any greater extent in non-poll tax states than in poll tax states. He emphasized the importance of labor people voting on all issues.

F. F. Haley, Local No. 186, emphasized the importance of seeing the women and getting them to vote for good candidates rather than cancelling their husband's votes.

Josh Tools, Local No. 186, said that if we could tie up the P.A.C. with the Women's Auxiliary, we might come up with a beneficial solution.

E. K. Bowers, Local No. 12, said he thought it would be helpful for the committee to recommend to each local that it set up a Women's Auxiliary. He said each local should seek advice and assistance from the international union relative to establishing such an auxiliary for women.

E. K. Bowers, Local No. 12, made a motion that the local unions seek the assistance of the international in setting up a Women's Auxiliary in each local. Motion seconded by H. L. Cullins, Local No. 312. Vote was unanimous.

Thomas Taylor, Local No. 186, suggested that each local set aside $25 a month for the purpose of setting up such an auxiliary.

Time Study Problems:

E. K. Bowers, Local No. 12, said there is a great need for time study men in all locals.

F. F. Haley, Local No. 186, said they have a good man who the company has agreed to let study their problems. He said his local has three time study men.

Thomas Taylor, Local No. 186, said they have sent men to the University of Tennessee for time study training, but that it is costly to his local. He said the red tape in getting a problem to arbitration is too much of a financial burden on his local. He said the company tends to make such problems costly to his local. The committee agreed that this is true in all locals.

Time Study Engineer Minch stated that in recent years most locals and even on an international level, our pressure on the companies has lessened to such an extent that we have to find other means to settle our problems. He said thinking or views of problems are different in different locals. He suggests that each local work out some agreement with its company to settle problems to eliminate expenses. He says that in training time study engineers, each local union should work out an agreement with management so that the man may be trained under conditions in which he is to work.

E. K. Bowers, Local No. 12, said that "wildcat" strikes have not been used lately due to the fact that they have become a menace rather than a tool because the workers rather than their officers supervised them.

E. K. Bowers, Local No. 12, made a motion that we recommend to our local unions that they attempt to work out an agreement with their companies or management whereby the company will cooperate with and assist the union in the training and use of local union time study engineers. Motion seconded by Edward Smallwood, Local No. 351. Unanimously approved by the committee.

Henry Cullins, Local No. 312, made a motion we adjourn since there was no further business for the day. Motion seconded by Clyde Mullins, Local No. 303. Motion carried.

T. E. Harless, Local No. 351
Secretary

Josh Tools, Local No. 186, talked briefly on fair practices in locals. He believed that District No. 8 was relatively clean of such discrimination, but felt that this was important.

A motion was made and seconded that the executive secretary prepare or get the Research Department to prepare a report based on the special survey of local union problems and mail a copy to each local union in District No. 8. Motion carried.

A motion was made and seconded that the report be accepted. Motion carried.

The Mechanical Goods and Footwear Industrial Group gave the following report:

On December 5, 1953, at 3:00 P.M. the Mechanical Goods and Footwear division of the District No. 8 Council met for the first time with Field Representative Joseph Cramer acting as co-ordinator.

Brother Cramer appointed E. L. Hayes, Local No. 12, to act as temporary chairman and Louise Marklin, Local No. 194, as temporary secretary.

Eight local unions were represented as follows: Locals Nos. 277 and 345 from Waynesville, N. C.; No. 383 from Milan, Tennessee, No. 410 from Newnan, Georgia, No. 371 from Atlanta, Georgia, No. 12 from Gadsden, Alabama, No. 194 from Clarksville, Tennessee and No. 186 from Memphis, Tennessee.

A representative from each local read the two questionnaires which had been sent out by the international union, and the various rates and problems were discussed.

No attempt will be made even to summarize the information gained from these forms as our District Director has promised to compile and mail a detailed report to each local union.

However, a few pertinent topics are worthy of note at this time. For instance, a great deal of interest was shown in a profit-sharing plan as explained by a delegate who works in the Wellco Shoe Corporation plant in Waynesville, N. C. Twenty percent of the profits made by the company are divided among the employees, the representative stated, and added that for the last quarter this amounted to about $80.00 for each employee. In addition, this unique plan was said to reduce grievances and improve the employee-management relationship.

It was learned that Richardson Rubber Company of Newnan, Georgia, is the only plant in the South manufacturing laminated plastics. An inquiry was made as to whether the fact that rates for heels and soles in the Gadsden, Alabama plant were comparable to the rates for the manufacture of tires and tubes might have been a contributing factor to the Goodyear plant moving its heel and sole plant to Windsor, Vermont. It was conceded that this and other causes made it possible for the company to manufacture heels and soles much more cheaply in Vermont.

Local No. 371 is in a particularly distressing situation due to the fact that over half its membership at present is on lay-off.

Most locals reported that time study engineer was a major problem.

Time Study Engineer Minch made an inspiring talk on P.A.C. work, stating that he felt that this field of union work was even more important than that of time studies.

Most of the representatives admitted that their locals had been too lax in collecting P.A.C. dollars. Locals Nos. 12 and 186 had perhaps been most active in this endeavor, but their record will most likely be covered in the report from the Tire and Tube Group.

The various delegates were unanimous in feeling that the first District No. 8 Council Meeting had been most interesting, and that this discussion and sharing of our problems would help us to meet and solve similar problems within our own plants.

Field Representative Cramer concluded the meeting by expressing the hope that much and lasting good might result from the formation of the new District Council.

Louise Marklin, Local No. 194
Secretary

A motion was made and seconded that the report be accepted. Motion carried.

Wage survey and rates are included in this report.

Address: - Fleet W. Perrine, General Organizational Director

General Organizational Director Perrine discussed the Taft-Hartley Act. He pointed out the affect of this law on our organized locals and organizational work, and the need for all of us being on the alert in the future. Since we have a new administration in Washington, there have been changes in the personnel and policy of the National Labor Relations Board which are not too favorable to organized labor. Brother Perrine discussed the elections that have been held, pointing out how many were won and those that were lost, stating the reasons for losing some of these elections. Also most important, was his statement that the membership in our union a few months ago was the highest in the history of the United Rubber Workers.

New Business:

A motion was made by E. K. Bowers, Local No. 12, that

the next District No. 8 Council Meeting be held in Gadsden, Alabama, with Local No. 12 as host. Motion seconded. Motion unanimously carried.

A motion was made by E. K. Bowers, Local No. 12, that each delegate go back to their membership recommending that they help finance District No. 8 Council in addition to their $1.50 monthly affiliation fee. Motion seconded by A. G. Trammell, Local No. 351. Unanimously carried.

Robert Hipps, Local No. 277, made a motion that monthly fees for all locals are due and payable as of the month of December, 1953. Motion seconded by E. K. Bowers, Local No. 12. Unanimously carried.

Good and Welfare:

Executive Secretary Nixon thanked every delegate for attending the District No. 8 Council Meeting and expressed his opinion, and surely that of every person present, as to the good achieved through the first meeting of the District No. 8 Council.

President Thomas Taylor, Local No. 186, Memphis, Tennessee, immediately before adjournment thanked the delegates for electing him to an office of honor and trust and assured them that he would do everything in his power to advance the best interest of the Rubber Workers throughout the district. He invited all delegates to contact him at any time they felt he could be of assistance to them in any way. He urged that they return home and talk to their membership about the District Council and urge all local unions to affiliate in order that the next meeting could be even better than the one just ending.

Meeting adjourned at 4:00 P.M.

DISTRICT VIII LOCALS - URCLPWA-CIO

Local	Company and Location	Chief Product	Number of Employees
12	Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. Gadsden, Alabama	Tires and tubes, soles and heels	2,500
186	Firestone Tire & Rubber Co. Memphis, Tennessee	Tires and tubes	4,000
194	B. F. Goodrich Company Clarksville, Tennessee	Heels and soles	500
277	Dayton Rubber Mfg. Company Hazelwood, North Carolina	Foam pillows, cushions and mattresses, hose, belts, fuel cells	700
303	Armstrong Tire & Rubber Co. Natchez, Miss.	Tires and tubes	600
312	General Tire & Rubber Co. Waco, Texas	Tires	1,000
344	Richardson Mfg. Co., of Texas Tyler, Texas	Battery cases	50
345	Wellco Shoe Corp. Hazelwood, North Carolina	Footwear	250
351	B. F. Goodrich Company Tuscaloosa, Alabama	Tires and tubes, tank lining	1,200
363	Armstrong Cork Company Jackson, Miss.	Asphalt tile	100
371	Manhattan Coil Corp. Atlanta, Georgia	Friction tape	50
383	U. S. Rubber Company Milan, Tennessee	Footwear	700
384	Wright Rubber Tile Co. Houston, Texas	Rubber floor tile	100
410	Richardson Company Newman, Georgia	Battery cases, laminated plastics	100
442	Union Asbestos & Rubber Co. McGregor, Texas	Pipe covering	50
470	Plastic Products Co. Memphis, Tennessee	Plastic records	50

DISTRICT VIII WAGE SURVEY MISCELLANEOUS PRODUCTS

STRAIGHT-TIME HOURLY EARNINGS FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS AND OTHER DATA

Occupations	Local 277	Local 371 1/ 2/
Plant-wide Average	$1.48	$1.29
Male Average	1.54	-
Female Average	1.40	-
Electrician "A"	1.88	1.87
Machinist "A"	1.88	-
Fireman	1.51	1.23
General Labor	1.33	1.19
Banbury Operator	1.62	-
Mix-Mill Operator 60"	1.61	1.39
Warm-up Mill operator 60"	1.61	1.39
Calender Operator	1.71	1.79
Tube Machine Operator	1.60	1.39
Curing Operation	1.59	1.24
Pressman	1.60	-
Stock Cutting	1.55	1.24
Hose Building	1.41	-
Picker Building	1.59	-
Foam Assembling	1.44	-
Buffing	1.57	-
Trimming	1.45	1.24
Inspecting	1.48	1.29
Packing	1.48	1.09
Shipping	1.41	-

Occupations	Local 442 3/
Electrician "A"	$1.55
Fireman	1.45
General Labor	1.10
Feeder	1.15
Feeder Helper	1.10
Builder	1.25
Oven Man	1.10
Finisher	1.20
Inspecting	1.25
Packing	1.10
Shipping	1.10

1/ Dayton Rubber Co.--manufactures foam rubber products and mechanical rubber goods.

2/ Holfast Rubber Co.--manufactures friction tape.

3/ Union Asbestos and Rubber Co.--manufactures pipe covering

DISTRICT VIII WAGE SURVEY FLOOR COVERING

STRAIGHT-TIME HOURLY EARNINGS FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS AND OTHER DATA

Occupations	Local 363 1/	Local 384
Electrician "A"	$2.00	$1.85
Machinist "A"	2.00	2.05
Fireman	-	1.80
General Labor	1.30	1.45
Banbury Operator	-	1.90
Mix-Mill Operator	1.49	1.80
Calender Operator	1.61	1.80
Tile Cutter	1.44	1.65
Pressman	1.36	1.90
Finishing	-	1.65
Packing	1.36	1.65
Inspecting	1.54	1.65
Shipping	1.54	1.65

1/ Rates shown in this column are hourly rates. No details are available on the level of earnings for incentive jobs.

DISTRICT VIII WAGE SURVEY HARD RUBBER PRODUCTS

STRAIGHT-TIME HOURLY EARNINGS FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS AND OTHER DATA

Occupations	Local 344 1/	Local 410
Plant-wide Average	$1.70	$1.50
Male Average	1.70	1.50
Electrician "A"	-	1.89
Mechanic	1.84	1.89
Janitor and Watchman	-	1.34
General Labor	-	1.25
Banbury Operator	1.54	-
Plastok Operator	1.51	1.51
Materials Man	1.46	1.49
Rubber Pressman	1.54	-
Inspecting	-	1.49
Packing	-	1.43
Shipping and Receiving	1.41	1.46

1/ Rates for individual jobs are hourly rates, exclusive of incentive earnings. Plant-wide average includes incentive earnings (not night bonus).

DISTRICT VIII WAGE SURVEY HEELS & SOLES

STRAIGHT-TIME HOURLY EARNINGS FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS AND OTHER DATA

Occupations	Local 12	Local 194
Plant-wide Average	$ -	$1.69
Male Average	-	1.77
Female Average	-	1.51
Electrician "A"	2.06	1.86
Machinist "A"	2.11	1.86
Fireman	2.06	1.78
General Labor	-	1.41
Banbury Operator	2.08	1.72
Mix-Mill Operator 60"	2.25	1.79
Warm-up Mill Operator 60"	2.35	1.79
Calender Operator	-	1.79
Tube Machine Operator	-	1.79
Pressing - Heels	-	1.79
Pressing - Soles	-	1.79
Trimming - Heels	1.76	1.53
Trimming - Soles	1.91	1.70
Curing	1.75	1.79
Inspecting - Heels	-	1.53
Inspecting - Soles	-	1.53
Shipping	-	1.75

Research Department
URCLPWA-CIO
January 1954

DISTRICT VIII WAGE SURVEY — TIRES & TUBES

STRAIGHT-TIME HOURLY EARNINGS FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS AND OTHER DATA

Occupations	Local 12	Local 186 1/	Local 303 1/	Local 312	Local 351
Plant-wide Average	$1.94	$2.04	$ -	$2.03	$1.95
Male Average	1.98	2.08	-	2.03	1.98
Female Average	1.66	1.81	-	1.82	1.82
Electrician "A"	2.06	2.19	2.03	2.05	2.05
Machinist "A"	2.11	2.19	2.03	2.05	2.05
Fireman	2.06	-	2.03	1.95	2.05
General Labor	-	-	1.55	1.45	1.60
Banbury Operator	2.08	2.05	2.69	1.98	2.10
Mix-Mill Operator 60"	2.25	-	2.41	1.98	2.00
Warm-up Mill Operator 60"	2.35	2.20	2.61	2.02	2.25
Calender Operator	2.62	3.24	3.21	2.38	2.25
Bias Machine Operator	2.35	2.38	2.49	2.20	2.00
Band Builder	2.00	2.01	2.56	1.93	1.95
Passenger Tire Builder	2.09	2.37	2.46	2.07	2.01
Truck Tire Builder	2.15	-	2.76	2.20	2.08
Tire Curing (watch case)	2.01	2.58	2.65	2.20	2.20
Tube Curing Operator	2.10	2.41	2.51	-	2.12
Bead Builder	1.85	2.27	2.58	2.02	2.25
Bead Flipper	1.75	-	2.58	1.84	1.90

1/ Rates for this local are based on 1953 data adjusted by the wage increase negotiated in 1953.

February 4, 1954

Miss Anne O'H. Williamson
Central State College
Box 54
Wilberforce, Ohio

Dear Miss Williamson:

I have been traveling so I have been slow about answering your letter of January 12.

Yes, I have got an article in me and I would like to write it. It is called "Mumbledy-Peg and Automobile Polo," and when I get it written I will send it to you. But I don't know how soon I can write it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh

The JOURNAL OF HUMAN RELATIONS

CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE • BOX 54 • WILBERFORCE • OHIO

Office of Editorial Board
ANNE O'H. WILLIAMSON
Chairman

January 12, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am writing you in the interest of a contribution from you for our Journal of Human Relations, a copy of which accompanies this letter. An article of some 15 or more typewritten pages on the aspect of human relations that interests you most will be greatly appreciated. While we have received some voluntary manuscripts, many have come to us through the kind cooperation of persons active in some area of social work.

Trusting that you will give this request favorable consideration, and expecting to hear from you soon,

Very sincerely yours,

Anne O'H. Williamson

Anne O'H. Williamson

AO'HW/evr

Summer, 1954, Yearbook issue
of Journal of Negro Education

By: George S. Mitchell

FILE COPY

NEXT STEPS IN THE SOUTH

Last November a minister, travelling from the office of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and working in cooperation with the Southern Regional Council, did a pioneer job in Central Kentucky of working up local discussion groups on the Schools and the Courts. He had some useful pamphlets, and the names of community leaders in seven or eight smallish towns. He called at the home or the office of some leading figure in each place, pamphlets under his arm, said who he was, and asked if the person he was calling on would be willing to get a few people together, white people and Negro people, to talk about the matter of what the Court might decide, and how to meet the problems that would come up. Usually the local person said about this: "I've known the issue was coming, we haven't done a thing about it. If you'll get me ten or a dozen of those booklets I'll call together some people, and we can sit down and talk about what it will mean in this town." That's the beginning, in any neighborhood.

What was done in Kentucky has since been done by Church leaders or others in Southeastern Virginia, and in Central North Carolina, and in Up-Country South Carolina, and all over Alabama, and is to be done in many other parts of the South. So far the National Council has been joined in the effort by the Congregationalists, the Disciples of Christ, the Episcopal Church, the Methodist Church, and by a few others. Still other Denominations have taken on similar programs, differently managed.

Through every Southern town there runs a creek, and no bridge across the creek. Yet if you stand by the creek and listen you can hear a stream of traffic coming towards it from both sides; traffic that will need to get

across. The first little group of local people, white and Negro, who get together somewhere in a Sunday School or in someone's home, and make friends on the issues about the schools, and find the local facts, will have thrown a log across the creek. And what timid people first tip over the school board can go across on, and then the teachers, and the PTA's, and the children and ultimately the parents as the citizen body. "Operation log across the creek" is no great splash as a program, but it is putting out the logs, and getting people to cross. And except for what planning has been done in the offices of school officials, it is near to all that has been done in many Southern communities. And it's a pretty good way to work; asking people just to try to reach understanding in their own town, and figure out ways to meet a changing situation.

It is being done in the belief that there is only one situation in which race prejudice dissolves. That's when people of similar cultural and educational background, of different groups, work together on a matter of common interest. Reasonable experience of that and the prejudice disappears. Unprejudiced local leadership, knowing how to work together, and learning the facts about their local schools, can be a powerful thing.

Call this discussion groups. That's one obvious thing to do. It needs to be multiplied many times over, and it should be taken up by many more organizations than have as yet got going with it.

The next thing concerns local government, and particularly the school boards. We have come to that position in the South in which our largest and most important public service, namely the schools, can no longer be run within the customary white monopoly of government. That just means that Negro citizenship must be recognized, and given full opportunity to share in the management of public concerns. It has already started. Richmond

and Roanoke and Newport News and Raleigh and Salisbury and Darlington County (South Carolina) and Augusta and Atlanta and some more places already have Negro members of local school-boards, and like it. North Carolina has for several years had a Negro member of the State school board, and Kentucky has such a member, off and on. Unless the Negro member is able, courageous and representative, getting him on the board does more harm than good, but the modern trend is for the vigorous and representative person. Such a local school board can plan the future of the schools in a way that will satisfy the whole community, Negro no less than white. And the thousand and one small accommodations, needful in a democracy, can be made, without sacrifice of compliance with the new rule of unsegregated education. Made, and made in peace and in agreement, with bargaining on both sides. Suggest to the average white Southerner that he send his children to schools managed entirely by a Negro school-board and he would complain, to put it mildly. And yet, in reverse, that has been the situation for every Negro parent. Election or appointment of Negro personnel to the governing board is the clearest road any Southern city can now take toward agreed compliance with the final decision of the Court.

Much needs to be done to clarify the law. The principle is clear, but what are the immediate steps? Shall South Carolina keep on building "equal" Negro schools, or shall she stop? For the moment she has stopped. Can a local school authority, trying to dodge compliance, do as it chooses about school district lines, or is there some rule of reason? The Pulaski, Virginia case points to a rule of reason, but there has been no follow-up on it. Can a school official "order" Negro children to one school and white children to another, as he pleases, with impunity? Some aspiring Statesmen in the lower South build election campaigns on promises that this can be done. What about teacher-tenure? These and other questions will be resolved in months and in

years ahead; meanwhile each uncertainty creates anxiety.

A helpful thing would be to speed up the movement, long in evidence, toward getting the teachers associations and ultimately the Parent Teachers Associations together, without distinction of race. The teachers hardly seem to realize it, but the economic reason for separate white and Negro Associations is gone. As long as white teachers got more than the Negro teachers there was the talking point that they had to stick together to hold their advantage, and Negro teachers needed to stick together to get what was rightfully theirs. But now that both groups get the same, and from the same source, their direct interest is to be combined, to aid the position of teachers as teachers. Here and there there is some understanding of this point among the officers of the two associations. Kentucky seems to be leading the way. It would seem safe to predict that the economic pull, and the sense of decency with it, will bring about professional organization of all the teachers into single groups, State by State, and Nationally. The same rule applies for the PTA's. They no longer have any separate interest, in law, and they have a great many interests together that know no lines of color. Clearly, everybody benefits by local and official efforts to combine the various groups without regard to race. Here the National Associations can help; pressure from them to end racial separation of teachers and PTA bodies would have a lot of effect. It is a pressure that has been successfully used in a good many other fields.

At what sort of pace can we expect actual desegregation? There is much reason to suppose that geography and population ratio will have something to do with it. A map of the South showing the white-Negro ratio by counties yields a great fish-hook of counties with fifty per cent Negro population or over, reaching down the Coastal Plain, across South Georgia and South Alabama, and up into Eastern Mississippi. The whole of the Delta comes in this area,

and scattered patches in West Tennessee and in Texas. But the fish-hook surrounds a core of almost solidly white counties: the Appallachian mountains and contiguous territory; and then the Ozarks and the Ouachitas, and West Texas, and most of Oklahoma. It is these hundreds of counties with less than five per cent of Negro population that have the easiest chance to drop segregation. What does it mean? Six or eight or eleven Negro children coming into an otherwise white school. Need a'body cry? And these same mountainy counties have a tradition of independent behavior, dating back to a time when their men wore blue suits while plainsmen put on grey. Already a very few of these thinly-Negro localities within the borders of the South have quietly dropped segregation, and the new ruling of the Court will doubtless greatly speed the process. The State Superintendent of Schools in Kentucky, in his official report for 1953, recommended in cold print that Kentucky's law on school segregation be so amended as to permit any counties that wanted to drop segregation to do it. He said it was too expensive in the hill counties. Perhaps it won't now be necessary for the Legislature to make the move (perhaps it will; that's another of the items of law that needs clarifying). But the lesson is that every State in the South, except South Carolina, has some counties that could move over to unsegregated schools with hardly a ripple, and their moving would give the rest of the State experience and example, and pave the way for areas further down to try the new arrangement. No one fails to realize the injustice of this device. Why should a Negro child in Hillamdale County get the best available education beginning in October, 1954, when his cousin, in Flatbottoms County waits till the last ounce of compulsion has reached his local School Board? It isn't justice, but it is a pattern that is almost certain to appear, and it may be the basis of the formula which will produce the solution.

Everything is further along for all the occupational and professional linkages that people can have, across the lines of race. It helps greatly that the nurses associations have combined in all the States except one; that the librarians are customarily in one outfit; that more and more the State and county Medical groups within the South open their membership to qualified practitioners, without regard to race. And organized labor sets an example of the profoundest influence. It is still true that craft unionism in many parts of the South is in practice exclusive or segregated, though many cracks appear in that line; and in the industries which employ substantial proportions of Negro labor neither industrial nor craft unions can organize successfully unless each group is given some approach to equality within the union structure and effort.

A positive program waits to be picked up by the Churches. They already carry the main load, in the South, of getting the doctrine of brotherhood understood in local communities, in its modern terms. Not a lot has been done, it is quite true, toward getting common worship without distinctions of race, (though that has appeared in more places than most people know about); but the leading church bodies, through Denomination-wide Boards and through many area units of church government, have been doing a lot of thinking, and are for the most part trying hard to get implementation on many fronts of the central tenets of religion. One thing which could be readily assumed is the task of preparing parents, and through the parents, the children (in both races) to accept with courtesy the appearance of children from the other group in the public schools. It will come down to a questions of whether mothers will or will not say something like this: "Johnnie, there will be some new children in school this morning, and Mama wants you to be nice to them." There is no other organization in the South with the power or with the tradition that could get parents in large numbers

to prepare their children and watch over the initial steps in integration in this way, and it is much to be hoped that local churches will see and use their opportunity to exemplify doctrine in this way.

A point that is not easy to see, but that in the long run should be of major importance, is the effect in educational results of integrated schools. Hitherto the Negro population has suffered severely just in terms of the learning process from the constrictions of their separate system of schools. The level of literacy, skill, culture, and citizenship which we know today is far below what we can have all through the South when we take up the job of getting the best going education to all our people. When the whole population of the region is well-educated, and is free at school from the wounding lash of racial distinctions, we will have a quality of personality and a resource of competence quite beyond present experience. And in such a South poverty and bitterness will draw further and further into the past.

A simple device in community planning for education could bear a lot of fruit. Because segregation has been immutable, a datum taken for granted, no one has ever planned a school system in any Southern county or city or town just as a system for educating children. So many children, living in such and such concentrations; so many buildings, with so many classrooms and so many teachers; so many High Schools for such and such a load. It would be instructive in economy, in educational administration, and in citizenship, for local communities to draw up such plans, and then to see in what ways that straightforward application of educational opportunity to youngsters has been warped, or is planned to be warped, in recognition of prejudice.

One comment on matters quite current, and then to the heart of the problem. Every praise is due the Negro community of the South and of the

nation for the way the news of the Supreme Court's decision has been taken. Not with parades, not with great assemblies to exult in a new proclamation of emancipation; not with defiance or accusation. To the contrary, the note struck everywhere has been one of quiet satisfaction that a fundamental American principle has been vindicated. And there has been repeatedly , too, the proffer of cooperation with the whole citizen body, community by community, in finding the terms of compliance with the decision. The whole matter has been a great demonstration of the maturity of the Negro people, and of their calm confidence in the working out of solutions within the American framework of democratic procedure and of orderly negotiation. The Court and its advisers in the Department of Justice are to be praised, also, for so shaping the decision as to give opportunity for consultation with the representatives of the affected school systems, and time for absorption of a principle basic to American life, it is true, but overlain with another tradition and doctrine in the South.

Still, let no one suppose that because the Court has spoken wisely and rightly, all will be easy within the South. It won't. Already a pattern emerges in which most of the Southern States will work toward compliance; but some will resist angrily, and even within the States where compliance is officially furthered, prejudice, and stubborn half-hidden administrative resistance will be encountered in a great many places. It is a part of the dilemma of any forward movement in the field of civil rights. One works for changes in the law, putting into the background of one's mind the basic inequalities in status and condition which are intertwined with the distinctions of everyday life. But the great bulk of the white population in those parts of the South which will be most affected by the change is unpersuaded of the sanctity of the cause of civil rights, is daily and deeply aware of actual

inequalities between white people and Negro people, in their own towns and neighborhoods, and is bitterly reluctant to see the law applied where realities, in their view, have not yet caught up with the doctrines involved. Specifically, it would all be so much easier if Negroes all over the South had good, modern homes, instead of the slum shacks in which pervasively they still live; if Negroes on the land were owners or secure tenants, with years of reputable standing in their part of the countryside; if in commercial and industrial employment there were genuine equality of opportunity; if everybody had a reasonable chance to find personal health. These are the real determinants of community attitude. For law, where enforced, despite these basic and all too visible inequalities, grudging consent perhaps; but the abiding task is to achieve a basic equality in the standards of living of the great bulk of the people. Objection to education together will dwindle to insignificance when families live, by and large, on equal terms. This is not to neglect the direct effect of education together in assisting, and that speedily, the process of attaining improved standards in these material things; but it should not be forgotten in the high hopes of today that the abiding task abides.

Pamela

BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION
HOWARD UNIVERSITY

June 29,1954

My dear Mr. Mitchell:

The summer,1954 issue of the JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION, to which you so kindly contributed, will soon be off the press and I am wondering whether or not you desire reprints of your chapter. Our policy is to give each contributor 2 copies of the issue in which his article appears and if he wishes reprints in addition, we are glad to place the order with our publishers, at the contributor's expense.

I am enclosing herewith a schedule of reprint prices. Your article runs approximately 12 pages. Will you please let me know within the next four days whether or not you wish us to order reprints for you and, if so, what type?

If you order reprints we cannot guarantee early delivery. It may or may not take from six to eight weeks or more before delivery. If you do order reprints, please do not send remittance until you are billed.

Trusting that you will give the matter your early attention, I am

Sincerely yours,

Chas. H. Thompson
Editor

HCF

Enc.

RECEIVED
JUL
Southern Regional Council

MEMORANDUM CONCERNING REPRINTS

The JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION furnishes its contributors three copies each of the winter, spring, summer and fall (January, April, July, and October) numbers in which their contributions appear, instead of reprints. Reprints may be secured through the JOURNAL staff at the expense of the contributor. The following is a schedule of prices for reprints:

REPRINTS OF ANY ARTICLE AT TIME OF ORIGINAL RUN

	Quantity	Side Wired, without cover: With Title	Side Wired, without cover: Without Title
4 pages	50	$ 8.00	$ 6.00
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16 pages	50	14.00	12.00
20 pages	50	22.00	20.00
24 pages	50	24.00	22.00
30 pages	50	28.00	26.00
4 pages	100	14.00	12.00
8 pages	100	18.00	16.00
12 pages	100	24.00	22.00
16 pages	100	26.00	24.00
20 pages	100	40.00	38.00
24 pages	100	44.00	42.00
30 pages	100	52.00	50.00

REPRINTS ORDERED AFTER ORIGINAL RUN WILL cost much more than the prices indicated above.

JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION
A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE PROBLEMS
INCIDENT TO THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES

BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

RECEIVED
JUN 10 1954
Southern Regional Council

June 8, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Exec. Director
Southern Regional Council,
60Auburn Avenue, NE.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear George:

This comes to acknowledge receipt of your letter of recent date enclosing your article, in triplicate, for the summer 1954 Yearbook issue of the Journal.

When galley proof is ready, a copy will be sent to you for whatever minor corrections may be necessary.

Thank you for sending the article in triplicate and getting it to me no later than you did.

Sincerely yours,

Chas. H. Thompson

Chas. H. Thompson
Editor

See Mitchell, "article"

June 2, 1954

Mr. Charles H. Thompson
Editor
Journal of Negro Education
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Mr. Thompson:

Here is my effort. Give it any title you want. And I am willing, of course, for needful revision. If it is way off the beam let me know and I will try again.

The truth is that we are all in such a whirl that it is a little hard to settle and think; a problem that we all face and that we must all solve.

Meanwhile that was a noble decision. And after the noise of these bad eggs subsides, I am satisfied that the South will turn in and do the job. Not right away, but suprisingly well.

I had occasion in talking with a labor group the other day to refer the whole matter to clause 7A in NAIRO. Here were labor guys who had been struggling for thirty years -- or fifty, or ninety -- to get recognition of collective bargaining. Bloppo! Mr. FDR gave it to them! And labor measured up. Now here's confirmation of a principle worked toward for a long long time and all involved will measure up. It won't be handsomely achieved in every spot. Neither has collective bargaining been achieved everywhere in a rush. But the principle is here forever and the practice will grow fast.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION

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THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION

TWENTY-THIRD YEARBOOK--INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

An Appraisal of Racial Desegregation in Education

One of the most important social developments which has taken place (and is still in progress) in this country during the past decade has been and is the effort to eliminate compulsory racial segregation from our national life. This movement has extended to all aspects of American life--public service, the armed forces, industry, public accommodation, religion, housing, education, and other areas of our national life. And some encouraging success has attended this effort in all of these areas.

While some initial success has attended this effort, there still remain a number of problems to be solved and much implementation to be effected before it can be said that we have made more than an encouraging start upon our major task. To date, probably the most dramatic changes have occurred or are occurring in the armed forces and in the field of education, although equally significant, if not as many, changes have taken place or are taking place in other areas. The armed forces have announced a policy of non-segregation in all of their branches and are in process of desegregation even in the case of civilian employees. In the field of education, while the question of the constitutionality of segregation is still before the U.S. Supreme Court, a number of instances of desegregation have occurred which suggest not only the possibility of further changes but should be instructive and helpful in future efforts. Negroes are currently enrolled in one or more divisions of the state universities of 12 Southern states, and in private colleges and universities in six or seven of these states, where they were primarily excluded. In several border states, where segregated schools have obtained by permissive legislation or in spite of legislation prohibiting it, desegregation has been recently achieved or is in progress. This latter movement, beginning with New Jersey in 1945, has involved Indiana (1949), Southern Illinois (1950), Arizona and New Mexico (1952), and most recently Kansas (1953).

These changes have taken place over such a wide area, under such varying conditions and within such a brief period of time that little or no critical study has been made either to determine their extent and character or to ascertain how our experience to date might be employed to the best advantage in furthering the ultimate objective of complete racial integration. It would appear that a critical appraisal of what has happened to date and suggestions as to next steps would be especially helpful and timely. Accordingly, it is the purpose of the Twenty-third Yearbook of the JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION, which has as its policy the discussion each year of some important problem in the area of the education of minority groups, to make this appraisal.

It probably should be observed here that some studies and critical discussions have already been made or projected in this field. In 1932, the Yearbook of the JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION comprised the papers presented at a conference on "The Courts and Racial Integration in Education," and the 1951 Spring Conference of the Division of Social Studies at Howard University discussed the problem of "The Integration of the Negro in American Society." And, currently the Fund for the Advancement of Education of the Ford Foundation is making a rather extensive inquiry in this same field. The two conferences were definitely exploratory or limited in scope. While at this writing the results of the Ford Foundation study have not been published, if indeed they have been completely obtained, it is practically certain that they will not exhaust all of the possibilities of further and more complete critical analysis. Thus, such an appraisal as is here proposed, instead of being an undesirable duplication, would constitute a necessary extension.

Another factor which should be mentioned at this writing, is the fact that the U.S. Supreme Court has before it for further argument five cases contesting the constitutionality of legally-enforced segregated schools. It is quite possible that the Court may not render its decision until June; and, of course, no one has any definite knowledge what the decision will be until

it is rendered. However, while the Court's decision might alter somewhat the basic assumptions upon which a critical analysis of the facts defining the segregated school situation may be predicated, it will not alter the situation to such an extent as to change the fundamental character of the problem. For example, even without a definitive decision, desegregation has taken place in higher education in the South, in the public schools of some of the border states, and in other areas of our national life. There is still need for an appraisal of where we are now; a critical determination of what our next steps should be, and constructive suggestions as to how we can utilize our recent successful experiences to make further progress.

For convenience, this Yearbook is divided into two parts. The first part--"An Appraisal of Recent Experience in Desegregation"--is an attempt to ascertain on as broad a scale as possible, the extent, character and success of our recent experience in the desegregation of various aspects of our national life, with particular reference to education. It is obvious that segregation in education is not an isolated phenomenon, but is an integral part of the general problem of caste restrictions in other aspects of our national life. Accordingly, it would be instructive, if not actually necessary, to include other areas than education--public service, the armed forces, industry, public accommodation, sports, religion, housing, and the like, as well as the schools.

It is the purpose of this part of the Yearbook (1) to indicate just what desegregation has been effected to date in a particular area, and community or other reaction to it; (2) to explain briefly how it was brought about; (3) to recommend what further needs to be done in order to attain complete (or a greater degree of) integration; and (4) particularly to point out any lessons learned from the specific experience which might be applicable in general.

Part 1 is divided into two sections: Section A--Desegregation in Non-School Areas; and Section B--Desegregation in Education.

The aim of the second part of the Yearbook "Next Steps in Racial Desegregation in Education" is to present a critical discussion of some of the problems which remain to be solved, and to suggest some next steps looking toward their solution. One of the basic problems in this area will grow out of the nature of the Court's decision in the cases now before it. Another important problem, whatever the Court may decide, is how to utilize the experience which we have had with desegregation in Northern and border areas so as to achieve more complete integration. Still another important problem, despite the nature of the pending decision, is the furtherance of racial desegregation in higher education in the South which has been already achieved in part.

It is our hope that the Supreme Court will hand down its decision early this spring, certainly not later than June. For much of Part 2 will be conditioned by this decision. In fact, Part 2 is essentially a discussion of the meaning and implications of the decision for further desegregation in education, with some suggestions as to what our next steps should be in light of or in spite of such a decision.

May 20, 1954

Mr. Charles H. Thompson
Journal of Negro Education
Bureau of Educational Research
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Mr. Thompson:

I do expect to get my article to you before June 7. I am trying my best to get it written this weekend.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Check file for orig the
& give to Dr. Mitchell

JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION
A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE PROBLEMS
INCIDENT TO THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES

RECEIVED
MAY 19 1954
Southern Regional Council

BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

May 18, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Exec. Director
Southern Regional Council,
60 Auburn Avenue, NE.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear George:

You will recall that when you accepted our invitation to do the article for the forthcoming Yearbook issue of the Journal, I indicated that we would give you two weeks after the decision had been rendered as a deadline. We are all happy, of course, that the decision has been rendered. I am very anxious to get the Yearbook out as soon as possible. I wonder if it would be possible for you to let me have your article not later than June 7th. Can you possibly get it to me on or before that date?

Sincerely yours,

Charlie

Chas. H. Thompson
Editor

JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION
A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE PROBLEMS
INCIDENT TO THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES

BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

January 4, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
60 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

My dear George:

Upon my return to the office, after an extended absence, I am just in receipt of your letter of December 24, in which you so kindly accept my invitation to contribute a chapter to our forthcoming Yearbook on "An Appraisal of Racial Desegregation in Education." May I thank you for consenting to cooperate with us.

A little later I shall send you a tentative table of contents, with the names and official titles of the other contributors.

Sincerely yours,

Chas. H. Thompson
Editor

Recent events

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JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION
A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE PROBLEMS
INCIDENT TO THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES

BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

December 15, 1953

RECEIVED
DEC 17
Southern Regional Council

on H.F. desk to be filed

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
60 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear George:

As you know, each Summer Number of the Journal of Negro Education is devoted to a discussion of some special problem dealing with the education of Negroes. (See enclosed mimeographed materials.) You will note that this Yearbook anticipates that the U.S.Supreme Court will have rendered its decision by June. Whatever the decision may be, it would be just the beginning of the real problem of integration. Hence, we think a Yearbook on some of these problems would be timely and profitable.

One of the few problems, whatever the decision, will be how to develop community acceptance of racial integration, and what steps need to be taken immediately to insure a smooth transition from segregation to integration. In view of the importance of this problem, we are very anxious to get not only theoretical discussions of what should be done, but primarily some commonsense suggestions based upon actual experience in this sort of thing. What does experience indicate as the best approach to this problem?

In spite of the fact that we called upon you to help us last year, which you did so cheerfully and ably, and in spite of the fact that I know you are laboring under your usually heavy schedule of duties, I find that we must ask your cooperation with us again this year. Your knowledge of and experience in this field are so unique that we find ourselves forced to call upon you again so soon. We are anxious to have you do Chapter XXI—"Some Suggested Next Steps in Furtherance of Racial Desegregation in Education: A Symposium," for you have something to say on this question which I do not think anyone else could say as authoritatively, or as well. I hope therefore that you share with us the conviction that this is a "must" and will accept our invitation to make this contribution for us. Will you?

We leave to your expert judgment detailed questions of scope and treatment. What we are interested in is—what steps shall we take next if we get a favirable decision?

For your further information may I state that we are allowing 15 double-spaced, typewritten pages for this chapter, and since part of the answer depends upon what sort of decision the Court renders, we are setting the deadline for the manuscript not later than two weeks after the decision is rendered, if it is not rendered before May 15th, and if it is rendered before that date, we would like to have the manuscript not later than June 1, 1954.

Hoping that you will do the chapter for us and thanking you for an early reply, I am

Sincerely yours,

Charlie

Chas. H. Thompson
Editor

Enc.

THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION

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XXVI. Some Suggested Next Steps in Furtherance of Racial Desegregation in Education .....
Lester B. Granger, Executive Director, National Urban League

December 24, '53

Dear Dean Thompson,

Many thanks for your letter of December 15. I'll be glad to do the best I can, and will try to have it on time!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

August 27, 1954

Miss Ann O'Reilly
Asststant Editor
The Catholic Interracialist
4233 South Indiana Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Miss O'Reilly:

Many thanks for your kind letter of August 23. Here's a screed.

If the plug for the pamphlet is not acceptable in full text, either scrap it or carry it elsewhere, if you care to.

Incidentally, Father Shean, at Rock Hill, for the Catholic Committee of the South, has bought 2,500 copies and has sent them out to members of the Committee. Here's a copy for you.

I was pleased to see the note about Ann Foley and Mary Dolan at Shreveport. I know them both and Father Gremillion also, and will be paying them a visit in December.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

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Encls.

THE CATHOLIC INTERRACIALIST
4233 SO. INDIANA AVE.
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

August 23, 1954

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AUG 25 1954
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Exec. Dir.
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I was much delighted to hear your comments and point of view at the recent Desegregation meeting in Chicago. It struck me that you are certainly in a unique position to know by experience the problems the South will face in attempting to implement the Supreme Court decision. Would it be possible for you to write a short column for our newspaper giving the southern point of view on this vital issue? We are a volunteer organization and cannot afford to pay either our help or our writers. We are able to remain in existence only because people are willing to donate their time and money out of a desire to promote full justice to all people. If you would be willing to help us out, we would indeed be grateful.

I am enclosing a copy of our newspaper. It is in the process of changing from a house organ of five Friendship Houses to a national magazine. For this reason we are particularly interested to get professional men to contribute short articles to us. If you would write us a commentary of about 500 words - 2 type-written pages double-spaced - it would be a boon for us. And if you could introduce a note of levity I think it would be a welcome relief to our readers. Our next deadline comes up September 10. If that is too soon, perhaps you might be able to fit in something by October 10? At any rate we do hope you can do something for us. Also we'd be pleased to have a small photograph to use with the column.

Thank you for whatever you may be able to do for us.

Sincerely,

Ann O'Reilly

Ann O'Reilly
Ass't. Editor

FOR: ~~Miss Anne Dolan~~ Catholic Interracialist
~~Friendship House~~
ANN O'Reilly

FILE COPY

A few weeks ago I was thumbing a ride from one South Carolina city to the next. A white man, who had a job in a textile mill, gave me a ride. He brought up the subject of the Supreme Court's decision on the public schools. I didn't. He wasn't pleased with the pronouncements of various Southern governers. "It looks to me like when a tree has been cut off and is falling over at you, ain't no time to hold it back." I thought he was a wise man. And wiser than many who hold high place in the South today.

Still, he is by no means unique. In my travels about the South I get a good many chances to put in soundings as to popular opinion. Everywhere you get the phrase "it's coming." And the man who has made up his mind that a major change is on its way has little purpose to resist.

Still, it is a very great change for large parts of the South; and it is not going to be an easy matter to bring it about.

An old friend of mine has worked for years on what he calls the "puddle" theory. He says that there is dry ground and there is low ground and the task is to dry up more ground and shrink the low grounds. That is good strategy. The difficulty is that law knows nothing about puddles. The law as now interpreted by the Supreme Court is workable fairly soon in those parts of the South in which both the white and Negro population have achieved a basic equality in well being. Those are areas in which farm ownership or secure tenancy is pretty general for everybody, or areas in which for historical reasons the Negro population is particularly small, or areas in which industrialization has for a good long time provided reasonable wages and the habit of trade union cooperation between white and Negro workers. There are already a few spots of this kind in the South in which school segregation has been diminished. And it is in these areas that one would look for the readiest compliance with the Court's decision.

There are other areas in which the institutional basis of society is different: Tenancy is heavy and the work population on the land is insecure and dependent; the proportion of Negroes is high; and industry has hardly appeared. These are also likely to be the areas in which the doctrine of separate but equal has been most unequally applied, with the result that the white people have a pretty high educational and cultural standard and all except the youngest group of Negro people went only a few years to shack schools. These are the areas in which getting rid of public school segregation is going to be most difficult.

The best recommendation made so far is for the churches to take the lead in local discussion groups between white and Negro citizens which will attempt to get agreement as to the best way desegregation will come about. Such little meetings held in a spirit of friendliness and mutual respect will show that the gap between white and Negro thought in most communities is smaller than is rumored. And those who meet will go on to find the facts about the local schools and how many teachers and how many children and where, and how much transportation and at what cost, and in what areas the schools could be first and most readily put together. With the fact the little group could move on to a plan. And if even a few people in the town have a plan word of it will reach the school officials and that, reaching out for support in implementing the law can move the more readily with the knowledge that some people in the community have agreed on a course for the change.

There is another job for the churches too. In every Southern home within the fairly near future, the time will come when the mother, dressing the children to get them off to school, knowing that that is the day when the two groups of children will first be together, she can communicate to her children her own prejudices and fears if she has them. All she has to say is "John, or Jane, there will be some new children in school this morning and mama wants you to be nice to them. I think only the churches can teach her this new attitude.

And unless the change is made in an altered spirit, there will be inevitable setbacks in the educational process the schools are for. Our Southern Regional Council has put out a unseful booklet to serve as a text for local discussion groups on this problem. It is called Answers for Action: The Schools in the South. It is being very widely used in church and educational circles all through the South. It compresses the findings of the Ashmore Report on the Negro and the schools; reprints the Supreme Court's decision; suggests courses of action in Southern communities; and gives a helpful map of population ratio, county by county. It can be had from the Council at twenty cents a copy. The Council's address is 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

November 3, 1954

Mrs. Alice H. Lewis
Young Women's Christian Association
National Board
600 Lexington Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mrs. Lewis:

Attached is a glossy of Dr. Mitchell for use with his Forum address, which you are publishing in the February issue of The YWCA Magazine.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Brantley
Secretary

YWCA
1855 1955
Centennial of the YWCA in the World

Young Women's Christian Association of the United States of America

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November 1, 1954

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Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your prompt reply to my request for an article from you for the February issue of THE YWCA MAGAZINE. I've spent the last two hours trying to cut your Forum address down to size. No go. Every word seems to be essential, so I reckon that's the way you'll find it in the Magazine come February--just as you spoke your piece at Hunter.

I shall be glad to receive the church statements you have collected.

Now one more little request: Could you have your secretary send us a print of one of your "publicity" photos for use with the article?

Gratefully and sincerely,

Alice H Lewis

(Mrs.) Alice H. Lewis
Managing Editor
THE YWCA MAGAZINE

AHL:ed

To build a fellowship of women and girls devoted to the task of realizing in our common life those ideals of personal and social living to which we are committed by our faith as Christians . . .

From the Purpose of the YWCA

A H. to send summary

October 29, 1954

Mrs. Alice H. Lewis
National Board
Young Women's Christian Association
600 Lexington Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mrs. Lewis:

You have my fullest permission and encouragement to take the Herald-Tribune article and pull it around any way you want for use in the YWCA Magazine's February issue.

We have a good collection of the statements of religious denominations, and a goodish summary will be sent you in a few days.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Mrs. Alice H. Lewis
Managing Editor
THE YWCA MAGAZINE
600 Lexington Avenue
New York 22, New York

YWCA
1855 1955
Centennial of the YWCA in the World

Young Women's Christian Association of the United States of America

National Board

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General Secretary

October 25, 1954

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10/27/54
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

With great interest we heard your address before the Herald Tribune Forum and now, with no diminished interest, we have read it in the October 21 issue of the Herald Tribune.

THE YWCA MAGAZINE's February issue centers on the general theme of brotherhood and we would appreciate very much the privilege of carrying an article from your pen. Your address, with its emphasis on the Church's responsibility in the matter of race relations, is in direct line with what we want. Could you give us an article about 2500 words in length? Or if your days are too full to permit you to meet our deadline, December 1, with a new article, would you give us permission to adapt your Forum address for our February issue?

Another thing we would like to carry along with your article is a series of excerpts from the statements on desegregation of the Catholic Church and the major Protestant denominational bodies. Can your office supply us with copies of these statements?

Will you use the enclosed card to let me know your pleasure in these matters so that I may know what to count on for our February number?

A.H. - copy statements from this Tilly's booklet and send to

Sincerely yours,

Alice H. Lewis

(Mrs.) Alice H. Lewis
Managing Editor
THE YWCA MAGAZINE

AHL:ed
Enc.

To build a fellowship of women and girls devoted to the task of realizing in our common life those ideals of personal and social living to which we are committed by our faith as Christians . . . .

From the Purpose of the YWCA

the YWCA magazine

MARKED COPY
See pp. 6, 7, 8

FEBRUARY 1955
35 CENTS

From an address delivered before the Herald Tribune Forum, October 20, 1954, on "The South's Resources."

FILE COPY

The Church and the Supreme Court Decision

by George S. Mitchell

THE PEOPLE in the southern states have a tough job ahead of them. They carry a high responsibility for showing whether the democratic tradition of the Western World can accomplish by peaceful legal means a change that, as it has come to successive areas around the world, has brought in its train repression, violence, revolution, and war.

The change involved is in the relative status of two peoples racially distinct, but whose lots—economic and otherwise—are cast together. Be it noted also that this supreme test of the democratic tradition comes at one of the weak spots; for the southern states, conceived as most of them were in slavery, have throughout their history known only a foreshortened and limping democratic tradition.

What are the prospects of success? First, you need to know a little about the differences between various parts of the South. Extensive areas of hill country are populated with small and mainly land-owning white farmers, with a stout tradition of independence. Another whole belt of the South—the Piedmont—having also a sturdy farm population, contains the great bulk of the new industry of the region. In still another area—the coastal plain—the aftermath of the plantation system lingers on with wide inequalities in power and status between the mainly white land-owning population and the mainly Negro farm workers.

Segregation Expensive

It is a little known fact that ten per cent of the counties in the South today have less than one per cent of the Negro population, and forty per cent of the counties have less than ten per cent of the Negro population. It is in these counties that you will find the separate Negro school bus hauling a handful of Negro children ten, or thirty, or even fifty miles to the extra, separate Negro school. Segregation is extremely expensive in this area. The habit of independence arms the local people with some disposition to reasonableness in meeting the new arrangements, and it is natural to expect that segregated schools will be dropped in such areas with comparative ease. Even before the Supreme Court's decision, the state superintendent of schools in Kentucky was asking, officially, for a Kentucky law that would allow the mountain counties to get rid of segregated schools on their own.

In the industrial districts, cash money jingles in everybody's britches pockets. Television sets, and white paint on the houses, and white refrigerators in the kitchen begin to come to all the homes. And people in their daily work are accustomed to being together—white and Negro, and where they are organized they are quite frequently in the same unions. Perhaps this situation is a little more difficult than in the mountain counties; but still it is manageable, particularly because in most of the cities and towns residential segregation, as it exists, means that in any case there would be only a comparatively small number of children of one group in schools normally patronized by the other.

Almost inevitably matters will run more slowly in the old plantation areas. In scores of these old cotton counties the white population is smaller than the Negro population. The almost feudal inequality of the old plantation system is breaking up rapidly, but the memory lingers of a time when all black people were wholly dependent, and when the annual need to make them make a cotton crop armed the white man's sense of superiority with economic necessity. To tell the truth, the long-range remedy in all that area is a matter of economic organization—land ownership, secure land tenure, industrial opportunity, good opportunity, good education, and technical education. These are the real cures for the problems of the older South. Unsegregated education would help, and would speed the needed eco-

nomic changes, but there is no use denying that it is going to be resisted in many of those counties.

Church a Factor

One great institution reaches all the counties and all the towns and cities, and that is the church. Religion in the Western World has been the taproot of democratic institutions. Time was when the parish and its vestry governed. And trade unionism in many parts of the South is still today visibly sprouting out of the people's experience of local church administration. Close your eyes and open your ears in a meeting of cast-iron pipe workers in Birmingham and you would think you were in a country church. The church in the South reaches every participant in the legal and political struggle over what to do about the schools. If its message is conciliatory, if its modern representatives can walk in the path of its prophets, we are a long way nearer to agreement and integration. And church leadership in nearly all parts of the South has shown a high loyalty to religious duty.

The Southern Baptist Convention in June of this year, after recognizing the fact that the Supreme Court's decision is in harmony with American constitutional guarantees and with the Christian principles of equal justice and love for all men, urged its people and all Christians "to conduct themselves in this period of adjustment in the spirit of Christ." The Methodist Church as a whole, years ago, declared that there is no place in the Methodist Church for racial discrimination or racial segregation, and a good majority of those Southern Conferences of the Methodist Church that have met since the Supreme Court's decision have resolved in favor of peaceful implementation. The General Assembly of the Southern Presbyterian Church, meeting this June, urged that that church's own institutions of higher learning open their doors to members of all races and asked "in this time of crisis and concern . . . the earnest cultivation and practice of the Christian graces of forbearance, patience, humility, and persistent good will."

The Southeastern Province of the Protestant Episcopal Church, meeting the day after the Supreme Court's decision, agreed as a group that the decision of the Supreme Court was just and right, and urged on public authorities "proper support and direction toward putting this ruling into effect as best manifests our Christian heritage." The Catholic Bishops of the South last year spoke of the church as having "deplored the practice of racial segregation and the injustices that flow from it." And in diocese after diocese in the South separation has disappeared in the Catholic churches and parochial schools.

Other Groups Agree

Similar statements could be quoted from the Disciples of Christ, from the Lutherans, and from various assemblies of church women in the South. B'nai B'rith, the oldest and largest Jewish fraternal organization, recently resolved, particularly for and in the South, that the American people, "working together in a cooperative and democratic spirit . . . can attain this goal (of unsegregated schools) by orderly and legal adjustment consistent with both religious and democratic ideals."

It is easy to say that these brave pronouncements of religious bodies mean little when, by and large, prevailing Protestant Christianity in the South worships in strict segregation. But even that arrangement crumbles in more southern places than most people know about.

If I might try to put the situation graphically: Here is a two-strand cotton rope. One strand is black, and one strand is white. Because we have had so little twist, so little intertwining, of the rope, it is pretty weak. The name of the rope is democracy in the South. And on this rope comes today a fierce pull and stretch. The poor rope shows signs of breaking. Mercifully, there is an emergency rope that can be brought out to hold things together—the Christian Church. It reaches the conscience of almost the whole people of the South. The churches of the region could spin, if they would, in a matter of weeks, a rope that would hold.

It has fallen to my lot to have unique opportunities in recent months to sound out trade-union opinion in the South. I can report that nearly everywhere the view is, "It's coming." And white trade unionists have now, in a large majority, many years' experience within their own union movements of the friendly and fairly equal working together of the two races for a common purpose. Some of the unions in the South, considered among the more conservative ones, have already resolved against the plans of state government to break up the public school system. I do not argue that the labor movement in the South will be in the forefront in pressing for local integration. But I do think the prediction can be risked that as organizations they will not fight desegration. And most of them will put their strength on the side of orderly enforcement of the law.

World-Wide Movement

I began by saying that the crisis that now grips the South is the reflection on these shores of a world-wide movement of oppressed peoples for equality and status. I think the inner meaning of the demand for unsegregated schools in the South is the demand for recognition of the dignity and worth of every American without regard to color. The transition in the South will almost inevitably vary within each state, and sometimes within a county. The law is an inflexible instrument that rightly tries to get itself enforced without distinction of time and place. Truth is, I think, that in those parts of the South in which the white people will bring themselves to aproach Negro citizens with full respect

for their dignity and importance, agreement and adjustment to a program for unsegregated schools can be reached. Where white people are stiff-necked and say, "Never, nary a one," then the law will have a try at running its course unassisted by conciliation and public agreement.

Never was there a time in the South when so small a thing would buy so much. For a heart's burden of a new respect for human dignity, any southern town can accomplish this change with comparative tranquility.

For the method: the best arrangement is opening the administration of the school system to courageous representative Negro citizenry. A dozen southern cities and towns have done that within the last couple of years. A workable substitute is numerous local, biracial discussion meetings to agree on the issues, to find the facts, and to make a plan. Such meetings are occurring in many parts of the South. Most of them will succeed in their objective of finding a way to make the change. And in all of them the small flame that must burn, the spirit that must appear, is a new one of respect that the people of the South can muster.

Lastly, for those who would organize resistance, I quote a textile worker in South Carolina speaking a few weeks after the Supreme Court's decision: "Looks to me like," he said, "when a tree has done been cut and is falling over at you, ain't no time to holler, 'hold it back'."

Excerpts from the Statements of the Churches

The World Council of Churches

The Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches declares its conviction that any form of segregation based on race, color or ethnic origin is contrary to the Gospel, and is incompatible with the Christian doctrine of man and with the nature of the Church of Christ. The Assembly urges the churches within its membership to renounce all forms of segregation or discrimination and to work for their abolition within their own life and within society.

(Evanston, Illinois, August, 1954)

National Council of Churches

The unanimous decision of the Supreme Court that segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional gives a clear status in law to a fundamental Christian and American principle. . . . It offers the promise of further steps for translating into reality Christian and democratic ideals. The decision is a milestone in the achievement of human rights, another evidence of the endeavor to respect the dignity and worth of all men. . . .

To put the decision into effect will test the good will and discipline of people in many communities. . . . In the period of transition from one pattern to another (whatever the length of the period prescribed by the court) we know that the churches and individual Christians will continue to exert their influence and leadership to help the authorized agencies in the several communities to bring about a complete compliance with the decision of the Supreme Court. The law of neighborliness is the great guide available to Christians as they deal with this situation in their local communities. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." The second part of the great commandment contains the potential for lifting men to a new level of social responsibility and for creating new dimensions of human brotherhood.

(Adopted by the General Board, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., May 19, 1954)

Catholic Interracial Council

We are confident that throughout the country thoughtful citizens will support with appropriate efforts this historic reaffirmation of the principle of equality of all men before the law.

(Statement made May 18, 1954)

Synagogue Council of America

The Synagogue Council of America greets with deep satisfaction the historic decision of the Supreme Court of the United States ending segregation in the public schools of America.

This decision is another expression of the Prophetic insistence that in the eyes of God all men are his children and therefore equal, regardless of their religion or race.

The sincere believer in the Fatherhood of God must believe in the brotherhood of man and consequently that what is basic in our neighbor is the color of his conduct, not his skin.

This epic pronouncement illumines again the great soul of America; it is conclusive repudiation of the Communist challenge to the genuineness of America's democratic avowals.

(The Synagogue Council is the coordinating agency for the Conservative, Orthodox, and Reform branches of Judaism)

American Baptist Convention

We commend the United States Supreme Court in its historic decision of 1954 outlawing segregation in public education. We affirm our belief that God is no respecter of persons, that every individual is of infinite worth in His sight, and that it is His will

File Copy

FILE COPY

November 29, 1954

Mr. Arthur J. Moore, Jr.
Assistant Editor
World Outlook
150 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Moore:

I have been on a trip and I am just back to your letter of November 15. You are perfectly welcome to use the Herald-Tribune article, but I notify you of the fact that the magazine of the YWCA (which has its head office in New York) some weeks ago asked for and had permission to reprint that talk in their February, 1955 issue.

That being the case, it occured to me that you might not wish to make use of the Herald-Tribune article. So I have done afresh most of the ideas that are in that article. Here's the manuscript.

I don't think much of it because it was done in a hurry. Take your choice -- use either one or neither.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

The YWCA magazine also reprinted it in Feb '55 issue

WORLD OUTLOOK
150 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

RECEIVED 11/16/54
Southern Regional Council

November 15, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

In connection with Race Relations Sunday of 1955, WORLD OUTLOOK magazine would like to run a lead article dealing with the churches and their role in achieving desegregation. In this connection, we should like to reprint your speech given at the Herald-Tribune Forum in October.

I have already written to the Herald-Tribune for reprint permission, but of course we would not publish without your consent.

I must confess to you that this procedure is a little irregular. Ordinarily, we would write to you direct asking if you would write us an article on the subject. I would do this now were it not that our printing deadline obliges us to have February material on hand before December 1. We had been hoping to receive an article by Walter White on the subject but illness will prevent this.

Since even I do not have the sheer brass to ask if you would write us an article before December 1, I thought of the reprint which will be of great interest to our readers. If you would care to expand or change the article in any way (such as more detailed description of what the churches and particularly The Methodist Church, can and are or are not doing to speed desegregation) we should be most pleased.

I hope that I do not sound too demanding in this letter, but I do consider it most important that this subject should be examined at this time and by someone of stature.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur Moore

Arthur J. Moore, Jr.
Assistant Editor

AJM:fjm

By: George S. Mitchell

PROPOSED ARTICLE FOR WORLD OUTLOOK

FILE COPY

Recently at the Herald-Tribune Forum Harry Ashmore, Editor of the Arkansas Gazette at Little Rock, made a most interesting observation. Every major denominational group in the South in which a split had occured on the issue of slavery had, he said, within recent months resolved officially that the decision of the Supreme Court in the public school segregation cases was morally right and deserved acceptance.

Some of these statements are as follows: From the Southern Baptist Convention in June, 1954 "That we recognize the fact that this Supreme Court decision is in harmony with the constitutional guarantee of equal freedom to all citizens, and with the Christian principles of equal justice and love for all men. . . . That we urge Christian statesmen and leaders in our churches to use their leadership in positive thought and planning to the end that this crisis in our national history shall not be made the occasion for new and bitter prejudices, but a movement toward a united nation embodying and proclaiming a democracy that will commend freedom to all peoples." From the Florida Conference of the Methodist Church: "We commend the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court guaranteeing to all American citizens equal educational opportunities, making the law of the land more consistent with the Scriptures and with the declared principles of the Churches, including our own. . . ." From the North Georgia Conference of the Methodist Church: "We believe our people should face the practical phases of this decision with the courage, poise and maturity of law-abiding citizens." From the Louisiana Conference of the Methodist Church: "We hold that Christian citizenship involves adherence to the Constitution even when the Supreme Court renders a decision contrary to our individual sentiment. We feel that this decision is consistent with and supports the view of the General Conference. . . . We call upon the governor, the members

of the state legislature, the public school authorities, and our people to explore ways and means of implementing the historic and unanimous decision." From the June, 1954, General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U. S.: "That the General Assembly affirm that enforced segregation of the races is discrimination which is out of harmony with Christian theology and ethics, and that the Church, in its relationship to cultural patterns, should lead rather than follow."

Quite similar statements could be adduced from the Catholic Church, from the Lutherans, from the Disciples of Christ, and from many others. This is a heartening development. The more so because the active work of religious people all over the United States, and particularly in the South, is going to be sorely needed in getting local community acceptance of the Supreme Court's decision.

I run a race relations agency extending into the thirteen Southern states. Our Southern Regional Council is in daily contact with the raw edge of this problem. And we are convinced that the greatest hope for peaceful progress in the whole matter is bound up with what church people will do.

The South is of many parts and of many minds. In some parts, more particularly the Appalachian areas and in the Ozarks and the far Southwest, there is every reason to expect compliance without a great deal of to-do. In another whole tier of counties industry has made such progress that both the white and Negro populations have achieved a basically similar economic and cultural status. The population is heavily urban and cities will generally find integration easier to work out than open country areas. In the old plantation counties, stretching around the coastal plain and extending around over the lower Mississippi valley, such a basic human equality is far from having been attained. In those counties, many of which have smaller white populations than Negro, public school integration is likely to get its

strongest opposition. In the coastal country and in much of Florida industrial opportunity is now available to both the white and Negro population, and while integration will be resisted, it is likely to be achieved spottily at a fairly early date.

The problem in some areas of the South is beyond what local civil institutions can cope with. The South in general has the tradition of political and civic democracy in a foreshortened form. Bias in those areas, therefore, puts civil democracy to its utmost strain.

Civil democracy in any case rests fundamentally upon religious concepts. And where civil democracy is under strain, it would seem to be the duty of the church to reknit with its gospel of brotherhood the fraying rope of community cohesion.

All well and good. And Christian people as a matter of theory will doubtless agree. The pronouncements of the major church bodies show that purpose. But how is religious purpose to be translated into local action?

The root of the problem is local understanding and agreement. Unfortunately, most Southern communities have few lay institutions through which agreement on such an important matter can be reached as between white and Negro citizens. One might think that that is to be done by local school boards. But with nine or ten carefully known exceptions, local school boards are Caucasian. And the Negro members of Southern state legislatures can be counted by a man who knows 1, 2, and 3. And the same is the case for Negro members of state school boards.

This is where the churches can exemplify Christian doctrine. They can arrange small neighborhood discussion meetings of white and Negro people. Such meetings in quite a number of places in the South have already reached agreement as to the issue, and have gon on to explore the local facts about the schools. How many children in School A? How many children in school B?

How many school buildings? Condition of the buildings? Cost of the buildings? How far do what children travel or walk to reach their school? How far do certain other children? What regulations govern teacher tenure? If the schools were put together, how many children from what grades would switch from A to B and from B, to A? What would be the savings, or what would be the added cost in new school structures? In many communities, such an array of facts casts up as an end result that nine or eighteen or thirty-one children would, as a matter of fact, enter a different school from the one they have been going to, and those who take part in the discussions are apt to form the opinion that such degree of integration as the local facts call for is managable and managable at an early date. Thus a plan has been born. And the likelihood is great that in the coming years, local school officials will be under stern legal pressure to comply with the Court's decision, and will be seeking eagerly for some segment of supporting community opinion. This is a workable course of action, and one in which the churches can clearly most easily take the lead.

Often the communities do not begin something the church women can begin. They are parents and they are the ones who go to most of the PTA meetings, and through the various church organizations they feel keenly the impulse of Christian conscience.

A practicable, but often unexpected result comes out of such meetings. Negro citizens, approached in this way, show a degree of responsibility for which they had not formerly been given credit. They don't want strife and turmoil; they want schools that comply with the law and that comply peacefully and in an atmosphere of consent conducive to good education. Asked to play their fair responsible part toward achieving integration by combined community effort, there is every reason to believe that they will respond honorably and well.

A word of caution should be said about such meetings. If the two groups come together under circumstances reminiscent of the South's burden

of patronage and disdain -- no good. Each group must come with the clear purpose of solving in mutual dignity common problems. And that method gets close to the heart of the whole matter that public school integration is about. The central core of the demand of deprived peoples the world over is respect for equal human dignity. It is by an accident of American constitutional law that that same demand comes through our courts as a finding that segregated public schools are unconstitutional. Unsegregated public schools are seen as a step -- albeit an important one -- along the journey to equal human dignity. And those neighborhoods and towns which contrive successful local recognition of equal human dignity will be much nearer to peaceful agreement on what to do about the schools. Only religion is strong enough to bring alive in many a neighborhood equal human dignity.

Another task the churches could take up locally. In every Southern home there will come some day a morning when the mother is dressing the children to get them off to school, knowing in her heart that on that day there will be a new situation in the school. By a shrug or a word, she can communicate her burden of prejudice to the next generation. Or she can say "John," or "Jane, there will be some little new children in school this morning, and mama wants you to be nice to them." That is a Christian duty; and I should think ministers and lay people would wish to take it up.

The Western world is under challenge today. And the Western tradition is a Christian tradition. The whole world watches to see whether democracy and Christianity in America are strong enough to comply with that lawful conscience of America which lives in the Supreme Court. Unless church people, white and Negro, are persuaded that integration will work, it won't. Here is a great opportunity for America to live up to its finest motives. If local churches will remember and act upon their central teachings, none of us need have fear as to community responses.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR
1751 N Street, N. W. Washington 6, D.C.

FOREWORD: The following summary of an address by Dr. George S. Mitchell is reproduced here with his permission as part of the preparatory material for the Fifth Annual Conference of NCALL. The address was given originally before the Southeastern Jurisdictional Town and Country Commission of the Methodist Church.

THE SPIRIT OF THE NEW SOUTH

FILE COPY

by

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Many sociological studies have pointed to the intimate connection between stability in land tenure and stability in the cultural and religious development of local communities. Typically, the rural church in an area of heavy farm tenancy has a shifting population only a comparatively few of whom are closely associated with the church. Such areas are also generally characterized by considerable rural poverty, run-down land, and little community purpose. On the other hand, the rural churches have endured and have grown for the most part in areas in which land tenure is stable.

Unfortunately for the rural church and most of the South, our patterns of land tenure have been unstable. In the breakup of slavery the South developed a system of annual oral leases which has endured pervasively into the present. All praise to those who, in the first days of Southern defeat, by the device of the sharecrop and oral tenancy contract, put man and land together. Written leases would have been foolish at the time. Not too many of the landlords commanded the needed literacy and hardly any of the people who went to work on the land as croppers or tenants could have made heads or tails of a written lease.

It is to be remembered, also, that the basic crop of the South was cotton, which was an annual operation: plow, plant, chop, lay-by, pick, settle, rest; plow, plant, chop, etc., and the one-year lease fitted that arrangement.

But such a leasing system put an automatic damper on ambition and enterprise among the tenants. It could happen, and not infrequently it did happen, that a tenant who was industrious and who applied the best going methods he knew on the land he was tending, and who limed it and terraced it and set out trees and cared diligently for the soil had some irrelevant dispute with the landlord and was told that he had one month or two months to move. If he asked what about the value of the trees and the care and the lime on the land and could he have a settlement with his landlord on that, he was a lucky tenant if his landlord said "yes, I will be glad to pay the full and fair amount of those improvements you made." More usually, he left and he left the fruits of his work behind. Every tenant knows the danger of that system, and knowing it is the more careless of the land.

Nearly every other civilized western country has, many decades ago, departed from a leasing system of this kind, and has required by law the use of a long-term agricultural lease with strict clauses for compensation for unexhausted improvements and provision for arbitration in disputes between landlord and tenant as to the values of improvements involved.

It would be well for the land and the people of the South if some such leasing system became customary throughout the region. It is the more needed because the South in the last few years moves rapidly from cotton to cows, and nobody can wisely go into the cattle business on an annual unwritten lease. Such a short-term tenant is not going to lay down a pasture that will take five years to come to perfection and is not

going to put up the fences and the barns and spread the lime and build the milk house that will be needed, if the land is not his securely. In this or that spot, it will occasionally be found that landlord "X" has worked out a queer lease with tenant "K" under which the land is pretty securely in "K's" possession for five years or fifteen years and the landlord provides a certain stated proportion of the needed capital and equipment, and receives in return one-half the bull calves, or every third heifer, or half the milk check. But such leases are a rarity. And the upshot of it has been that if a man wants to get from cotton over into cattle, he needs enough capital not only to lease the land and build the barns, but to buy the land too. And the consequence of that is that getting into cattle is too hard a business for the poor fellow. So he sticks by his cotton and gradually gets crowded out.

Of course, it would be possible to move over to long-term written leases by legislative processes. The states indubitably have the power to require such leases. They could even resort to statutory leases with a stipulation that all land not rented on written leases should be deemed to be leased upon the terms of the statutory lease. But this is not politically feasible in any Southern state today and the lawyers say that it would not get very far in any case as courthouse lawyers would prepare exempting leases that would circumvent the purpose of the law.

So it comes back to an education job of getting farm communities to adopt a stable system of land tenure. Doubtless in the end much will be done. But if we wait for the change to occur without special effort, the probability is that the land will have been injured further, and rural community life in many places will have declined beyond repair.

So, it is urged that the rural church concern itself with matters of land tenure. Suppose that a given church in cooperation with its Board of Stewards prepared a map of farm lands within its area and distinguished on the map between properties held by owners and by tenants with written leases and by tenants with oral leases and by croppers. It should also distinguish whether worked on exclusively or partly by hired labor. Then it could be the task of the local church, reaching through a number of years, gradually to get erased from the map those blocks of land insecurely held and build around it a community of stable farm families working land to which they feel a real attachment and making a thriving and healthy rural community.

Why should not there be established a criterion of the success of the rural church its achievement in improving the tenure of the community around it? In the contests, now becoming frequent in the South, for the Rural Church of the Year, we award marks for the church house, and for neat pews, and good singing, and Bible study, and professions, but never is there a space for marks -- good or bad -- for reduction of farm tenancy or improvement of rural security.

Everyone is familiar with the story of the church on a hill which failed to repair its rain gutters. And the drip made a rill and the rill became a gulley and one day the church-house fell in the gulley. Insecurity of land tenure is a slow process, but just as surely it will take out the props in homes and well-being from under the rural church.

Next it is suggested that the various demonimations in the South seriously, though circumspectly and carefully, take up the matter of land tenure. It would be known abroad after the passage of a few years that Methodist farmers, or Baptist farmers were on their own places or worked them mostly on long-term written leases, and had some security about moving away. A reputation of this kind will do more than a little to hold present membership in the church, and to strengthen allegiance to the life which the church ministers.

January 25, 1955

February 14, 1955

Mr. Arthur J. Moore, Jr.
Assistant Editor
World Outlook
150 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Moore:

Hi! How very kind that was of World Outlook to send $35.00 for the article. I paid it over to our necessities, the Southern Regional Council, which greatly appreciates it.

I thought the article most beautifully handled.

Do come to see us when you are here.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

WORLD OUTLOOK
150 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

Please put KS on & ret. to GSM
To answer
wont need receipt
GSM

February 7, 1955

FEB 10 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Please excuse my long delay in writing you this letter -- our annual meeting and various distractions intervened.

I am writing to thank you for your article. I enclose a check for $35.00 but even a more adequate amount would not be sufficient to express my appreciation. You should have received a copy of our February issue of WORLD OUTLOOK by now; I trust that our treatment of your article was satisfactory.

I was in Atlanta for only a day or two at Christmas or else I should have stopped by the office and spoken to you.

Best wishes to you and everyone at the Council.

Sincerely,

Arthur Moore

Arthur J. Moore, Jr.
Assistant Editor

AJM:fjm

FILE COPY

March 24, 1955

Mr. Bem Price
Associated Press
Star Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bem:

Floating around in history and in the minds of many people at the hearings, and of many people who read about the arguments made at the hearings, will be an important conflict of doctrine. The conflict will be between those who take an old view of what should be done to bring forward a disadvantaged and dependent population and those who take a more modern and perhaps a more instructed view. The old view was that you should put welfare on the people who needed it, and you held them in subordination until you thought they had received enough welfare. The new view is that unless people feel tangibly the boon of freedom and equality, they take on welfare skimpily and with such gaps that it is of little effect.

By far the greater portion of thoughtful Southern white people have held to that comfortable first doctrine. They said, "Here is a people making a lot of progress. They are still handicapped by poor housing, poor schools, insufficient skill, and poor health. When more has been done along these lines and after a further long period of years, then maybe it will be time to talk about yielding respect for equal human dignity." So Mr. Churchill said about India before India was set free. And they have done very well, thank you. So the French said about Indo-China, and mighty nearly got us into a hopeless bit of warfare on that. They are still saying it about French North Africa. Never mind more examples: they are a'plenty.

Examples are also a'plenty to show that if a dependent people is given self-government its humblest members work like beavers to achieve literacy and health and skill and stability. The Gold Coast is a nice case. So is Liberia, Ceylon, Java, the Phillipines -- many more.

The Supreme Court of the United States last May 17th in a thunderclap of decision said that the United States was going to do it by recognizing equal human dignity first.

Of course that makes it hard for the people who have made up their minds to see the job through along old lines. And it is going to be quite a wrench for a great many Southern communities to bring themselves around to providing locally and in detail respect for equal human dignity. But that's the job the South faces.

And we don't get on with the job by arguing that the time hasn't come; that we need more slum clearance; and Negro people need to show greater strength of character; and so on.

You get on with the job by meeting openly, frankly, and equally with courageous local Negro citizens, and finding the facts about the two local school systems and planning together on the basis of accurate shared knowledge how, in the light of the situation in that community and in the light of change in the law, to combine the two school systems. And you plan the pace at which it is to be done. That process involves the whole community, white and Negro, in the public decision. The South will learn what a great many Southern people more than half know anyway is the truth, that under these circumstances Negro citizens in the South will show constructiveness, reasonableness, temperateness, statesmanship, ingenuity, courage, and purpose. And these qualities are the end-product of welfare.

Put another way: the argument for long postponement falls in proportion as equal dignity is offered.

As far as the schools are concerned themselves, both the white children and the Negro children will get a lot more and better education under the new arrangement than under the old. They will learn how to run a democracy together. And unfortunately for all we have lavished on segregated education in the South thus far, that end-product of education we haven't achieved.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

April 5, 1955

Miss Ruth B. Robinson
Editor, Town and Country Church
Division of Home Missions
National Council of Churches
257 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Miss Robinson:

The April, 1955, issue carried, to our gratitude, the item I did for the Southeastern Jurisdictional Town and Country Commission of the Methodist Church, last summer. Nice to see it thus circulated.

The notelet on the first page, "In this Issue" identified me as "connected with the Southern Regional Conference of the Methodist Church, Atlanta, Georgia." Actually I am employed by the Southern Regional Council, with offices in Atlanta. This is an independent body, having membership from all faiths, and the Methodist Church is in no way sharing policy direction over us. We like Methodists, and they help us in many ways, (as do people of a variety of religious groups), but there isn't any organizational connection.

I wouldn't expect the matter to crop up, but for your office files I set it straight.

Here's a leaflet about SRC!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

bc: Mr. James Sells

TOWN & COUNTRY CHURCH

Market Copy - see Page 6

FILE COPY

In This Issue

- On Pages 1 and 2 we present "Hymns from the Country," by Benson Y. Landis, former editor of TOWN AND COUNTRY CHURCH, now one of the members of the editorial advisory committee.
- "Sunday is the Lord's Day . . . a day for spiritual growth," writes Austin H. Armitstead—Page 5. Mr. Armitstead is pastor of the Center Moriches (N.Y.) Methodist Church and president of the Suffolk County Council of Churches.
- For "The Spirit of the New South," see Page 6. George Mitchell is connected with the Southern Regional Conference of the Methodist Church, Atlanta, Ga.
- The Story of the Connecticut River Watershed Council is presented on Pages 8-10 by Nathan Tufts, former president of the Council, and Philip Steinmetz, Episcopal clergyman at Ashfield, Mass.
- For Book Reviews—see Pages 14-15.
- A list of in-service training opportunities for town and country ministers is presented on Page 16.

No. 106
April, 1955

Hymns from the Country

BENSON Y. LANDIS

• We have *Hymns of the Rural Spirit*,* but I have not seen any collection of hymns actually written in or coming from country churches, or by rural people. Indeed, some hymns conveying a rural spirit have been written in London and hosts of other urban places. Recently, my curiosity was aroused concerning several origins of hymns by two events. I saw a television program portraying in highly dramatic (and possibly therefore inaccurate) terms the way "Silent Night" was written and the music for it composed. Second, I was impressed on going through just one collection that a goodly number of hymns in general use came out of country church experience. I wish to sketch a few of these in this article.

"Silent Night"

According to the television program, "Silent Night" came from a rural Roman Catholic church in the Austrian mountains, so small and unimportant that a stern monsignor was about to advise the Bishop to close it. The Bishop was a kind and understanding man who heard the singing of "Silent Night" and made a contribution thereupon to keep the church going. Be that as it may, the circumstances under which the hymn was written are most interesting, indeed.

It seems established that a few nights before Christmas of 1818, the organ failed to function in the church of St. Nicola, Oberndorf, in the Alps of Austria. Under the spur of necessity, Fr. Joseph Mohr, the assistant priest in the parish, composed lines, and Franz Gruber, the organist, composed music for a guitar which could be used for the Christmas service.

The hymn was written for two voices, and tradition has it that Gruber played the guitar, Fr. Mohr sang the tenor lead, and Gruber sang bass.

How the hymn came into general circulation is not clear. It was published in a Roman Catholic song and prayer book in Leipzig, in 1838. In the U.S.A. it appeared in a compilation in 1849, *Devotional Harmony*, described as a Methodist compilation, by Dr. Armin Haeussler, who compiled that excellent source book, *The Story of Our Hymns*, which is a handbook to the Hymnal of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, published, 1952, by Eden Publishing House, St. Louis.

Whittier's Hymns

Certainly John Greenleaf Whittier's hymns came from the country. Once no less than sixty-four of Whittier's hymns were in common use in churches. He said of himself: "I am not really a hymn-writer for the good reason that I know nothing of music. Only a very few of my pieces were written for singing." He went on, however: "A good hymn is the best use to which poetry can be devoted."

In *Hymns of the Rural Spirit*, two Whittier hymns are included. One is

(*Continued on Page 2*)

* A hymnal available from the National Council of Churches, 120 East 23rd Street, New York 10, N.Y., for 50 cents a copy.

(*Continued from Page 5*)

During the first two years of my pastorate, the florist was in church with his family about eight times. Lately they have attended an average of three out of four Sundays. It is wonderful to see him with his wife and two children in church. Usually I can see the chicken farmer and his family in church, too. In our community there are only a few community activities where the family can be together, and one of them is the Sunday morning church service.

Spiritual Growth

A fellow minister from the next community asked, "What's happened to the florist?" It seems that it was customary in his church to place a rosebud on the altar when a new baby came to a member of the church family. This minister had always been able to call the florist on the phone, as late as Sunday morning. One Sunday morning the florist told the minister that he wasn't open for business on Sunday—but he let him have a rosebud for that one occasion.

When laymen are so busy on Sunday that they have no time for the spiritual growth of their families, it becomes dangerous. Sunday is the Lord's Day. We all need time for spiritual growth. We should take time to worship with our children.

"The Little Towns"

• "Despite the continued growth of our great cities, and apart from the millions of Americans living on farms, nearly 42,000,000 of our people live in 'the sticks' or small towns," writes Dorothy Thompson in a recent issue of the *Ladies' Home Journal.*

Dorothy Thompson loves the small towns of our country. She loves the hospitality of small-town people, their neighborliness, and their "interest in and curiosity about places they have not seen." She believes that small-town people have a civic consciousness that is higher than that of city populations, for, she says, "in the great cities people vote for reforms—in the little towns they undertake reforms."

The Spirit of the New South*

GEORGE S. MITCHELL

• Many sociological studies have pointed to the intimate connection between stability in land tenure and stability in the cultural and religious development of local communities. Typically, the rural church in an area of heavy farm tenancy has a shifting population only a comparatively few of whom are closely associated with the church. Such areas are also generally characterized by considerable rural poverty, run-down land, and little community purpose. On the other hand, the rural churches have endured and have grown for the most part in areas in which land tenure is stable.

Unstable Patterns of Land Tenure

Unfortunately for the rural church and most of the South, our patterns of land tenure have been unstable. In the breakup of slavery the South developed a system of annual oral leases which has endured pervasively into the present. All praise to those who, in the first days of Southern defeat, by the device of the sharecrop and oral tenancy contract, put man and land together. Written leases would have been foolish at the time. Not too many of the landlords commanded the needed literacy and hardly any of the people who went to work on the land as croppers or tenants could have made heads or tails of a written lease.

It is to be remembered, also, that the basic crop of the South was cotton, which was an annual operation: plow, plant, chop, lay-by, pick, settle, rest; plow, plant, chop, etc., and the one-year lease fitted that arrangement.

But such a leasing system put an automatic damper on ambition and enterprise among the tenants. It could happen, and not infrequently it did happen, that a tenant who was industrious and who applied the best going methods he knew on the land he was tending, and who limed it and terraced it and set out trees and cared diligently for the soil, had some irrelevant dispute with the landlord and was told that he had one month or two months to move. If he asked what about the value of the trees and the care and the lime on the land and could he have a settlement with his landlord on that, he was a lucky tenant if his landlord said "yes, I will be glad to pay the full and fair amount of those improvements you made." More usually, he left and he left the fruits of his work behind. Every tenant knows the danger of that system, and knowing it is the more careless of the land.

Nearly every other civilized western country has, many decades ago, departed from a leasing system of this kind, and has required by law the use of a long-term agricultural lease with strict clauses for compensation for unexhausted improvements and provision for arbitration in disputes between landlord and tenant as to the values of improvements involved.

Stable System Needed

It would be well for the land and the people of the South if some such leasing system became customary throughout the region. It is the more needed because the South in the last few years has moved rapidly from cotton to cows, and nobody can wisely go into the cattle business on an annual unwritten lease. Such a short-term tenant is not going to lay down a pasture that will take five years to come to perfection and is not going to put up the fences and the barns and spread the lime and build the milk house that will be needed, if the land is not his securely.

In this or that spot, it will occasionally be found that landlord "X" has worked out a queer lease with tenant "K" under which the land is pretty securely in "K's" pos-

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* From an address given before the Southeastern Jurisdictional Town and Country Commission of the Methodist Church.

session for five years or fifteen years and the landlord provides a certain stated proportion of the needed capital and equipment, and receives in return one-half the bull calves, or every third heifer, or half the milk check. But such leases are a rarity. And the upshot of it has been that if a man wants to get from cotton over into cattle, he needs enough capital not only to lease the land and build the barns, but to buy the land too. And the consequence of that is that getting into cattle is too hard a business for the poor fellow. So he sticks by his cotton and gradually gets crowded out.

Of course, it would be possible to move over to long-term written leases by legislative processes. The states indubitably have the power to require such leases. They could even resort to statutory leases with a stipulation that all land not rented on written leases should be deemed to be leased upon the terms of the statutory lease. But this is not politically feasible in any southern state today and the lawyers say that it would not get very far in any case as courthouse lawyers would prepare exempting leases that would circumvent the purpose of the law.

Education Job

So it comes back to an education job of getting farm communities to adopt a stable system of land tenure. Doubtless in the end much will be done. But if we wait for the change to occur without special effort, the probability is that the land will have been injured further, and rural community life in many places will have declined beyond repair.

So, it is urged that the rural church concern itself with matters of land tenure. Suppose that a given church in cooperation with its Board of Stewards prepared a map of farm lands within its area and distinguished on the map between properties held by owners and by tenants with written leases and by tenants with oral leases and by croppers. It should also distinguish whether worked on exclusively or partly by hired labor. Then it could be the task of the local church, reaching through a number of years, gradually to get erased from the map those blocks of land insecurely held and build around it a community of stable farm families working land to which they feel a real attachment and making a thriving and healthy rural community.

Everyone is familiar with the story of the church on a hill which failed to repair its rain gutters. And the drip made a rill and the rill became a gulley and one day the churchhouse fell in the gulley. Insecurity of land tenure is a slow process, but just as surely it will take out the props in homes and well-being from under the rural church.

It is suggested that the various denominations in the South seriously, though circumspectly and carefully, take up the matter of land tenure. It would be known abroad after the passage of a few years that Methodist farmers, or Baptist farmers, were on their own places or worked them mostly on long-term written leases, and had some security about moving away. A reputation of this kind will do more than a little to hold present membership in the church, and to strengthen allegiance to the life which the church ministers.

Farmer and His Government

• About seventy farmers, town and country ministers, and church officials met in Washington, February 8-10, for an informal seminar on "The Christian Farmer and His Government." This is an annual vocational seminar convened by the National Council of Church's Department of the Church and Economic Life. The persons attending are invited by denominational agencies and councils of churches. The seminar is strictly for personal study and inquiry—it takes no positions and passes no resolutions. Each individual participating is free to come to his own conclusions.

Those attending heard officials of the U.S. Department of Agriculture explain their program. One of their spokesmen was True D. Morse, the Under-Secretary of Agriculture. Later the seminar heard Mrs. Coya Knutson, a farm woman and a new Congress-woman from the Red River Valley of Minnesota, dissent from U.S.D.A. policy.

Senators of both Republican and Democratic parties on the Senate Agriculture Committee spent an hour going over the Committee's business and plans. Representatives of the Farm Bureau, the Grange, the Farmers Union, the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, and the Cooperative League explained their current legislative programs and emphases.

Morris Green of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations gave an illustrated lecture describing the varied contributions to international cooperation being made by the F.A.O.

Philip Van Vlack, who is on a fellowship of the Ford Foundation, conducted a discussion on methods of discussion of economics and ethical issues. Mr. Van Vlack is a graduate student in economics at Columbia University. He had taught agricultural economics at the South Dakota College of Agriculture.

The members of the seminar secured an introduction to current issues and had glimpses of the Washington scene. They saw the processes whereby opinion operates in Washington, and whereby policies are made, handled and modified. This was the tenth annual session.

HELP! HELP!

The Rev. Ralph L. Williamson has lost his complete library in a fire, and does not have a single reference book left.

It will be deeply appreciated if readers of this magazine will let Dr. Williamson know of any books in the Town and Country Church and Rural Sociology fields which they are willing to sell as used books. He would also appreciate having information about available bulletins.

Please keep this in mind and share your duplicates with Dr. Williamson. His address is: Dakota Wesleyan University, Mitchell, South Dakota.

The Pastor

DEDICATED TO THE MINISTER'S WORKSHOP

NEWMAN S. CRYER, JR.
EDITOR

810 BROADWAY
NASHVILLE 2, TENN.

November 14, 1955

NOV 15 1955

Doctor George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor Mitchell:

Thank you very much for your helpful statement on the booklet, Know Your Neighbors. Your material reached us in good time and will be published in an early issue of THE PASTOR. We will send copies of that issue to you.

Meanwhile, good wishes to you in your important work.

Sincerely yours,

Newman S. Cryer, Jr.

NSC:eg

Newman S. Cryer, Jr.

Since 1789

A PUBLICATION OF THE METHODIST PUBLISHING HOUSE • Pierce and Washabaugh, AGENTS

The Pastor

DEDICATED TO THE MINISTER'S WORKSHOP

NEWMAN S. CRYER, JR.
EDITOR

810 BROADWAY
NASHVILLE 2, TENN.

September 2, 1955

Doctor George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of August 29 indicating that you had not yet received a copy of the booklet Know Your Neighbors.

This publication was sent from our office on August 22. It should have reached you by now. So, we are requesting another copy of the volume and it will be sent to you upon arrival unless we hear from you, meanwhile, that the first copy has reached you.

We are sorry for the delay but appreciate your patience. Our deadline may be extended accordingly.

Sincerely yours,

Newman S. Cryer, Jr.

NSC:eg

Newman S. Cryer, Jr.

Since 1789

A PUBLICATION OF THE METHODIST PUBLISHING HOUSE • Pierce and Washabaugh, AGENTS

The Pastor

810 BROADWAY • NASHVILLE 2, TENNESSEE

NASHVILLE
SEP 2
3 30 PM
1955
TENN.

Doctor George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. (Room 432)
Atlanta 3, Georgia

KNOW YOUR NEIGHBORS: A HANDBOOK FOR GROUP CONVERSATION LEADERS. By Rachel DuBois and Mew-soong Li. The Workshop for Cultural Democracy. 83 pp.

FILE COPY

Here's an instance in which courtesy and a friendly interest in people have been made into a designated technique by two concerned leaders, one American and one Chinese, who experimented in ways to make assorted strangers feel comfortable with each other until they found the easiest ways to do it. In a blue-bound pamphlet they now describe their methods.

With many variations, what you do is get such an assorted group to talking about their childhood recollections, aim it at some particular subject like festivals or food or work or play. "We do not feel responsible for our youth, whether our experiences be good or bad, pleasant or unpleasant. There is no embarrassment in talking of one's childhood experiences. . . ."

In that simple device they have found in hundreds of instances, the best of them illustrated here, that the ice can be broken and people of different cultural backgrounds can begin to find an interest in each other.

Nice insights into what makes everybody tick. For grown people, you get them to talk about when they were kids; "teen-agers want to get away from their childhood feelings." You get the feel of what the group is about in the tale of a grandmother who handled the other end of an imaginary jumping rope which her granddaughter held. As they compared their rope-jumping chants from different parts of the country, the granddaughter was delighted when the old lady (in this country 40 years) began singing in Lithuanian. "I had never heard grandma sing in Lithuanian before."

Later patches give experienced advice on how to do what Rachel DuBois and Mew-soong Li know how to do. And they talk some about the psychological values of the method; and about its use in churches and trade unions and other groups.

Most valuable where people from a wide variety of cultural backgrounds are suddenly saddled with a community responsibility and must find ways of taking it on. A PTA for instance where new people are moving in to the school area. In the South where the two racial groups share an identical culture, it is a little hard to say how to get anywhere with childhood recollections of cultural differences. After all everybody down here eats grits. But with some careful adapting, and with some skill in bringing in people of other backgrounds, it can doubtless be useful in the expanding problem of intergroup relations in the South.

George S. Mitchell

FOR: The Pastor
810 Broadway
Nashville 2, Tenn
Newman S. Cryer, Jr.,Editor

eab/
11/8/55

September 21, 1955

Mr. Robert R. Leeper
Associate Editor
Educational Leadership
1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Leeper:

Corrected proof herewith.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

Educational Leadership

Journal of the
Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, NEA
1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.
Telephone ADams 4-2921

September 20, 1955

SEP 21 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell

Will you please check the enclosed proof of your article for errors and return it to this office as quickly as possible. We hope you will keep corrections at a minimum because, as you know, extra charges are made for re-setting type. Of course ordinary typesetting errors are corrected without cost to EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP.

Your article may not be printed exactly as it stands now; column length must be considered in the magazine makeup. Any cutting we are forced to do in the makeup, however, will be minor.

In order to meet our deadline, we would like to have this galley proof back by September 26. If we have not heard from you by that date, we will assume that no changes are necessary.

Cordially yours,

Robert R. Leeper

Robert R. Leeper
Associate Editor

RRL/mpp

Enclosure

EDUCATIONAL *Leadership*

JOURNAL OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR SUPERVISION AND CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT, NEA

1201 SIXTEENTH ST., N.W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

ADams 4-4855

Dear Author:

Perhaps you will want to order reprints of your article appearing in Educational Leadership. If so, the following information will be helpful.

Your order direct to the printer will insure his holding type on your article. All type, unless the printer is instructed otherwise, is killed upon completion of presswork.

When you order reprints, please send us a carbon of your letter so that the page proof of your article can be marked "hold for reprints." We cannot estimate at this time the exact number of pages your article will run. If we have a carbon of your reprint order to the printer, however, we will send you a postcard giving the exact number of pages your article runs as soon as the material is paged.

Please order your reprints from Mr. Wade H. Harmon, National Publishing Company, 301 N Street, N. E., Washington 2, D. C.

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Cordially yours,

Robert R. Leeper

Robert R. Leeper
Associate Editor

P. S. If you would like to reprint the article yourself through some duplicating process (mimeograph, multigraph, planograph, etc.) you have our permission to do so. The only stipulation is that full credit for the source be given to Educational Leadership, including the volume number and the number in series.

Educational Leadership

Journal of the
Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, NEA
1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.
Telephone ADams 4-2921

September 12, 1955

SEP 14 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell

This is to acknowledge receipt of your manuscript,

SHE BUDGES

which we asked you to prepare for the November issue of Educational Leadership.

We appreciate very much your writing this article for us. We shall send you galley proofs of the article before it appears in print.

Sincerely yours,

R. R. Leeper/g

Robert R. Leeper
Associate Editor

in file copy
7 copies
made
by R. H.

September 8, 1955

Mr. Robert R. Leeper
Editor
Educational Leadership
1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Leeper:

Here is my promised screed.

You may not like it. It does read a bit chattily, but it has some serious thinking in it.

If you don't like it, skip it, or give me another go.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

EDUCATIONAL *Leadership*

JOURNAL OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR SUPERVISION AND CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT, NEA

1201 SIXTEENTH ST., N.W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

ADams 4-4855

July 18, 1955

JUL 19 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I very much appreciate your letter of July 11 in which you agree to undertake the writing of an article for the November issue of Educational Leadership. It will certainly be acceptable to us if you are able to send us your manuscript on or before September 10. We very much appreciate your willingness to undertake this writing assignment for our journal.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Robert R. Leeper

Robert R. Leeper
Editor

RRL:vlt

GEORGE W. DENEMARK, Executive Secretary, ASCD ★ ROBERT R. LEEPER, Editor ★ VIRGINIA L. TILLETTE, Editorial Assistant ★ GLENDA L. JONES, Advertising Assistant ★ RUTH L. VAILE, Circulation Assistant

July 11, 1955

Mr. Robert R. Leeper
Editor
Educational Leadership
1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Leeper:

Quite all right, and I will undertake the article for Educational Leadership. But I could not get it to you before September 10. I am tied up with engagements this Summer that take me out for weeks at a time, and simply couldn't do it. If September 1st is a firm deadline, I would have to be dropped, but if September 10th is all right I will do it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

HCF

Return to sch for gen.

EDUCATIONAL Leadership

JOURNAL OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR SUPERVISION AND CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT, NEA

1201 SIXTEENTH ST., N.W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

ADams 4-4855

JUN 30 1955

June 29, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

The November issue of Educational Leadership will this year develop a topic which is extremely significant and urgent. Its over-all theme will be "Integrating Minority Groups into the Public Schools." The several articles in the issue will treat various facets of this tremendous readjustment, which has such far-reaching educational and sociological implications.

I have been authorized by the ASCD Executive Committee to invite you most cordially to write one of the major articles for inclusion in the November journal. Perhaps a tentative title for your article might be "A Progress Report on Transition." In this article we would hope that you would express some of the experiences of communities now engaged in making this important change. We would also hope that you might give some of your recommendations as to ways in which communities should go about moving from segregation to desegregation. In this article you might possibly wish to develop somewhat similar topics to those treated in your excellent address given before the John Dewey Society meeting during the ASCD annual conference in Chicago last March. By the way, Dr. Ivan Booker of the NEA Press and Radio Division has given us a copy of your manuscript of that address. If this material would be of any assistance to you in preparing your article, I would be glad to forward it to you for such use. I very much hope that you will be willing and able to prepare this article for appearance in the November issue of Educational Leadership.

If you are willing to undertake this assignment for Educational Leadership, the length of the article should be between 1500 and 2000 words. Your manuscript should reach my office on or before September 1. Any photographs or illustrations which you believe might be appropriate for use with your article would be most welcome.

I very much hope that you will be agreeable to undertaking such an assignment for Educational Leadership. I will appreciate an early response from you by air mail or collect telegram indicating whether or not we may count on you in this connection. I hope your answer will be in the affirmative.

Sincerely yours,

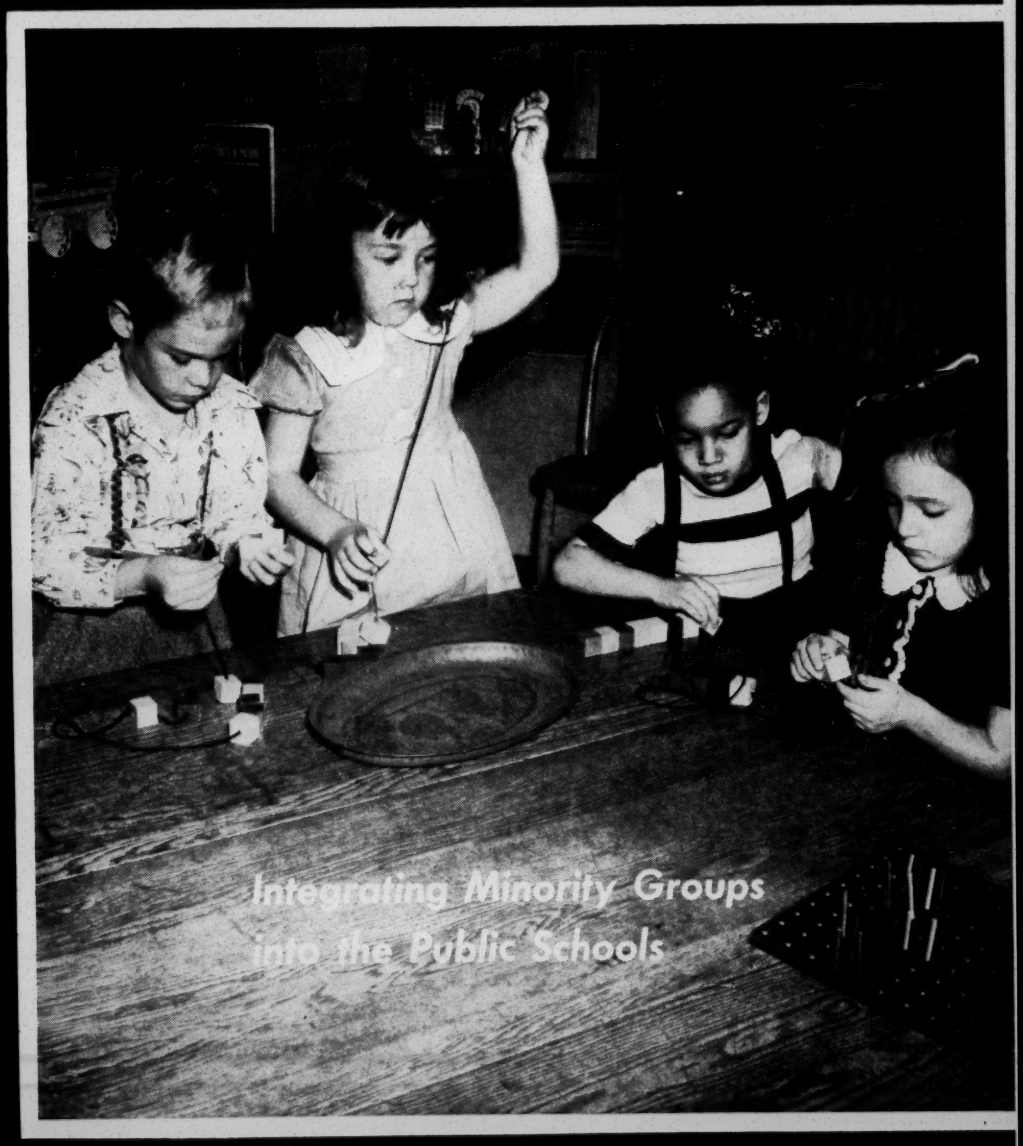
Robert R. Leeper

Robert R. Leeper
Editor

RRL:vlt
CC: Mr. Denemark
Dr. Van Til

GEORGE W. DENEMARK, Executive Secretary, ASCD ★ ROBERT R. LEEPER, Editor ★ VIRGINIA L. TILLETTE, Editorial Assistant ★ GLENDA L. JONES, Advertising Assistant ★ RUTH L. VAILE, Circulation Assistant

EDUCATIONAL



ASSOCIATION FOR SUPERVISION AND CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT, NEA

taken steps such as the following: Are there any Negroes on the teaching staff? Are there any Negroes in any status positions within the staff? Do students have the opportunity to come into contact with Negro leaders in the role of resource people in the classrooms? Are the Negroes active in the PTA? Do Negroes hold any positions of status in the parent organizations of the school? Do teachers find it difficult to work with Negro students? Are human relations workshops made available to teachers so that they can increase their skill in working with people who come from different backgrounds?

The steps in integration are varied. They are the local problem and responsibility of each community in the nation. They are the problem of each individual, Negro and white. As individuals, each of us must examine his desires for superiority, and recognition, and his actions of exclusion and retribution. We must scrutinize our way of work to see whether we are contributing to improved communication, increased understanding and greater acceptance of individuals on the basis of contribution rather than classification.

If integration is to be accomplished, we must each attempt increasingly to understand and to value diversity as a method of enriching culture and living for all of us.

We have come a long way; we have a long way to go.

FILE COPY

GEORGE S. MITCHELL

Reaching the Hidden Springs

In working out together the considerable adjustments of desegregation, white and Negro citizens are participating in a constructive effort that will be of benefit to all.

FIRST LET us make some attempts at theory. When a minority people is put off in a special category, scorned and kept out of opportunity and out of participation in public life, and away from self-respect, certain reactions may develop. Many thus injured may resort to the one available weapon—non-cooperation disguised as indifference—a subtle kind of sabotage. Many heroically overcome the system, but most are caught by it. This process has been going on in the South for two or three centuries, and a lot of people think such an arrangement is foreordained. It takes a bit of a jolt to reverse old habits, and it may be just the good luck of the U. S. A. that the Supreme Court's decisions are the kind of tug that will accomplish the change. For the change can be made. The problem is to reach in some manner the hidden springs of a people's character; to bring to full alertness ambition, purpose, re-

sponsibility. In colonial countries this has come about through the magic energy of national feeling; in the American South there is a good chance that the same result will flow from the Nation's decision to get rid of segregation in the public schools, and hence of segregation generally.

I have thought about the matter a good deal, and the best answer I can give to the problem of reaching the hidden spring is for communities to give significant public and private recognition for equal human dignity. That is the initial tug. And after the first pull, if there is reasonable follow-up on both sides, the whole engine heads in a new direction, toward full achievement.

The Supreme Court intelligently set the stage for this kind of recognition and it begins to happen. Probably it would be impossible to combine schools that had been racially segregated unless there were quite a lot of conferring and fact-finding and joint planning by white and Negro citizens. And this joint planning affords the recognition of equal human dignity. This effort sounds small, but in nine-tenths of the towns and country places of the South there just never has been a time when in a spirit of equality representatives of the two races have sat down together to work out a major public responsibility. In the interchange, members of both groups get absorbed in solving the common problem, forget about race, and work together as friends. And thereafter the town can unravel almost anything that involves racial factors.

In a significant number of places, large enough to amount to a spreading pattern, the local school board is by an official act impaneling a citizens' committee, white and Negro, to find the facts and advise the school board on a course of action. That is it. The two groups work together, judge each other's quality and sincerity, and grow in mutual understanding. More important, for the first time the Negro members of the group, if they have been honestly chosen as brave and forthright representatives of their people, are challenged to reach agreements that everybody will keep. That is the missing item of responsibility. Heretofore, when the whole school board was of one race only, no self-respecting Negro felt that he had any real responsibility to cooperate with the things the school board ruled upon. He was not in on the deal. But when he *is* brought in, when he is given every opportunity to define and defend his strongest demands (all knowing that these demands have potentially the backing of law), and he agrees to a course of desegregation that in his judgment (checked with his people) is defensible, then he is responsibly involved and so is the great majority of the Negro community thereabouts. And the chances are excellent that Negro citizens who show courage in such committees will in a year or two appear as regularly elected members of the school board itself.

Once a change in community attitudes is begun, the school children can be trusted to show quick adjustment. Admittedly in most places there is

George S. Mitchell is executive director of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia.

some cultural difference between the two sets of children. And in the first weeks of school such a difference will show quite noticeably. But the incentives will be powerful for the weaker group to come up to the highest standard. That is what has happened in the armed forces. Officialdom used to say that integration would impossibly dilute performance; quite to the contrary, integration in a blessedly short time produced performance all around at the highest going standard. And on the consequent unity still greater efficiency can be based. So it will ordinarily be with the schools, if officials and others make honest and careful effort to help along the process.

Gathering Momentum

Now exactly where in the South are such things happening? Well, for example, citizens' committees officially advising the local school board have appeared in Houston and Hot Springs, and in Fayetteville County, Kentucky, in Charlotte and Winston-Salem and Norfolk and Nashville and Chattanooga and St. Petersburg, and in other places besides. Obviously people are telling each other that this gets ahead with the job.

As to where desegregation has actually occurred, the answer is—on the fringes of the South. All along it has been the prediction of knowledgeable people that desegregation moves in the public schools would be made first in the easier places. The farther away you get from the old plantation counties, at the heart of the Lower South and in the delta of the Mississippi, the slighter the Negro population. Hundreds of counties within the boundaries of Southern States have less than five per cent Negro population, and other hundreds have less than ten or fifteen per cent. For example, you may find some hill-country county, with seven Negro families up Jackson's Creek, where there used to be a sawmill. It costs like mischief to run a separate school for the sixteen Negro children. And what do you do about the ones that want to go to high school? Separate and equal staff and facilities? That sets you back around a hundred thousand dollars. Obviously it is sensible to open the white school to these Negro children, and many and many a county school superintendent in those parts of the South is more than anxious to open up the schools in this manner, and save the ten or fifteen thousand dollars a year he knows is being wasted and wishes to put onto the schools in general.

It is in such places, and in dry-land counties of the Southwest, that schools are actually going to accomplish desegregation this autumn. Plus schools conducted on Army posts. Plus Oak Ridge, which has discontinued its Negro high school. In all you may count over a hundred counties in the South in which one or more public schools this fall will open with some children of both races. But not one of these schools (unless under Federal management) is in the old plantation country, and few are anywhere near the edges of it. However, the pattern has appeared, and people will very soon find out that Negro children do pretty well in school, that Negro and white parents working together can improve the running of the school system. So the pattern will spread. I would guess that it

would spread quite broadly toward the more difficult areas, in which to the difference in race is added a heavy inheritance of difference in class status, but that here and there even in the more difficult areas integration would be achieved early, by law or agreement. And the whole process, from easy spots to the harder ones, ought not to take more than a few years.

It is not to be forgotten, and events will not let it be forgotten, that these movements spread of their own gathering momentum. A highly popular resolve to be equal and free cannot be put down. Never mind the examples; look around you at the world today, where colonial management has had to withdraw its hand from country after country.

HARRY BARD

A Baltimorean Reports on Desegregation

This article is a documented report on desegregation in the Baltimore City Public Schools. The account should give courage and assistance to school people and citizens in other communities as they work together to institute similar changes.

HOW MAY WE measure success in human relations? One way is through noting the absence of strife, tension and perhaps overt conflict. With this as a measure Baltimore's desegregation program, now one year old, has been highly successful; except for a brief incident, the period has been devoid of controversy. The presence of attitudes of acceptance, sharing, working together, however, is a more positive way of measuring progress. At the end of June 1955 about 2000 Negro youngsters were enrolled in 48 of the 109 schools formerly designated as white. In each of these biracial school situations, classwork, assembly programs, club activities and PTA functions have gone on as before, except that teachers have used this extension of already heterogeneous groupings to support the view that *American strength comes through diversity*. These successes do not imply that all problems have been solved, or that *integration*, a much more complex process than *desegregation*, has been achieved. Yet the results of the first

Harry Bard is assistant director, Curriculum Bureau, Baltimore City Department of Education, Baltimore, Maryland.

HOW TO BE HELPFUL THOUGH NORTHERN

by GEORGE MITCHELL

PERENNIAL question: you live up North, you have a conscience on matters of race and civil rights in the South; what can and should you do? Well, its your decision. I merely offer a little Southern advice. Take it or leave it. Do what you think is right.

Item one. Your first duty is to do all you reasonably can to get things straight near where you live. I knew an old gentleman who used to say that until a very few years ago the entire literary output of the South fell under one of two heads: either, what he called, "tombstone literature"; or saying "you're another" to the North. Silly for people in the South to keep on wasting breath and ink saying "you're another"; but it would help if people who tried to help in the South could show experience in pulling the beams out of the eyes of the locals. By and large, the basic principles of civilization and law are on the side of civil rights if there is a tussle; and that is worth a very great deal. Still a whole lot remains that you can do.

Negro people in the South say that the difference between down here and up there is that up there the white people don't care how high a man gets, so long as he doesn't get too close; and down here the white people don't care how close you get, so long as you don't get too high.

Some truth in it; and I think you should do much more than you do to show that you are ready to be friends. Specifically that means live up to all your principles. Straight through. And take pains to do it; not just to say that you agree that it ought to be done. And work at getting rid of slums and segregation and job discrimination and prejudice in every form. You boast that that's in your civilization; move, now, and show that it is, for everybody.

Item two. Special rules for when you come South. Main thing is "stick by your principles". Prejudiced white Southerners have a habit of baiting Northerners, to see if they scare. We'll bark and growl, and tell you you don't understand this situation, and be "amazed" when you act as though everybody is human, and we'll even "ask you nicely" to swing around and conform. Don't you do it. We're just trying you out. If we can scare you we will. But we know in our hearts that what we defend is wrong; we are playing a game with you; and if you stick by your principles we may mutter about it, but we really respect you more. And you will do quite a lot toward widening Southern understanding and appreciation of the principles of the world outside. Don't be noisy about it. Just go quietly about your business, treating everybody courteously. And a lot of us will watch.

Next rule when you come down is to pay some mind to the order of possibilities. There are parts of the South where economics and religion and the whole institutional structure of society make things ripe for moving into the main stream of American respect for equal human dignity. Other places you may find yourself in have not yet shaken off the institutional shell they put themselves into a hundred years ago. Be straight, even there, but just not foolishly so.

Also, much that is done helpfully in the South by Southerners themselves gets done by virtue of silence. And don't you be the one to go pointing, and say "Now! There's a man who dares to do what is right". You'll stop a lot of doing what's right. Let him alone, and rejoice in your heart (only) that you know him and know what he thinks.

More people in the South (I believe) believe in what their religions teach than up North. Maybe not. And it must be admitted that a lot that passes for religious life in the South is the cocoon with the worm gone; we run churches every whichaway, but we are skimpy on the brotherhood of man. Still, a whole lot of people do try to go by their religions. That helps.

As executive director of the Southern Regional Council with headquarters in Atlanta, Mr. Mitchell is one of the best informed authorities on race relations in the South.

Last item. When you find out about some honest outfit of people in the South trying to make things come out right, join 'em, read their maggies, write them letters that fuss or praise, pay your dues when they bill you, stop off to see them when you go to Florida, and make them know you like them.

One more: and extra. If you have any influence in an organization that lives partly up North and partly down South, push in the up-North end for the Southern branches to conform to what's right. The American Nurses Association set out some years ago to get rid of separate Southern associations of Negro nurses. Just by pushing, steadily, they have seen the segregated associations go in every State but one. Ditto the Librarians, though as yet the story isn't quite so good. See if you can make it ditto some big business firm. Why not shove to get them to open up with a fair employment policy? Ditto the doctors, and the dentists, and the unions. We respect the opinion of the rest of the world; you just show us clearly that the rest of the world believes in compliance there and here alike. And this rule goes for Government matters, too.

THE HIGH COST OF DISCRIMINATION

by THURGOOD MARSHALL

IT May well be the judgment of history, astute observers have said,that our age has faced no more vital issue than the disease of racial discrimination and its twin toxins—segregation and exclusion. Certainly recent decisions of the Supreme Court, and other legal developments which were stimulated by the activities of private agencies such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as well as by the developing science of human relations, have awakened public interest in the consequences of discrimination. More than that, many people have begun to inquire about the price which is paid to maintain this social evil.

Discrimination, lawyers and social scientists agree, is the differential treatment of persons classifiable in a particular social group on the basis of race, religion, or some other common characteristic. Prejudice, although often confused with discrimination, is a *prejudgement* of the persons who are members of a social group; it is an attitude or a belief which may or may not be translated into action. Both are symptoms of social disorganization which affect individuals and infect the whole range of their social life. But prejudice and discrimination do not always occur together. Many people who discriminate are not prejudiced, and not all prejudiced persons give expression to their attitudes in overt discriminatory action.

The treatment Negroes are accorded may well be considered the common denominator of all discrimination. There are two main reasons for this: one, most of the current concern with the problem has arisen because of the efforts Negroes have made to penetrate the barriers of discrimination; two, Negroes are today the last large minority yet to win equal treatment in the nation's political, economic and social life.

Much evidence has been accumulated which demonstrates that discrimination is an expensive, unrewarding luxury, paid for both by those who practice it and those who suffer it. It is obvious, yet perhaps worth repeating, that Negroes are discriminated against either by being segregated in or totally excluded from

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One of the nation's outstanding constitutional lawyers, Mr. Marshall is general counsel for the National Association for the Advance- of Colored People.

INTERRACIAL REVIEW

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THE HIGH COST OF DISCRIMINATION
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THE BENEDICTINES IN THE BAHAMAS
Chad Smith

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December, 1955

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GSM - Articles

Progressive Education

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300 GREGORY HALL
UNIVERSITY of ILLINOIS
URBANA, ILLINOIS

January 17, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your manuscript for PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION arrived last week, and I have read it with a good deal of relish. I like the content and the style.

It will be published in the March issue. Since my printer is slow and overworked, I cannot promise the exact date on which you will receive galley proof. Please be patient with me.

With appreciation for what you are doing, and have done, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Lawrence E. Metcalf

Lawrence E. Metcalf, tej
Editor

LEM/tej

GSM — Articles — 1956

January 6, 1956

Mr. Lawrence E. Metcalf, Editor
Progressive Education
300 Gregory Hall
University of Illinois
Urbana, Illinois

Dear Mr. Metcalf:

You wrote December 20 and asked for an article. I put this together yesterday.

It falls a good deal short of what you wanted, I am sure, but it is all I know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSMimef

Encl.

Progressive Education

Editor
Lawrence E. Metcalf

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Archibald W. Anderson

Assistant Editor
Robert Jewett

300 GREGORY HALL
UNIVERSITY of ILLINOIS
URBANA, ILLINOIS

December 20, 1955

RECEIVED DEC 22 1955

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The magazine, PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION, plans to devote its March, 1956 issue to problems of integration and desegregation in the public schools. The purpose of this letter is to invite you to contribute an article.

I need an article which would be helpful and suggestive to a sincerely led community which wishes to comply as soon as possible with Supreme Court decisions. This article would indicate some of the steps to be taken by administrators, teachers, boards of education, and other citizens in order to approach compliance. You may want to include in the article examples of progress as well as examples of some typical delaying actions, and how to deal with the latter.

I hope you will find it possible to write this article for PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION. You may use the enclosed self-addressed stamped envelope in order to indicate whether it is possible. Manuscripts should be in the office by January 15, 1956 in order for them to be published by March, 1956.

Sincerely yours,

Lawrence E. Metcalf tej

Lawrence E. Metcalf,
Editor

LEM/tej

Encl.
1. Envelope.

Good or worried.

Wa.Fos

Your author speaks from the yon side of the corn pone curtain, and disclaims knowledge of how the job of getting two sets of schools together is to be done where segregation has not been a cherished institution. He specializes in his side of the curtain. And on his side not a lot of desegregating of schools has been done. But for what his observation and speculation is worth, here beginneth.

The first rule is the anti-wobble. That's a rule which Robert Weaver distilled out of the experiences during World War II with strikes involving matters of race. Weaver said that at one time or another, in each such dispute, the bee of final authority lit on either the union, or the boss, or the government. If when the bee lit, the man it lit on wobbled, the devil broke loose, and stayed loose. Later by weary weeks things could be patched up, but the weeks would be pretty bad, and to patch things up, you had to save the face of the guy who had gone wrong. This anti-wobble is a rule which the social science people now have hold of, and (truth to tell) is the main pill in their little medicine bag. And it is important. It involves more than just a conviction in the minds of the school boards that they ought to comply with what the Supreme Court says; it involves a sound knowledge of the varying legal interpretations of the Fourteenth Amendment; a clear understanding that the Court ruling overtops local regulations to the contrary; and a good amount of study as to actual ways of doing the job, and a conviction that the community will be better off educationally, morally, and economically, for playing fair and square. Given this much study and understanding, and a firm pronouncement that the Board or the Superintendent will obey the law, there remains the matter of sticking to the intention when opposition shows. There are good precedents, in Baltimore, in St. Louis, and at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, and doubtless elsewhere. And there are sad precedents to the contrary. Study the law, announce what the Board intends responsibly to do, begin when you say, carry through, and use power against those who try to interfere with the lawful process. Ninety-nine times out of a hundred you get through with little or no "trouble."

Next rule relates to public opinion. Your author happened to be present for a revealing interchange in the final 1955 hearings before the Supreme Court on the school segregation cases. One of the justices had asked Mr. Sobeloff, who appeared for the Department of Justice, if what the Government proposed did not neglect the matter of local opinion. Said Mr. Sobeloff, "Your Honor, I had not supposed that the enforcement of one's civil right depended upon a public opinion poll." That's right, of course. And most of those who say, "Let's find out what people think, and do that," intend to interfere with somebody else's civil right. It isn't up to the School Board to go around and hold a meeting in every corner of the school district, and try to persuade absolutely every popper and mommer. If the Board knows the law, and intends to fulfill it, and if some people here and there similarly understand and agree, that's enough. Well, to have as many people as can be got who understand and agree, but it isn't necessary to have fifty-one per cent. The United States through its due constitutional procedures decided this question, and it is now up to public authority to bring our public school systems into conformity with the law.

Here is rule Number Two. There isn't but one goo in the world that dissolves race prejudice. They keep it in a very small blue bottle. And the label on the bottle says, "Get people of similar background, of different groups, to work together on a matter of common interest." Two drops of that and any amount of race prejudice disappears." But, mind you, you have to take it like the label says. Similar backgrounds; not necessarily highly cultivated backgrounds; just similar. They can all be bootblacks, all physicists; just so they can all be together pleasantly. Then, work together; not talk together. And on a matter of common interest.

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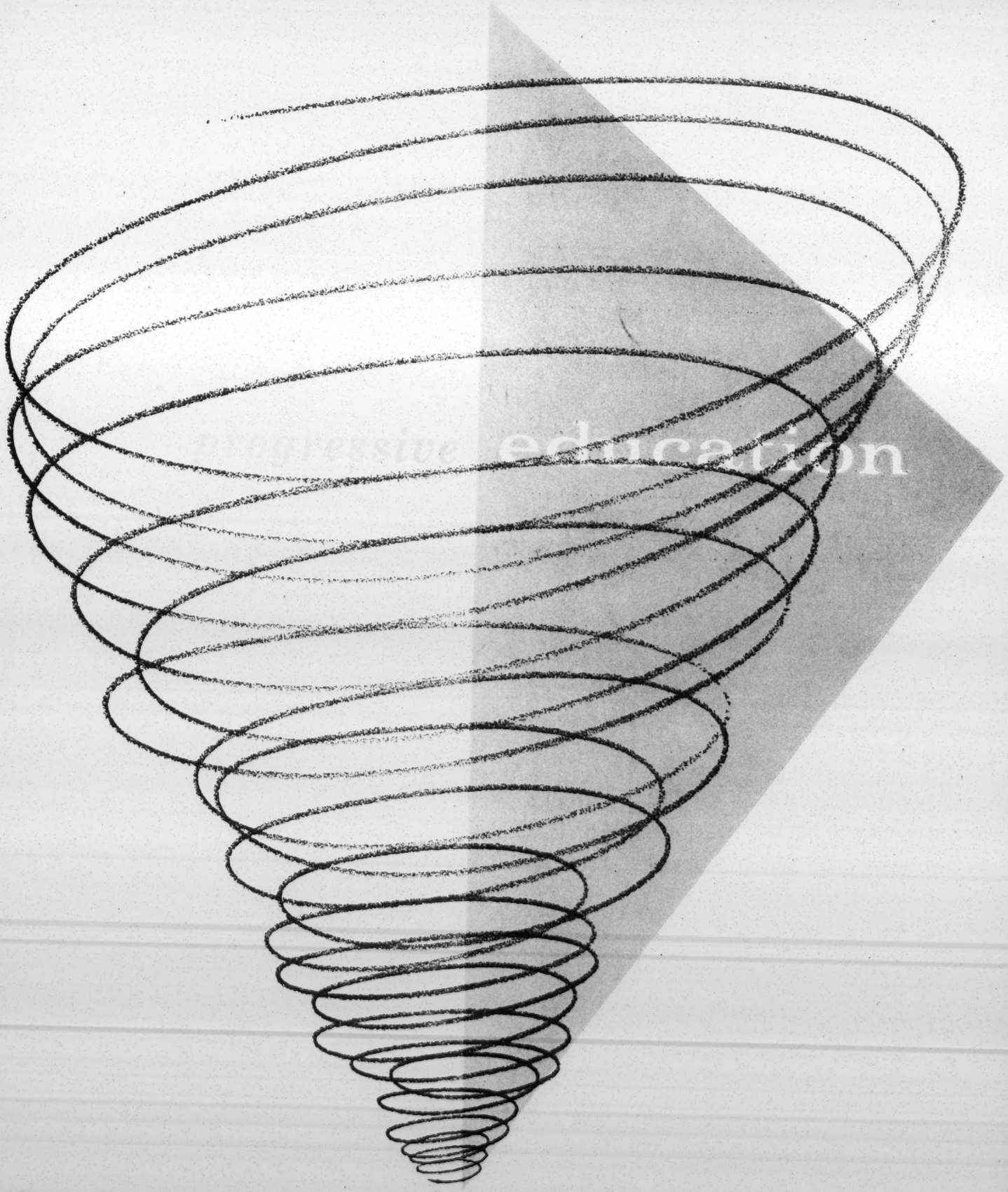
95 m made it.

March, 1956

progressive education

Problems of Desegregation
Language Arts and Core Curriculum
White and Negro Schools in the South



BY GEORGE S. MITCHELL

How to Desegregate—Southern Style

FILE COPY

How can a sincerely led community take steps toward compliance with Supreme Court rulings when years of tradition and custom stand in the way? In this article a leader in his field sets down some basic rules, points to signs of progress, and analyzes some typical delaying actions. The author is Executive Director of Southern Regional Council, Inc. in Atlanta.

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Ethics of Teaching

(*Continued from page 45*)

transition. Rather, it is the responsibility of the profession to help our society clarify its goals and help it choose from among alternative patterns of life now being projected as possibilities. It is our function to teach people how to make their choices relevant to the facts of the situation as disclosed by science and consistent with the deepest values that with all our confusion and conflict still hold us together as a national community. And despite its formalization of the barrier of segregation the South shares in its commitment to the basic tenets of the democratic tradition and along with other regions is struggling to reconstruct their meaning under modern conditions of life. It is struggling to remove the barriers to the full development of human personalities even though it is not making as much headway against one barrier as many of us would like. It is the teaching profession's responsibility, and hence ethical, for it to help with this struggle both where and when one barrier is formalized and substantial and where and when barriers exist unformalized but no less substantial and concrete.

The Pastor

FEBRUARY, 1956

A Theologian
Amidst Controversy
See Page 10

FILE COPY

tions the "Messiah of Israel," and when fully studied will have an important bearing on the Messianic expectations of this sect, and perhaps indirectly on the origin of the Last Supper. Scholars who wish to have the original materials for study will secure this volume.

Some Holy Habits

SPIRITUAL LIFE IN THE NEW TESTAMENT, *by G. Ernest Thomas. Fleming H. Revell Co., 164 pp., $2.00*

By HOWARD L. STIMMEL

G. Ernest Thomas has written a clear, simple, helpful book on the devotional practices of the early Christians. He deals with what we have more recently learned to call the "holy habits": church attendance, grace at meals, prayer, witnessing, stewardship, service, fellowship.

The author's purpose is to show that each of these practices is rooted in the life of the early Christian Church, and there is abundance of citation of New Testament passages. Thomas says that if we compare "faith" to the body and "works" to actions performed by the body, the "holy habits" are the food which provide sustenance for the body, in the strength of which the works are done.

THOMAS

In a day when crisis theologians are emphasizing the eschatological quality of the New Testament, it is helpful to have this treatment of the devotional life which brings out another side of the New Testament so as to exhibit the relevance of that life to our daily experience now.

This book will be particularly helpful to preachers and teachers who wish to deliver sermons or other addresses on these or related subjects, and who want help in finding the New Testament sources. The chapters also would serve as the basis of a series of stimulating discussions in church-school groups. The author calls attention particularly to the value of the Revised Standard Version in pointing up the devotional practices of the early Christians.

There is a minor slip on page 120 in which Paul is said to "write" certain things to the Ephesians. There is also on page 124 the use of the phrase "building of the Kingdom," which refers to a concept foreign to New Testament thinking.

Some may feel, as I do, that even Thomas' persuasive attempt here and elsewhere to reconstitute tithing as a modern Christian practice does not quite succeed. There are too many unanswered and perhaps unanswerable questions connected with reconstituting this bit of ancient Jewish legalism as a Christian essential.

But many will be grateful to Thomas for this helpful conspectus of the devotional practices of the early followers of our Lord in relation to the spiritual need in our lives today.

Light on the Early Church

THE BOOK OF ACTS IN HISTORY, *by Henry J. Cadbury. Harper & Brothers, 170 pp., $2.75*

By FRED J. DENBEAUX

Henry J. Cadbury has given us in this writing many valuable insights into the background of the apostolic community as well as further insights into the scrupulously honest methods of his scholarship. Cadbury does not engage in special pleading, and his contribution is that of a serious but disinterested observer.

His careful analysis is especially welcome in a period when men seem to be growing restless under the limiting disciplines of scholarship. It may be that those who are interested in bold and black lines will not be able to appreciate the fine and delicate lines with which Cadbury has been working.

Cadbury casts light on the world within the Book of Acts by examining the "environments which encircle the book." The Greek, Roman, Jewish, and Christian environments are examined. The last is included in order to show that our knowledge of the apostolic community cannot come from dubious sources outside the community: the student of the early church finds himself largely dependent upon the material from the New Testament itself.

In a concluding chapter, Cadbury discusses both the inclusion of the Book of Acts within the canon and its influence upon the developing canon.

No summary of the contents is possible since Cadbury gives us a commentary upon a host of problems which do not seem to be especially related to one another.

One of the questions which Cadbury discusses is that of Paul's Roman citizenship. The reader is led through many problems and finds himself informed on the whole problem of citizenship without ever finding out the answer to some of the questions which Cadbury has raised. This is as it should be, for Cadbury has the courage to tackle questions for which there are no answers.

The author maintains an objectivity in part by limiting his discussion to areas about which it is relatively easy to be disinterested. A hostile critic might accuse Cadbury of having discussed trivia. This is not true since the noncrucial is not necessarily the trivial.

Nevertheless, Cadbury tarries in the background. Thus, when the problem of Pentecost is treated, it is discussed in the most peripheral fashion.

When Cadbury speaks of the apostles, he promises us that "we can walk where he walked, see and feel as he did. . . ." This promise is only fulfilled if one omits the grand faith of the apostolic community. Cadbury sheds no light here, and we are left in the dark concerning the community's intense feeling for the fulfilment of history and upon that confessional faith which sustained the hope of the community.

Indeed, one is led to the conclusion that it is precisely this yoking of scholarship to the noncrucial which has caused modern man to become impatient with research. If a new subjectivism should overtake religious thinking, scholars like Cadbury would only have themselves to blame.

On Breaking the Ice

KNOW YOUR NEIGHBORS (A Handbook for Group Conversation Leaders), *by Rachel DuBois and Mew-soong Li. Workshop for Cultural Democracy, 83 pp., $1.25 ($1.00 to organizations)*

By GEORGE S. MITCHELL

Here is an instance in which courtesy and a friendly interest in people have been made into a designated technique by two concerned leaders, one American and one Chinese. They experimented in ways to make assorted strangers feel comfortable with each other until they found the easiest ways to do it. In this pamphlet they now describe their methods.

With many variations, what you do is get such an assorted group to talking about their childhood recollections, aiming it at some particular subject like festivals or food or work or play. "We do not feel responsible for our youth, whether our experiences be good or bad, pleasant or unpleasant. There is no embarrassment in talking of one's childhood experiences. . . ."

In that simple device they have found

in hundreds of instances, the best of them illustrated here, that the ice can be broken and people of different cultural backgrounds can begin to find an interest in each other.

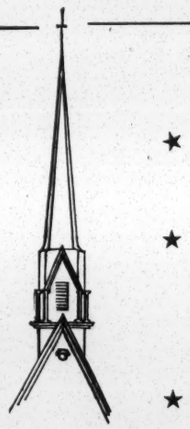
There are insights into what makes everybody tick. For grown people, you get them to talk about when they were kids; "teen-agers want to get away from their childhood feelings." You get the feel of what the group is about in the tale of a grandmother who handled the other end of an imaginary jumping rope which her granddaughter held. As they compared their rope-jumping chants from different parts of the country, the granddaughter was delighted when the old lady (in this country forty years) began singing in Lithuanian. "I had never heard grandma sing in Lithuanian before."

Later patches give experienced advice on how to do what Rachel DuBois and Mew-soong Li know how to do. And they talk some about the psychological values of the method, and about its use in churches and trade unions and other groups.

The method is most valuable where people from a wide variety of cultural backgrounds are suddenly saddled with a community responsibility and must find ways of taking it on; a PTA, for instance, where new people are moving into the school area.

In the South where the two racial groups share an identical culture, it is a little hard to see how to get anywhere with childhood recollections of cultural differences. After all, everybody down here eats grits. But with some careful adapting, and with some skill in bringing in people of other backgrounds, it can doubtless be useful in the expanding problem of intergroup relations in the South.

THE CHURCH--and Its Place in Today's World



The Church and Social Responsibility

J. Richard Spann, editor. Fifteen writers—each an authority in his field—offer suggestions for applying the gospel to present-day problems. "Recommended to readers who want to be informed rather than exhorted."—*Christian Century.* **$2.75**

Christian Teaching in the Churches

John Q. Schisler. A comprehensive picture of religious education in the local church—its nature, scope, purpose, and special challenge it faces today. "Well informed, up-to-date, imbued with a clear educational philosophy and concerned with practical means for achieving clear-cut goals." —*Religious Book Club Bulletin.* **$2.50**

The Church We Love

Wilbur La Roe, Jr. A dedicated layman's call to lay men and women everywhere for greater love for the church and greater diligence in its service. "Both inspirational and practical, with many suggestions on how ministers and laymen can work together toward building a more vital church."—*International Journal of Religious Education.* **$1.25**

The Christian Imprint

Fred P. Corson. An interestingly written, accurate presentation of the *facts* of Christian education for everyone interested in "creating better people who will in turn make a better world." "An important and thought-provoking book."—*Pastor's Journal.* **$2.50**

The Pure in Heart

W. E. Sangster. A comprehensive survey of Christian sanctity—its history and development, the characteristics of saints, their means of achieving saintliness. "Sangster has taken the word 'saint' out of the stained glass window and brought it into real life."—*The Pastor.* **$4.50**

published by Abingdon Press

ORDER FROM YOUR DENOMINATIONAL BOOK STORE

When Passions Flare

NATIONAL SECURITY AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM, *by John Lord O'Brian. Harvard University Press, 84 pp., $2.00*

By JOHN N. DUTRO

Someone once defined an atheist as a person not interested in which team won the Notre Dame-SMU football game. He might also have defined a corpse as an American who is neutral on McCarthyism.

The heated issue of McCarthyism has cooled. As is often the case when a controversial incident is behind and no longer played up in the newspapers, the general public is complacent to the issue, preferring to close its eyes and ears to unpleasant matters not currently pinching its collective corns.

O'Brian

But the issue which keeps in delicate balance our national security and individual freedom is not dead. Nor is it dormant. The struggle to tip the scales in either direction is constant, and Americans must ever be conscious of its existence.

John Lord O'Brian does not use the word "McCarthyism" in this book. There can be no doubt, however, that the McCarthy controversy prompted these 1955 Godkin Lectures at Harvard University. O'Brian deals with a whole cumulation of events and incidents and points out their far-reaching effects when they flare into heated public passion in one event such as the McCarthy incident.

Americans must re-examine their basic philosophies. O'Brian points these out in the field of national security and individual freedom, and asks if our basic philosophies have changed since

April 16, 1956

FILE COPY

AIR MAIL

Mr. Frank Kelly
The Fund for the Republic
60 East Forty-Second Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Kelly:

In some trepidation I send off the agreed scribble. Use it any way you will.

My real thought is that the Fund for the Republic, and not one of its grantees, should say what the Fund for the Republic wants to say.

Also, though privately, I am a great upholder of the foundation annual report.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Amidst all the excitement about integration and about civil rights, in the last few years, some fundamental changes in America have gone largely unnoticed. And these changes hold promise for better tomorrows.

One blessed thing is that the corn pone curtain has turned to cellophane. From 1876 until 1954 most of the United States knew the South only as a place of moonlight and magnolias, and mammy songs and po' folks. It was a case of convenient forgetting, because in 1876 the rest of the country pulled out, and left the South with a not inconsiderable problem, and only its own devices for doing something about it. Now the United States as a whole worries about hoe things are in the South. That's healthy. I had a lot rather have the rest of the country anxious to learn about geography and tenancy and class distinctions and school budgets in this part of the world than have them tuning up about "Mammy, mammy," and proposing uninformedly to intervene. If the problems and possibilities of the South get understood, the nation and the South will be more honest and better off.

Negro America is growing to full stature. It helps to think of the Negro population as similar to any other of the many waves of immigration which have come to this country. Name off to yourself six or eight of these immigrant groups, that came as poor people with bundles, to find freedom and opportunity in America. They have found it. They've gone suburban, and they own stock, and drive big cars. They count. They are full Americans. And the same thing is happening to the Negro people. They want what everybody else in this country wants: material things, and the respect of their neighbors. And they are getting it. Let any white Southerner past fifty think back to the days when Negro acquaintances would eagerly use any old clothing whatever that he would give them. Not now! Negro breadwinners get good cash money, and buy good clothes and full sacks at the supermarket. With some considerable achievement materially, their people who are further along ask for the normal American privileges. And in this land of freedom, they are bound to get it; or America is not America.

The situation calls for a good big lump of morality and religion. And by anybody's observation, the United States has a fuller development in those directions than at any time in the past. Religion put to work can greatly ease the transition to full American stature for everybody.

As to what to do, one of the first things is to aim our efforts aright. In situations of what is called racial tension, nearly every vague well-wisher says to himself, "My, aren't the white people excited! I had better go and fan them down." Whereas the real excitement is among the Negro people, and the right thing to do is to help local communities answer the needs and hopes of the people climbing up. Where that is done peace returns; where it is refused, excitement grows.

Negroes have had a long, dusty march. And they are still trudging along in the dust. They have heard that the Constitution of the United States promises them "equal protection of the laws," and they would like to get that. They collected a lot of two-dollarses, and paid them in to the NAACP to get some brilliant Negro lawyers to stand up in front of the nine judges of the U. S. Supreme Court and ask for that equal protection of the laws. And the judges said they were entitled to it. Whereupon a great hope spread down the column of dusty marchers. Whereupon some Governors and law officers and politicians mostly in the South said "Shucks. That don't mean a thing. You boys keep on like you were."

The point is that people are not going to keep on like they were. They wish and can pay for standing as regular Americans.

Paradoxically the present situation has a built-in feature of improvement. In the past, the Negro people have not been organized; and when some were offered employment on the old disrespectful terms, enough would take it so that all had to knuckle under. On this go 'round unanimity of purpose reaches a stage quite like organization. The real meaning of the resistance at Montgomery and

and at Orangeburg and in many other places is that there spreads through the Negro community to its most every-day members the purpose to achieve dignity and status. And the more that white persons, organized in citizens councils or not, goad and pick and growl for compliance on the old terms, the stronger the Negro purpose not to give in to those terms.

The thing to do is for white and Negro community leaders, being from each race respected and truly representative people, to sit down together and find the local facts, and agree on a course of action to meet the changes of the times. And wherever that is honorably done the town will be surprised and pleased to find how reasonable, how careful, and how workable will be the proposals that will result. If there is what is called "trouble" it will end with some people around a table. Far better if the people gather around the table before, and do what can be agreed upon.

This method fits the actual situation. Anybody who knows the South knows that within any one state it has three, four, or five typical stages of cultural development, depending on how people make a living, and the degree to which communities are accustomed to grant "liberty and justice for all." Local agreement, reached in dignity and reasonableness, can match the pace of change to local possibilities. And build pride and mutual trust in the doing of it.

The innermost demand of the Negro people is recognition of equal human dignity. Any community which will contrive to recognize that, publicly and privately, will be notably rewarded. The Negroes will put their shoulders to the wheel! Which is a thing that three centuries of slavery and scorn taught them magnificently to avoid! And the towns where the Negro population becomes a participating force will get ahead; in industry, business, and culture. I expect that a few years from now emissaries will come to some of these better towns, from the ones that stuck with southern tradition and will ask "What in

the world did you do?" The answer: "We just treated everybody human. And it worked."

The Southern Regional Council, made up of white and Negro people within the South, tries to get these things to come to pass.

FILE COPY

BULLETIN · MAY 1956

The Fund for the Republic

The first number of a periodical bulletin issued to promote discussion of leading questions in the field of civil liberties, and to describe the purposes and operations of the Fund for the Republic as an educational institution in this field.

CIVIL LIBERTIES AND RACE RELATIONS

The Revolt Against Integration

The most acute of all current issues in the field of civil liberties and due process are clearly those generated by the Southern revolt against the desegregation orders of the Federal courts. Racial discrimination, denials of equality of opportunity and the equal protection of the laws on racial grounds are not, of course, confined to the South. Grover C. Hall, Jr., editor of the *Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser,* has attracted much attention with a campaign to search out racial tensions, discrimination and segregationist practices elsewhere in the country, and has found no lack of material. The Negro community is not the only racial minority in the country which frequently meets with less than justice. But it is the Southern resistance to school integration—especially in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, where the white community is most determined and more nearly unanimous—which is now raising the most serious problems for all those interested in the principles of the Bill of Rights.

The problems, it must be noted, are not one but many, on various levels of law and social action. The Southern "interposition" movement has raised what purports to be a basic Constitutional issue. It is difficult to believe that this can ever be posed in a practically meaningful way; but if it ever were, it would at least call in question the foundation of the Bill of Rights itself. Proposals, like those in Virginia and other states, to evade the Court orders by closing the public schools and substituting state support for pupils in "private" segregated institutions present the legal issue on a somewhat narrower plane.

Still another question of due process is precipitated by the contention of many Southerners that the NAACP (the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) has no "right" to organize, from outside the section, its systematic campaign of court actions to enforce compliance with the Supreme Court decision. This is said to be "using the Federal courts as a club" with which to compel a change in the social institutions and stabilized patterns of Southern life. While many will find it difficult to understand what the courts should be used for if not to establish legally declared Constitutional rights, the practical argument as to *how* they should be used, in the tense and human contexts of the segregation issue, is bound to be troubling.

When the white Southern reaction against the NAACP descends to cruder levels, in attempts to ban the organization as "subversive," to dismiss teachers and other public servants for holding membership

in it, to exclude its lawyers from the courts, one meets a blunter challenge to the usual concepts of civil liberties and due process. And the challenge becomes even cruder still in the activities of the White Citizens' Councils and related movements in bringing economic pressure, intimidation, if not occasionally more violent methods of coercion, upon the Negro communities in order to force the removal of signatures from integration petitions, to deny them their voting rights or exclude them from juries.

One of the most striking, as well as most baffling, of these problems in civil rights and justice is raised by the resort of both the white and the Negro communities to the weapons of economic boycott. The Montgomery bus strike has aroused not only national but international attention—a similar bus strike by Negroes was recently reported in Capetown, South Africa. Less widely publicized, but possibly no less disturbing, are local boycotts and counter-boycotts against retailers, distributors, sometimes against national brands, springing out of the racial tension. Dealers have at times been boycotted simultaneously by the white community because of rumors that they were unduly friendly to the NAACP and by the colored community because they were supposed to have denied jobs or credit to Negroes in enforcing the campaign against desegregation. The marked rise over the past few years in the relative buying power of the Negro community in the South has given it weight in economic conflict of this kind. There is little information on which to estimate the real seriousness of the resort to economic weapons, but there is no doubt that the potentialities have seriously alarmed the more thoughtful leaders on both sides of the racial issue. The larger economic costs to the South of an embittered struggle over school integration—in discouraging industrial development, in exacerbating labor relations, in hindering the sale of state and municipal bonds, as well as in possible violence and extremism—are proving an inducement to reasonable and careful attitudes.

The Bulletin

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC was set up to defend and advance the civil liberties of Americans, as these are established by the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and its Bill of Rights. This is the first number of a Bulletin which the Fund plans to issue periodically for distribution to those interested in civil liberties and in the activities of the Fund. Its object is to promote discussion of leading questions in this field, to describe the purposes and operations of the Fund, to announce, more frequently than is possible through annual reports, the Fund's new grants and undertakings. The Bulletin is issued for the information of the public, of students in the field and of other educational and service organizations concerned with civil liberties in the United States.

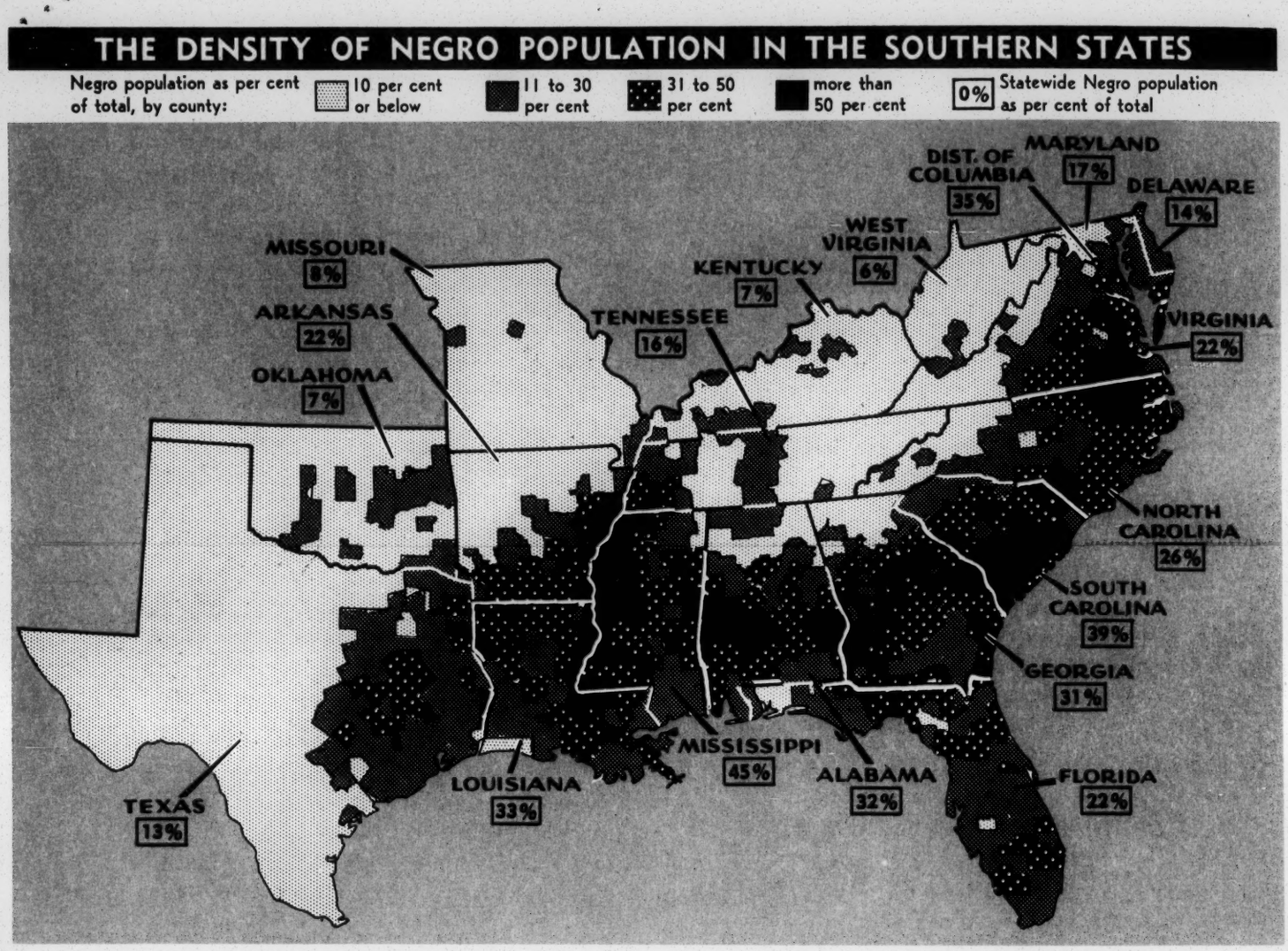
The Fund for the Republic

As an educational foundation established to preserve and advance civil liberties and due process, the Fund for the Republic has from its inception taken an active interest in inter-racial problems in all parts of the country. With the development of the acute situation in the South, it has increased its grants for educational and fact-finding work in that region; it has at the same time maintained programs in inter-racial relations either national in scope or dealing with specific situations in localities outside the South.

Both nationally and in facing the sectional problem, the Fund has proceeded in the belief that there are no simple or programmatic solutions; that the interests of justice, civil rights and equality of opportunity involved can ultimately be met only through better knowledge and understanding, and that the conflicts of interest, attitude and public policy which have arisen will be resolved mainly by getting at the facts and debating the clash of principles in which the facts are entangled. The Fund has aimed, not to develop doctrinaire policies or programs, but to reduce the tensions to a point at which sound policies and programs will have a chance to grow.

The Southern Regional Council

The Fund's chief effort in the South has been in support of the Southern Regional Council, to which it has given grants now totaling $445,000. The Council is an organization of Southerners, both white and



Reprinted, with permission, from *The New York Times* of March 18, 1956

Negro, established in 1944 to further equal opportunity for all people in the South. Managed and directed by Southerners, it has sought to coordinate Southern thought and leadership in meeting racial problems through the methods of conference, fact-finding, reason and persuasion. It has established twelve state affiliates (usually called Councils on Human Relations) through the South; like the parent body, these are bi-racial in composition.

The Southern Regional Council's board of directors has from time to time included such well-known Southerners as Hodding Carter, publisher of the Greenville (Miss.) *Delta Democrat Times;* Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University; Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University; Rt. Rev. Charles C. Clingman, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Louisville; Rt. Rev. E. A. Penick, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of the Diocese of North Carolina. Ralph McGill, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution,* was one of its incorporators. Its president is Marion A. Wright, a retired lawyer of South Carolina, and its executive director, with his central office in Atlanta, is George S. Mitchell. The Council, together with its affiliates, brings leaders of the two racial groups together; it promotes local discussion and educational work; it is able to render advice on specific local desegregation problems. It is a center for information. With a recent grant of $50,000 from the Fund, the Council is now setting up a small organization throughout the South for the prompt assembly and analysis of the facts in various aspects of Southern race relations.

The Commission on Race and Housing

The Fund has made numerous grants for work in race relations as a national and not merely a Southern problem. In the fall of 1954 the Fund established a Commission on Race and Housing, under the chairmanship of Earl B. Schwulst, chairman of the board, president and trustee of the Bowery Savings Bank, New York, to make a nation-wide study of minority housing problems. Up to the present the Fund has appropriated $235,000 to the support of the Commission. In addition to Mr. Schwulst, the members are: Gordon W. Allport, Elliot V. Bell, Laird Bell, Rev. John J. Cavanaugh, C.S.C., Henry Dreyfuss, Peter Grimm, Charles S. Johnson, Charles Keller, Jr., Clark Kerr, Philip M. Klutznick, Henry R. Luce, Ward Melville, Francis P. T. Plimpton, R. Stewart Rauch, Jr. and Robert R. Taylor.

Under Dr. Davis McEntire of the University of California as research director, a center has been established at Berkeley for the study and statistical analysis of data drawn from all significant regions of the country, with particular concern for the housing problems of Negroes in all sections, of Puerto Ricans in urban centers, of Mexicans in the Southwest and of those of Asian antecedents on the Pacific Coast. The Commission has also made grants-in-aid in support of field studies in all these areas and is considering further cooperative arrangements with other research centers and public agencies. "We hope at the end of the study," Mr. Schwulst has said, "to present some concrete and workable suggestions as to how government, private builders, realtors, financial institutions and civic groups can cooperate in bringing about better living conditions for all people."

"Race Relations Law Reporter"

In another major grant in this field, the Fund has supplied $200,000 to the Law School of Vanderbilt University to finance the publication of *Race Relations Law Reporter,* a periodical to be issued six times a year, under the direction of Paul H. Sanders. It is devoted to the dissemination of court cases, legislation, regulations and other primary materials in race relations law. The Fund grant permits the service to be offered for $2.00 a year. The first issue appeared in February.

Other Grants in the Field of Race Relations:

American Friends Service Committee: Grants for job opportunity programs in Texas and North Carolina, integration in Washington, D. C., and work with American Indians. $176,000

NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund: In support of its educational work in defense of the legal rights of the Negro minority..... 50,000

National Urban League: For educational work in industrial race relations. 50,000

National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA: For betterment of race relations through the churches. 40,750

Board of Social and Economic Relations of the Methodist Church: For educational and conference work in race relations. 25,000

National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church: For work in race relations. 25,000

Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago: To expand a program for reducing interracial tensions in the Chicago area. 18,000

Catholic Committee of the South: For educational work in racial and cultural relations. 15,000

Disciples of Christ: For educational work in racial and cultural relations. 15,000

Presbyterian Church in the US (south): For educational work in racial and cultural relations 15,000

Presbyterian Church in the USA (north): For educational work in racial relations..... 15,000

What to do about it

From a statement by George S. Mitchell, Director, Southern Regional Council

One blessed thing is that the corn pone curtain has turned to cellophane. . . . Now the United States as a whole worries about how things are in the South. That's healthy . . .

As to what to do, one of the first things is to aim our efforts aright. In situations of what is called racial tension, nearly every vague well-wisher says to himself, "My, aren't the white people excited! I had better go and fan them down." Whereas the real excitement is among the Negro people, and the right thing to do is to help local communities answer the needs and hopes of the people climbing up. Where that is done peace returns; where it is refused, excitement grows.

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Teaching of the Christian Faith

From a sermon by Henry I. Louttit, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of South Florida

What has the Christian faith and the Christian Church to say of racial antagonism? of unreasoned prejudice? of unjust discrimination? of enforced segregation? . . . In Holy Writ, we shall find the basis for Christian faith and practice in this and every other matter.

Without doubt, many sincere but deluded folk believe that segregation, a strict and enforced separation of the races, is the will of God as revealed therein. We say "deluded" because only ignorance quotes "proof texts" without regard either to context or to the author's meaning. . . .

It is St. Paul, of course, who really understands. . . . St. Paul's explicit teaching is set forth in our text: "For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." . . .

Herein is the answer to our initial question. As Christians ours is a ministry of reconciliation, to make men (ourselves included) to be at one with God, that we may be at one, each one with the other. That is the understanding of all Christendom.

When implementation of the public school integration decree comes, we must make every effort and use every influence that personal prejudice be not substituted for the reign of law—that way lies anarchy. . . . Obviously we must practice what we preach. With patience and charity we must unceasingly seek opportunity to witness against all forms of discrimination and seek understanding of, and improved relations with, those of other races who are at one with us in the fellowship of His Church. In brief, we must strive for that glad day when in fact as well as in theory there shall be neither Jew nor Greek, there shall be neither bond nor free, there shall be neither black nor white, because we are all one in Christ.

DIRECTORS ELECTED

On February 8, the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Fund announced the election to the Board of Oscar Hammerstein 2d, Roger D. Lapham and J. Howard Marshall.

Mr. Hammerstein, the noted playwright and producer, is a former president of the Authors' League of America, a member of the Board of Directors of the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers (ASCAP), and winner, with Richard Rodgers, of the Pulitzer Prize for "South Pacific."

Mr. Lapham, Mayor of San Francisco from 1944 to 1948, was a member of the National War Labor Board, Chief of Economic Cooperation Administration missions to China and to Greece, and is presently a Director of the American Trust Company.

Mr. Marshall is Vice President and a Director of the Signal Oil and Gas Company of Fort Worth, Texas. He served as Assistant Deputy Administrator of the Petroleum Administration, 1943-44, and in numerous other government posts during and after the war.

Some Materials on Discrimination Distributed by the Fund

"OPEN OCCUPANCY HOUSING"
A reprint from *House and Home*

"THE STRANGE CAREER OF JIM CROW"
A book by C. Vann Woodward (Oxford University Press)

"MEMO ON SCHOOL INTEGRATION"
Prepared by the National Civil Liberties Clearing House

"PREJUDICE AND YOUR CHILD"
A book by Kenneth B. Clark (Beacon Press)

"THE FEARS MEN LIVE BY"
A book by Selma Hirsh (Harper)

"CITIZEN'S GUIDE TO DE-SEGREGATION"
A book by Herbert Hill and Jack Greenberg (Beacon Press)

*"THE SEGREGATION DECISIONS"
A pamphlet of three speeches to the Southern Historical Association by William Faulkner, Benjamin Mays and Cecil Sims

*ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE
Special issue on segregation, March, 1956

"RACIAL INTEGRATION IN PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECTS IN CONNECTICUT"
A study by the Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights

"HUMAN RELATIONS IN INTER-RACIAL HOUSING"
A book by Wilner, Walkley and Cook (University of Minnesota Press)

**Limited numbers of copies are available on request to the Fund for the Republic.*

The Board of Directors of The Fund for the Republic, Inc.

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Additional copies of this Bulletin are available on request

FILE COPY

May 15, 1956

Mr. Harry Powers
P. O. Box 4327
Sarasota, Florida

Dear Mr. Powers:

Two, three, or four months ago I sent you, as possibly printable, a review I did of a book called Fraternities Without Brotherhood. I do not these days see the Journal and don't know whether the article ever saw print or not.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Dr. Mitchell: 5/3/56

Beth turned this up to me as the correspondence you had re the Kappa Alpha Journal. However, no address for said Journal is on this.

EAB

9C-BR

January 17, 1956

Dr. Alfred McClung Lee
Professor and Chairman
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Brooklyn College
Bedford Avenue and Avenue H,
Brooklyn 10, New York

Dear Mr. Lee:

I'll send a copy of the review if the KA's print it.

Maybe your Department would subscribe to our maggie. Dope enclosed.

Come to see us.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Encl.

Brooklyn College

Bedford Avenue & Avenue H, Brooklyn 10, N. Y.

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

January 12, 1956

RECEIVED JAN 16 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The Beacon Press has showed me your letter to it of December 27th.

I am delighted to learn that you have reviewed my book, FRATERNITIES WITHOUT BROTHERHOOD, for the KAPPA ALPHA JOURNAL. I trust that they publish it.

For a long time, I have known of your valuable work in the South. I hope that I have an opportunity to meet you some time soon. As you may know, I am chairman of the Committee of Social Science Consultants of the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Alfred McClung Lee
Professor and Chairman

aml.tf

Tickler for June 1 -
Send Lee a copy of KA Jnl
review of Lee's book

[over]

Dear Mr Lee,

I'll send a copy of the review in the NAS Quarterly.

Maybe your Department would subscribe to our magazine. Hope we can. Come to see us.

~~Sincerely~~

Sincerely

[~~Send~~ Send him last 3 newsletters price list & prospectus for charging Pat, you decide]

B/E

December 27, 1955

The Beacon Press
Boston, Massachusetts

Gentlemen:

A couple of weeks ago you sent me very kindly for notice a copy of FRATERNITIES WITHOUT BROTHERHOOD, by A. McC. Lee.

I read the book with interest, and sent a couple of pages of review of it to my own fraternity's magazine. 'Tis the Kappa Alpha Journal (most Southern) and dubious territory for the subject of the book. But I have had a nice letter from the editor, saying that he would consult with the high boss of all K.A.'s, and might run it in the March issue. If cut it comes I will send you a copy.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Mr. Harris Powers,
1011 Hendrix Avenue,
Jacksonville, 7,
FLORIDA.

December 14th, 1955.

Dear Mr. Powers,

A day or two ago there came to my desk the paper-bound book here reviewed. The Beacon Press had sent with it a notice that it would be published on December 21st, 1955, and that the price would be $1.95.

I rummaged a bout in what remains of my K.A. sentiment and did a trial review, on the off-speculation that the Journal would carry it. I doubt whether reviewing books is our line anyway; but this one concerns K.A.'s rather closely, and I thought you would need to notice it in some way. Quite probably I rate as a one noticeably favorable to the purposes of the book, but I come by my views out of legitimate study and experience. For local check-ups on me I refer you to Crawford Solomon or Davisson Dunlap.

A possible notelet on the reviewer would run:

The reviewer is George S. Mitchell, Beta-Epsilon and Eta, for some years executive director of the Southern Regional Council. SRC is an old-established race-relations agency, independent, with headquarters in Atlanta, and with affiliated Councils on Human Relations, or some similar title, in each of twelve Southern States.

Sincerely Yours,

GSM:rl.
Encl.

(Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director).

FILE COPY

FRATERNITIES WITHOUT BROTHERHOOD A Campus Report on Racial and Religious Prejudice by Alfred McClung Lee. Boston, The Beacon Press. pp. xll and 159. 1955 $1.95.

Here's an interesting book, about a subject which K.A.'s are probably going to be slow to deal with, but a subject which they should study. Sooner rather than later nearly all K.A. chapters will have to decide where they stand. Also, if we are to go decently by the things we learn in our Order, we have a duty to lead out on the matter with courtesy and dignity.

Subject: what should you do about asking in colored guys and Jewish guys, and members of other "minorities"? I perfectly know the off-hand answer of those who in recent College generations have waved the Stars and Bars from the second storey window of the dear old K. A. House. "To hell with the so and so's". But our Colleges now take a different attitude; the Federal Courts put their weight against segregation and discrimination; Churches begin to make it clear that Christianity and racial exclusiveness are mutually antagonistic; and our business and political life leaves constantly further to the rear the faded loyalties of our honored brothers who wore grey uniforms.

Here is a body of sound Americans, banded together as the National Committee on Fraternities in Education, who got their president to do a book on the problem of racial and religious discrimination in American College fraternities and sororities. The Committee includes 29 people. A lot are at Colleges, as Deans or what-have-yous. I happened to know six out of the bunch; all men of character and balance.

The book is about how far racial and religions exclusiveness has gone in fraternity life; progress made toward breaking it up; the cover-ups of the old boys in convention assembled, and ends on a strong, sound defense of fraternities, provided they will make themselves examples of inclusiveness. A paragraph or two on the K. A.'s (insufficiently informed, I would judge).

Towards the end a bit which I pick for summary: "Stripped of harmful tribalism, the the college social fraternity would not be a school for prejudice. It would rather be a fulfillment of its own ideals - a way to prepare young men and women for mature participation in the business and social life of a democracy".

Elaborate notes, a good list of books, and an index. Recommendation: that the Order provide one copy for each Chapter. An item sure to inform, to be read, and to provoke discussion.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . . EAB . . . . . .

7/27/56

The original retyped copy of this sent to Mr. Hugh Moffett, Life, 9 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, New York this date.

George Mitchell's Speech on Civil Rights,

August, 1955, to Methodist Women

(Beginning garbled)

Picks up

But you explained the whole cycle to me in twelve minutes. _____ other areas of the southern _____ and the Ozark and the Wachitaw mountains. The Mississippi River you can figure out for yourself. We began the settlement of that map in two main places. Here in the area of the Cheasapeake Bay and there within reach of ~~the~~ Charleston habor. In both those places you could get little sailing ships deep into plantation ~~wells~~ wharves and take off the crops. In both places, though nobody intended it, it wasn't long before the land came to be held in big chunks--two, five, ten, twenty thousand acres.

do again

That gave you English people owning big pieces of good land, reasonable transportation, rich markets, no labor. So they sent home to the British isles for labor to work their pieces. White labor

that came in under a seven-year contract of service to pay for its passage. You can go down to those old tidewater counties and read those mortgages on people spread on the books still. They all end with the same clause, "And when the said William Jackson shall have served his seven years, he shall be set free with an axe and a pair of blue breeches and twenty shillings." Well, you came to this country for land and fortune; he worked seven years on some man's tobacco or rice plantation, and that's what you've got. Obviously you are going to leave the plantation country, and

taking your axe go out into the empty woods and cut a clearing and build a cabin and make a farm for yourself. And because all the white labor that they brought in did that, is the real reason why plantation owners here and here seized on Negro slave labor which they could hold and control. As long as we were attached to the British Crown, freedom grew much more rapidly than slavery. Other people pushing off the plantations, many more free people coming down the Shenandoah, and opening up all of this, some maybe pushing to the other side of the mountain. And slavery grew hardly at all, Pushed down here, spread here

Mobile, New Orleans, Natchez. People who framed the Constitution of the United States weren't worried

about slavery; thought it would die an early and an easy death. Indeed, in 1787, Thomas Jefferson introduced a measure into the Virginia legislature to abolish slavery and it failed in passage by only one vote; they were that close to it. As soon after that as 1800 you couldn't have pulled slavery loose with wild horses. Now what made the difference? 1787 ready to drop it--1800 wouldn't think of losing it.

It happened in Georgia. What was it? X? Cotton gin. Somebody figured out how to get the seeds out easily. See what that did. It opened the whole of that rich black coastal plain to the slave crop, and cotton and slavery spread in 60 years to include all of this. ~~Now that's in here,~~ All of this, up the river, ~~right~~ over the Delta, up the ~~river~~ Red ~~ridge~~, even into Oklahoma, ~~then~~ Pennyrile, ~~around this little~~ middle basin, ~~a~~ Blue Grass, a patch up in there, and it started all over again in the black ~~belt~~ waxy and then the coastal plain of Texas. In 60 years slavery conquered all that, ~~but~~ and wherever it went it ~~required~~ took two fundamental institutions; the land owned in big chunks, and worked by slave labor. Also wherever it went most of these little people got out ahead of it--bought out, ~~were thrown out, starved~~ or left out. Many down here into the sandy country, others into

the red hills, more into the green hills--Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Texas, Oklahoma. ~~There's~~ probably not a person in this room from north of this line that didn't have a grandfather who came out of here.

This business with the red lines around it is the whole of the storybook old South. All of the white-columned mansions with the magnolia ~~bushes~~ trees out in front, beautiful girls in golden curls and hoop skirts, mammy~~'s~~ songs, mint-julips, swords and roses, chests of silver, family portraits; ~~and~~ worse, the ~~government~~ all Governors, all the Senators, all the colleges, all the schools, all the newspapers, all the banks, all the ~~towns'~~ power. Before 1865 if it wasn't inside those red lines, almost certain it was poor, unimportant, pushed aside.

~~And~~ But there were a great many people outside those red lines; ~~and they complained and they multiplied~~ multiplying and They complained fast, but there wasn't much they could do about their situation. There was one man in their number who ~~could rise above it~~ wrote a book. He was a plain white man who was from near what is now Salem, North Carolina. He published his book in an omnious year, 1858, and he gave it an omnious title, "The Impending Crisis in the South." He said in his book that the South in his day was a pyramid with ~~6,000,000~~ Six million, poor white people on one

side, ~~4,000,000~~ four million poor black people on the other, and ??
350,000 members of the ~~largest~~ larger slave-holding
families sitting on top. Now, he said, that's
not going to last. It'll blow up. Well, if you
were white and lived down here it was worth your
social position to admit that you had read the
man's book. These people couldn't read but they
heard about it and they said, We think that guy
is right. Funny thing is that in only seven
years it had blown up; war, defeat famine, fire; a
complete inflation, that took every form of property
value except title deeds to land.

Well, with the top blown off and the United
States government sitting where the top had been,
~~they~~ this and this said, ~~let's~~ put ~~our~~ their hands together and ~~try~~ tried
to run it. They failed. All of the books say
they failed because they were dishonest. I
think they failed because they were poor, in-
experienced, uneducated, ~~uncertain of their~~ Certainly
~~faith.~~ They failed.

In all that time we had in ~~those days the~~ the South a
previous natural resource. No one knew it was
there, no one was using it. ~~In from the~~ acclaiming and
~~come~~ coming from the Gulf a pair of warm, wet winds. And
when a warm, wet wind hits a wall of mountains,
it turns into rain and ~~it~~ the rain in the creeks

and the creeks ~~went~~ run to the sea. And those ~~rumors~~ rivers give you in that middle ground, between the mountains and the plantations, the third of three precious things to have. You had already labor multiplying in abundance on hill farms. There was cotton all around you, and the rivers were powerful, and beginning about 1880 and working hard at it ever since, we have been ~~building~~ fitting together in that middle ground ~~and holding~~ a whole piece of the South new ~~peace with the southeast,~~ which the books call the Piedmont South. And the strange thing is that with few exceptions, and the exceptions ~~were of course sitty, and~~ are port cities, most of the ~~rich~~ thriving ~~citizens~~ cities of the southeastern states today are somewhere inside ~~the~~ that yellow calabash. ~~[illegible]~~. Knoxville, Nashville, Chattanooga, Birmingham, Atlanta, Greeneville, Anderson, Spartanburg, Rock Hill, Charlotte, Durham, Winston-Salem, Greensboro, Danville, Lynchburg, ~~Richmond~~, Roanoke, ~~Richmond~~ ~~[illegible]~~ on up.

If you look at ~~that~~ the map closely you will see that it divides the South not only into three main pieces, but really into four, because here around the outside is still another piece which the geography books call the coastal flatwoods or piney woods. That gives you four different South's. ~~There's~~ The mountains in the middle, ~~with~~ the Piedmont next, the plantations next, and the piney woods

at the outside. Each is different, each has a different history, a different set of people, a different set of problems. It we would make an equal and a democratic South there are different things to be done in each one of those areas. Well, it's tedious _____, but you have to take it to pieces and see what to do. Start with the mountains. I never knew anything about the mountains until a man from up in here said he could explain it to me pretty quick.

Draw yourself, he said, a winding mountain valley a couple of miles long, put a creek down the middle of it, contour lines for an old hard-back mountain up on this side, old screamer mountain over on this side. 1794, he said, there came up in there into North Carolina an old farmer by the name of Will Drigger. He took himself up a nice, bottom farm down near the mountain valley and built him a log cabin right by the creek. Old man Will had been married four times before ever he left North Carolina. Then he brought 16 head of boys up into Kentucky with him. Then he was married two more times in Kentucky. So you can understand when they buried old man Will, (and he lived to be 91) that there would be 32 farms

Use printed version

with the Drigger's that they had to cut back up into that valley.

But by 1850 one of the Drigger's boys had taken up a spring bonnet for his farm and their wasn't any more flatland for anybody, but the young people still coming on. And one fella said to his daddy, Pop, me and Janybelle are fixin to pair off, but it ain't no flatland for us. And we thought maybe if we'd go up the side of hard-back mountain and skin off all them trees we might could make a livin offa burning tobacco and corn. Do you think we could?

Boy, the old man said, didn't nobody around here try to make a livin off no side of a mountain before but if you and Janybelle want to take it on it's nothing to stop you. Which is the same as saying that by 1890, other young fellas and other Janybelles had gone clean to the top of both mountains.

Finally now they skinned off all the trees, and people in these bottom farms noticed that every time it rained the water seemed to come scooting down the creek bed faster than what it had before, but nobody paid that any mind until 1893. The old people will still tell you about it. They said it come on a Tuesday, the seventh day of June at half-past four in the afternoon, the corn standing in the bottom field just up about six or seven inches, in the terriblest

rain storm that ever had hit the state, and the wind with the rain blew down the willow trees that old man Will had planted and the willow tree fell across the creek and kinda dammed it up.

And all that water comin down off the side of them hills and carrying sticks and stones and roots and stumps backed up behind that willow tree and the water stood for four days _____ nearly the whole length of the valley. And any of you ladies that are farmers understand that if water stands on young corn more than 14 hours the corn won't make. And didn't anybody get any corn crop that year. And just to tell you the sho nuff truth, nobody ever got any real good corn crop in that bottom since because it floods like that every year.

Well, if you washed all the land off the side of the hills and the bottom fields are gonna flood every year. So if you lived out and around in the country and the census says you're a farmer you'd be hungry, and those poor folks are.

So I asked my friend what are you going to do about that? Oh, he said, it's not as tough as it seems. Send somebody in there who really knows about farming, agriculture college graduate, ought to have a homey conference with him. I reckon he could train the

people right here to do the job. Let him stay at least a year and get to know the folks. As far as he can, persuade them to swap land so that each man has as his farm a nice piece of bottom land a long piece of hill land.

Course some of them won't swap, but then most of them will. In return for swapping, you take a work crew in and dynamite out the snags in the stream and straighten the flow. Then you get everybody that has swapped to work his land on what they call a farm plan, and in the farm plan you turn the crown in the mountains back into trees, and high slope goes into pasture grass that you never do plough, and the low slope goes into terraces and strip crops. Then the roots of the trees and the grass will hold the most of the water on the side of the hill. What does get to the creek can get out. If You can put a cow in your pasture, that's for milk, fee half your bottom feed of corn to the hogs for meat, take the other half to the mill for meat, and there you are living in God's own sweet green, gracious smile in the State of Kentucky, and you've got milk and meal and meat.

But, the man said, even after you do that there's one more thing you yet want to do. You want to get the state government to come down

there about where old man Will's house was (now of course it's burned) and build you up the biggest one of these what they call vocational trade schools you can get. Because, he said, all those people up in there are still having children and if them children come through that school and when they get to Detroit, Michigan, then they can land on their feet. Slow business; _____ valley by valley; begins to be done. ~~There are~~ Other things to be done in the mountains. Let the mills climb the mountains and make more factory jobs; more forrest care, more tourist trade. If you ~~did~~ do all those things ~~you'd~~ you'll have a prosperous and a democratic mountain society.

Come down ~~into~~ from the mountains and ~~the~~ take ~~this~~ the Piedmont piece. ~~again~~. Remember these smaller squares; still there. The basic pattern of land ownership in all ~~of~~ this Piedmont country is the family-operated farm. ~~The~~ A man may have a tenant, but it's his nephew. ~~It's~~ and nobody has nonfarm tenants. ~~Wonders~~ And wonders of wonders, none ~~Times~~. ~~Well, no wonder one~~ of those medium sized family ~~old~~ owned farms today is more than 12 or 15 miles away from a factory. That's pretty good, that's a balance between industry and agriculture. Further, the people in that area ~~got~~ have two mighty nice things to have: a firm grasp of political democracy so strong that in the last 15 years it has flowed over to include the Negro

population in all those Piedmont cities; and secondly, a beginning grasp of economic democracy — through trade unions, and not through just ordinary unions but through a special kind of union ~~that~~ they've worked out for themselves ~~what~~ which they called mixed unions, south white people and colored people both in them..

I could tell you many tales about those unions. I ~~used to~~ usually get ~~out~~ at them with two. One is all right; the other ~~something~~ no self-respecting trade union guy should tell. I'll tell you the wrong one first.

They had a strike at the Republic steel mill in Birmingham 20 years ago. But a mixed picket line around the plant--white man, colored man, white man, colored man--all away around the block. Somebody on the picket line turned loose a stick of dynamite, and it went off with a big noise and didn't hurt anybody. ~~A~~ The law car came screaming up and the law gets out and grabs one of the colored pickets and the law said, "Boy, did you throw that dynamite?" "No sir, I'm not on that committee."

I worked in one of those unions when it was brand new. ~~It began in Birmingham.~~ ~~There~~ They were cast iron pipe workers, an AFL Federal Labor Union, 500 colored, 500 white. The Secretary-Treasurer

of the local took me to his home back up behind one of the suburbs. Neat house up on a hill, 20 other white working men's houses like it up there on the hill, ~~neat~~, nice looking places. ~~white and~~ pink. He stood on his porch and looked down in the bottom and there was a huddle of tar-paper black shacks. I said, "who lives in the bottom?" "They're colored." "They work in the shop?" "Yes, they work in the shop." "Belong to this union?" "Yes, they belong to the union." Then he said, "Mr. Mitchell, can you see a little path running back and forth between up here where we live and down there where they live?" If you look hard you can see it. I said, "Yes, kind of faint." He said, "Before this union came it wasn't no path at all".

dialogue form

Well, I submit then that a population which has a basically democratic pattern of land ownership, interspersed with a modern heavily capitalized and prosperous, industrial economy, a firm grasp of political democracy, a beginning grasp of economic democracy, in both fields is learning to overleap the barriers of race in a fully free society

This is a shame. Suppose the UNESCO were to invite a women's society to provide 5 commissioners to replan the backward places of the world, and offered the 5 lady commissioners $75,000 per year for each of 5 years for doing the job. Draw your $75,000, give

$65,000 of it to the Southern Regional Council and at the end of the five years make a report that you want all the backward places of the world to look like the Piedmont counties of the southern states. That's about as good as you can get, see? Land ownership, industrial opportunity, economic and political democracy, diminishing race prejudice. That's pretty good.

Jump the red one and take the blue one at the outside. I have to be careful because ~~I've got~~ in any audience There will be some folks from the blue country, ~~out here~~. Except for its rich port cities, except for an occasional patch of land ~~and~~ in some speciality crop; in the whole of that blue piece of country there are only four things--sand, swamps, pine trees, and poor folks. ~~this county in your state.~~ Two things to do; save the pine trees, spread the money from the pines trees to the poor folks. Well, saving the pine trees we know how to do, plant ~~three~~ three when you cut one, state, federal, ~~park and~~ private forrest conservation. We're doing it pretty well. Spreading the money out ~~and~~ I didn't know what you did. ~~Trade unions, co-ops, unions,~~ co-ops, minimum wage, how would you? You're lucky. ~~You've~~ It's been looked after for you in the last ~~8~~ 10 years. ~~You~~ They used to get 15¢ and 20¢ an hour, had no minimum wage, had no wisp of a union, ~~and~~ Now ~~you~~ wouldn't think of working a man

for less than what--90¢, $1.04 and the --minimum wage is about to go to $1.00 an hour, and they are fast joining the chemical workers and the paper workers and the wood workers. So I guess they come through Well, that shuts us up to the old plantation belt, that's always the toughest one. Go anywhere down in there you want, ~~Adele, Georgia, walk~~ as ~~far as South Carolina, Cortland, Virginia, way up here near Shreveport~~, Clarksdale, Fayette County, ~~Tenn., Chico County, Ark.~~ Draw yourself a country road--this would be a dirt road--about 3 miles long, put in the old Judge Atkinson place on this side of the road. The Judge put together 3,700 acres before he died. This was a big place over on this side of the road. You can see where the big house was, but the big house was burned.

This is another big place here. A fellow on this side of the road had him a lot of land but he got broke ten years ago and sold the land on the front of the road and made 5 smaller farms. There were three colored took up there and two white.

And this is a big place here and this is another big place here. Behind each one of those big houses there is, or there was (not let's be honest, this is the way ~~many places as~~ it was 15 or 18 years ago, but that's recent enough for the shadow of it to be still with us), ~~there is, or there was~~, either a double row of little black sharecrop shacks and the boss' big mule barn here, or else the man had the land split up into little

25 or 30 acre tenant faams and a little old house and a piece of barn on each one. It doesn't make much difference which way it was. People that ought to be living in these big houses don't live in them anymore. They live in town, sell Chevrolet automobiles, belong to the Rotary Club, but they got some white fellow out there, probably the wife's brother (You know, he drinks a good deal) in charge of the place. People in the big houses get their sons and daughters through the state university. People in the little houses get their sons and daughters through the third, maybe the fourth grade, They get unpromoted two times, and they quit. The people in the big houses have money, or can get it if they need it. The people in the little houses most years have been poor. The people in the little houses depending on the people in the big houses for some mighty important things; piece of land, roof over their head, something to eat, job of work, bossing, personal safety, reputation, justice.

Suppose I go down to the county and call a meeting of the people out of the big houses, meet with the Kiwanis Club at the County Seat town, "Gentlemen, my name is George Mitchell. I live in Atlanta. I work for a thing called Southern Regional Council. You never heard of it. It's

an old-established race relations organization spread back and forth across the South; preachers, doctors, teachers, lawyers, professors, labor guys, many ~~a bunch of~~ church people. ~~We believe in what they call civil rights.~~ ~~Forgot to say~~ About half of our members are white, about half of them Negroes. We ~~All of us~~ believe in what they ~~this thing~~ call~~ed~~ civil rights. Do you remember when Mr. Truman was the President, he had a committee make a report to him about that? ~~and Miss Tilly was on the committee.~~ And when Mr. Eisenhower was running and ~~Mr.~~ Senator Russell was talking about running, There a lot of talk about civil rights. The Supreme Court been saying things about civil rights. ~~It's~~ Very important subject, and I want to explain to you what it means.

In the ~~First~~ place, it means you're going to ~~gonna~~ have to allow these colored people to vote. Now all of them. And if you got a fellow ~~fella~~ at the court house who on voting day likes to stand right by the ballot box and pick up all the colored votes before they go in and put an X mark on them, you just tell him to come away from there, ~~He's now allowed to stand there and you gotta quit.~~ That's against the law.

"And if there's another man ~~fella~~ on the Board of Registrars that asks the colored people monkey questions when they come to register ~~like how many rooms in the white house and all that kind of thing,~~ you

just tell him ~~he got~~ to ask the colored and the white the same questions. This just means that when voting day comes the colored and the white ~~come,~~ line up and ~~the lot of them~~ vote together.

"Second place, it means they serve on the jury; grand jury and petty jury. And I don't mean every now and then when the judge thinks the Supreme Court ~~kinda~~ is blowin down the back of his neck to squeeze one colored ~~fella~~ fellow up in the jury box; but right along when court meets, maybe four, five, six, even seven, ~~eight~~ colored ~~fellas~~ fellows will be on the jury.

"Third place, it did mean ~~the court's changed it--it now means something different),~~ you're ~~gonna~~ were going to have to tax yourselves and bond yourselves and build a set of colored schools in this county just as nice as your white schools. Some of them ~~are going to~~ will be nicer, because they are ~~going to~~ will be newer. Of course, you can comply with the Court's new decision and put some more rooms on the white schools you've got and bring the ~~colored~~ Negro children in here. A part of that school thing, You're going to have to get in behind the county superintendent and make him buy 17 brand new yellow school buses and start hauling all these colored ~~kids~~ children into school.

"And the last thing in it is, if a colored ~~x~~ man ~~fellow~~ in the county ~~bought~~ buys a railroad ticket and

wants to ride across the state line, the conductor on the train ~~got~~ has to let him sit in any one of the day coaches he happens to want to sit in. Now that's what ~~you~~ they call civil rights, and I'm in favor of that, and I came to ask you gentlemen to help us get that rolling in the county. Now what do you say?"

"Well," they said, "Mr. Mitchell, we've been happy to have had you at luncheon with us. We have heard about that civil rights and we don't think much of it. Now you've been frank with us and we're going to be frank with you. The first thing we're going to tell you is that you don't understand the situation in this county. You see, Mr. Mitchell, the colored people here have had about third, maybe fourth grade education. Now we're not saying it's their fault. They went to the schools we put there for them. But we are saying that if that's all they know we don't think it's time yet to allow them to vote.

"As far as serving on the jury goes, well the judge is here in the room. ~~The judge~~ can't speak of it but I know him pretty well and all I'm going to say is that what you're talking about ~~don't~~ doesn't seem to me likely to happen in ~~this~~ his court soon.

"Now, about the schools Mr. Mitchell, you weren't here, but summer before last in the county we had before the people ~~the~~ a bond ~~issue~~ vote on whether they would put more money on the white schools, and it only passed by 44 votes. So you can see, if we're to go back to the people in the county for an even larger sum to bring up the colored schools, you can see what would probably happen to that.

"Now about the school buses, it is true my sister works in the office of the county superintendent of schools and she told me the other day that the superintendent was talking about holding back two of the old second-hand school buses and start hauling ~~some~~ some of The colored high school children in to school.

"And about the railroad train, Why, Mr. Mitchell, we don't have ~~a~~ the railroad ~~train~~ in the county so that question we don't have to bother about. While we don't have the railroad train, we are served by the Greyhound bus line and ~~there's~~ there's a bus coming through here about ~~2:30~~ half past two. p.m. I have my car here. Be glad to take you down to the bus terminal,* we want to be sure you get safe home where you came from!!

So what can you do about that? Well, that's tough. I showed you these five ~~forms~~ farms up here. Nobody helped these folks. They didn't get any government loans. They just Worked hard, had luck with their crops, saved ~~their~~ money and bought land. Free American private enterprise Self-respecting

local farmers, some of them colored, some of them white and good neighbors. There was something called veterans' on-the-farm training program. Man got through World War II, got home, got him a wife and child, he drew $97.50 a month for several years, for farming a piece of land and going to vocational classes two nights a week. Some of them put that money into buying land. (That didn't have to be in)

There's a something left of a Federal agency called the Farmers Home Administration. In a heavy tenancy area Every county like that is supposed to lend out enough money every year for 9 or 10 carefully chosen tenants to buy farms and fix them up for themselves. Forty years at 4%. They often pick young men so their children will be raised as owners' children and break the cycle. It sometimes happens that 10 of those tenants get loans, hunt around the county for farms to buy, and can't find them. They come back and say the government man, "Now would it be if we were to put our money in a pot and try to buy one of the big places?"

"Now," they say, "the Atkinson place there. Of course the Judge is dead, He never had but just the two boys. That oldest boy, that went to Harvard Law School, he's practicing up in New York. We hear he's doing very well but he

never comes down here. The younger brother. Mr. Mitchell I don't want to say too much, but he was drinking a good deal ~~considerable~~ when he was in the last year in high school here in the town. They sent him off to ~~Ottimpson~~ College ~~in South Carolina,~~ but he only stayed there just the two terms and when he came back the law came picked him up, ~~someplace~~ and he's locked up somewhere we don't know just where. But we're satisfied that if you would write to the brother in New York and offer him $90,000 for the judge's place, he would ~~will~~ sell. Well, he would. So buy it and split it up into 10 nice farms.

These are not little ones, now, these are big farms, 180 to 220 acres, neat, white-painted, three-bedroom house on each one. Good barns, good stock, good fences, good folks, Colored on some, white on some. Run on that way three, four, five years. It White guy will come down the road from up around the courthouse and called a meeting of the white farmers. Fellows ~~Fellas~~ you all know me. Some of us at the courthouse was sitting around talking about the primary That'll ~~gonna~~ be here ~~in the county~~ in a little more than six months, and ~~this~~ still time to register. ~~and we~~ We counted up. It we could get up about ~~400 (and some--end of first tape)~~ four hundred and thirty-one more votes

we could throw out the fellow we've got in the legislature from this county. Now he's no 'count; and what time he's sober up there he's a'votin' against us little fellows. So I came down here to see how many votes you've got toward throwing him out. Haw many have you got?

"Well", they say, "on this place there's not but just the four white families. That's seventeen votes, and you'll get them all. Is that enough?"

"Nnno", he'll say, "I was a' hopin' I could get somemore".

INSERT B

Well, we have told you all the white people we have got. Somebody on the back row will get his hand up kind of timid-like and say: "What about the colored people? Will you take them?"

And somebody else will sing out: "Hold on, now. Colored ~~people~~ never have been allowed to vote in this ~~State~~ county"

The man on the back row will say: "Of course I know that's so; They haven't. But these colored people ~~running~~ right around here are different. They have got their own farms. They're good farmers. Now you take Will Jackson. When was it - five weeks ago? - he went ~~down~~ to town and came back with that rubber-tired side-delivery hayrake; and I think most of us white people have borrowed it off him once; I know I have had it twice. And there is June Wilson; ~~he's~~ got ~~14~~ fourteen hams hanging up in his smoke house. And I don't know a white man around here who killed more than two hogs last year. And here Tuesday when we all had our hay fresh cut down on the ground and that thunderstorm came up, didn't those colored ~~farmers~~ fellows come over here and help us get that hay in the barn? And nobody asked them to either. And I know that if they were to vote, they would vote with us. So I say, let's get them to vote. What do you say?

And they say, "That's right, let's get them to vote."

Tape - 12:15 - Mrs. J. G. Smith - 12:30

COPY COPY

Post Office Box 6056
Richmond 22, Virginia
Fifth of January
Nineteen Fifty-Six

Director George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta Georgia

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

By this you may know that I am recovering-slowly but surely I hope from a very dangerous and complicated operation in Johns Hopkins Hospital. Since the middle of October I have been incapacitated and have had to sacrifice all activities of a public nature. I have hated to let go by default my immediate services to the Southern Regional Council. You can understand my anxieties pertaining thereto only by considering my deep interest and devotion to our common cause. I have hated to miss the meetings and especially have I hated to be unable to raise the financial quota assigned to the membership of the Board. But with an aggravated ailment of many weeks to be climaxed with a serious operation and hospital confinement I had no other choice than to take to the sidelines and wait and hope for recovery. I hope I am again on the road to good health. My heart is with you and the good men and women who are carrying on with such vigor and courage under circumstances which most certainly try your souls.

I hope you and the others will not be too greatly dismayed at the irresponsible attacks currently being made on the SRC. We are willing to pay the price of rendering the service to the South and nation we are undertaking. There is a might in Right that cannot be denied and in this we rest our case. Tell my comrades in the service that my heart is in every activity that promises ultimate victory.

Yours very kindly,

(signed)
Gordon B Hancock

The point being that as soon as they got basically equal, their civil rights came ~~tippety-tippety~~ walking down the country dirt road. Now its hard ~~lives~~ lives, because we've got something like that to do in the whole of that old plantation ~~valley.~~ belt. Not radically; not quickly. ~~I~~ I certainly don't say issue ~~$3,000,000,000~~ three billion dollars worth of government bonds, ~~fire~~ buy everybody's ~~get~~ a big place, ~~take it away from them~~ and give it to all the poor folks in the county. ~~that don't have nothing~~ That doesn't work. But do say let's ~~But lets~~ have a consistent public policy stretching over 40 or 50 years of planting in that old plantation belt as many islands of independent family ~~type~~ farming as we can. Other things to do in there: pull the high tension power lines down--~~you know these great things that go across the landscape on stilts, they're awful stilting when they get there. Bring them down in here.~~ ~~There's gonna be~~ a million ~~and a half~~ more people are going to ~~leaving~~ leave here in the next 10 years hunting jobs. Why can't jobs come to them?

Change ~~this~~ their schooling system some too. They're hoe hands to-day and will be factory hands tomorrow. Teach them what's called industrial arts. Then when they pick up a job they can take six weeks training in a man's course ~~to~~ and come out with semi-skilled wages and be okay. Well, if you did that you'd have the fourth and last one fixed up, and by definition you've got an equal and a democratic South.

Now a queer business:

~~That's poor business~~, in all that I haven't said a word about states, and yet we live in states and ~~states~~ are important. Let's draw in the state lines and ~~you can~~ see what they mean. Take ~~This is~~ South Carolina ~~the great commonwealth of Jimmie Byrns~~. ~~This is the one with boiling haven in it~~. ~~There's~~ Louisiana, Arkansas ~~on top~~, old north states, mother of presidents, dark and bloody ground, Tennessee. ~~Let's take South Carolina on there~~. The mountains just graze the backs of ~~Old Coney and Pickens~~ Two The counties. Piedmont piece is narrow and short. The Plantation piece wide and long.

Suppose you get everybody up in here to belong to a union or a farmers' organizations, and ~~fast~~ press for some progressive measure to get through legislature, and when the legislature meets in Columbia, they don't get it because there are

so many more state senators from down here than ~~come~~ from up here.

Georgia is the same way. A Little piece of mountains, a little piece of Piedmont, a big piece of plantation; nothing wiggles. Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana. It's far worse than it looks on that map, because this old plantation belt has been drained of population these 40 years; with one insignificant exception, it's never been drained of a seat in ~~the~~ a State Legislature yet. You see? So that ~~the~~ to sheer geographical preponderance ~~has~~ is added an artificial political ~~mmh~~ hammerlock, the consequence of which is that across the states of the lower South we are all held in every public and most private acts to the attitudes and practices acceptable to that politically predominant part of the state least advanced in democratic arrangements. It's a ~~the~~ system of the lowest common denominator.

If you want a contrast, take North Carolina: a ~~whopping~~ big piece of mountains, the very biggest piece of Piedmont, and two little shrinking ~~up~~ nubbins of plantation country; the one consistently progressive state we've got. ~~Well then, at the end we ought to know about civil rights.~~

Well, then, at the end, we come back to civil rights.

~~I got to change the end of this speech some. It's getting a little out of date.~~ A hundred years ago the rest of the country and the rest of the world looked at that map and said the time has come for a broad enlargement of human freedom. The South should abolish slavery. A few very wise people said, Well ~~now~~ that could be managed. Of course, it would cost a good deal of money. We would have to buy the slaves, set them free, teach them skill, let them ~~and they'd learn to~~ buy land and you'd be out. What do you say?

Guadalupe
Hidalgo. Texas

~~Not~~ the country said, we're not going to spend a penny. Change the law. We're not going to emancipate them. If you don't like it you just get used to it. Well, ~~We~~ had a war about that and spent 500 times the on war on what it would have cost to have done it right. And still didn't do it.

Now in the middle of this century the rest ~~xxx~~ of the country and the rest of the world, ~~took~~ Take another look at that map and ~~said~~ say, The time has come for a further broad enlargement of human freedom. The Southern states should now get rid of ~~abolish this business of~~ segregation. The queer thing to me is this hardheaded businessmen's country is still not seeing that it's going to be expensive again. To clean up what Charlie Smith talked about the other day, I would send you a bill for $800,000,000.

saying, "Now we're not going to spend any money". Just going to change the law.

I've been trying to show you that it's more difficult than just changing the law. It would be perfectly possible to clean up all the slums - city and town and country - in the South, but it would cost you around eight hundred million dollars. But do you get civil rights as long asyou live in those rows of shot-gun shacks that pass for houses in our Southern cities?

Health is another. It takes more hospitals and clinics and more doctors and nurses, but it could be done. And we need several billions of dollars of additional private investment, to make still more factory jobs. And the schools. And a goodly amount to make owners out of tenant farmers.

But if you do those things you have jobs and farms and homes and schools and health; and that's just the other side of the nickel to civil rights.

(What did he talk about?)

That would get it nicely done, and after it was done people would have civil rights.

Health is going to cost a pretty penny. Land ownership is going to cost something. Further industrial employment is going to cost a lot more private investment. Cleaning up the schools is ~~gok~~ going to take something. But when you get that done, you're going to have jobs, farms, homes and schools, and health, and the other side of the nickel--civil rights.

Now mind you, I'm not saying don't hold back your civil rights legislation, or your court decision until these ~~other~~ fundamental things have been done. Neither am I saying don't do the fundamental things until the law has been tightened. I am saying, for two centuries of neglect the South is at a point where it has got to do two jobs at once. It's a little tough; ~~but if the women's society works hard enough~~ but if we'll all work, I think we can get it done.

September 27, 1956

Mrs. Elizabeth P. Huber
Managing Editor
The American Humanist
Yellow Springs, Ohio

Dear Mrs. Huber:

Manuscript returned herewith in good order.

I would be glad to get six free copies, and a year's subscription to the maggie.

For your blurb, what you say is George Mitchell was born in Richmond a good deal better than fifty years ago. He went to schools up and down the East Coast of the country, and to college in Delaware and Richmond. Took a Doctor's degree in economics at Johns Hopkins, and studied in England for three years. Came back and taught at Columbia six years. And worked in the New Deal ten years, and for the labor movement in the South for a year, and has been working for the Southern Regional Council ever since 1945. Married a girl named Alice Armstrong, and we have a couple of grown-up daughters in college. Wrote or helped write a few thin books. Lives in Georgia and stands up for what is right.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. - "Leadership, Where Next?"

The AMERICAN HUMANIST ASSOCIATION

YELLOW SPRINGS, OHIO

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The Humanist,
a bi-monthly

Editor
Priscilla Robertson
Route 3, Box 218
Anchorage, Kentucky

Managing Editor
Elizabeth P. Huber
P.O. Box 227
Yellow Springs, Ohio

September 26, 1956

RECEIVED SEP 27 1956

J.C - to proof

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Here are proofs of "Leadership, Where Next?" Pending confirmation from Priscilla, I plan to run it as the lead article in our next issue. It combines the objective tone we strive for with a timeliness we seldom achieve; and we are very happy indeed to have it.

Will you read through the proof, and return it as soon as you conveniently can? I don't think the editorial blue pencil has made any presumptuous changes; but if there are any objectionable ones, please let me know, and we can fight it out. (In the paragraph about Kentucky, I inserted "unsegregated" before "school" in the next-to-the-last sentence, as that seemed to be the clear intent of the whole paragraph. I don't recall any other substantive changes--can't check, because the proofreader has the mss.)

We like to run a little blurb about the author with each article. Will you fill out the enclosed "Who's Who" sheet, please, and return it with the proof, so we'll get our facts straight? ...Priscilla probably knows all the necessary facts, but these little chores are part of my job, and I have to go by the book when I don't--yet--know the people concerned. (I hope to!)

Would you like to order reprints? The article will be only two pages --see our printer's price schedule, enclosed.

You're entitled to six copies of the issue as a contributor's perquisite, and to a year's "complimentary" subscription if you aren't already a subscriber. Let me know if you'd like to have the copies and/or the subscription. In addition, we'll gladly send extra copies directly from here to twenty to twenty-five friends and colleagues, if you'd like to send us a list of those you think might be interested in your article and in the magazine generally.

Yours, with appreciation,

Elizabeth P. Huber

(Mrs.) Elizabeth P. Huber
Managing Editor

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IN FIFTY TO ONE HUNDRED WORDS GIVE THE STATEMENT YOU WOULD LIKE TO SEE APPEAR ABOUT YOURSELF IN THE HUMANIST IF WE SHOULD PUBLISH AN ARTICLE BY YOU:

(Use other side of sheet if necessary)

August 10, 1956

Mrs. Cary Robertson
The American Humanist Association
Yellow Springs, Ohio

Dear Priscilla:

Here's what I wrote you to Kentucky. Since then I found your letter. What I wrote you to Kentucky still seems manageable.

Affectionately,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. Corres. dtd 8/1/56

Mailed to: 20 Avon Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

The AMERICAN HUMANIST ASSOCIATION

YELLOW SPRINGS, OHIO

20 Avon St.
Cambridge 38, Mass.
August 8, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED AUG 10 1956

Dear George,

Thanks muchly for "Leadership, Where Next?" It is a small gem, and coming from you, quite a scoop. I particularly liked xxxx the way you mentioned "that utmost desideratum, the voluntary cooperation of the Negro people."

I am even glad yourpiece is so short. When you have said enough you have said enough-- but many writers don't know that elementary principle of English composition. Besides-- and more important-- having this piece little gives me a better chance for asking for another someday. Please, when you are feeling real philosophical, won't you please remember that our pages are always open to you?

You may like, or you may not, thestory about the hate letters that Al Kershaw received, which we are running in our next issue. I shall see that you get a copy. In fact I am going to put you on the list of national leaders for whom one of our members has donated subscriptions-- that is unless you subscribe already, a fact which an editor never knows.

Thanks again-- and the best to the family,

Affectionately,

Priscilla

Priscilla Robertson
Editor, The Humanist

Green copy mailed
to Mrs. Robertson
at 20 Arrow St.
Cambridge 38, Mass.

August 1, 1956

Mrs. Cary Robertson
Anchorage,
Kentucky

Dear Priscilla:

Two or three days ago, in some napping half-hour, the mail was brought in, with your esteemed letter. I read through it for the gist; laid it aside for reading with care, and now don't readily find it. But I do remember I was to do your maggie an article.

I happened to wake up in the stilly watches, a week or so ago, and climbed out of bed and put down these two pages. Would they do? If not, delete 'em, and I'll try again. I could lengthen this, but it doesn't seem to me called-for; so I send as is.

Hope to find letter, and enjoy detail.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/esb
Encl. "Leadership, Where Next?"

LEADERSHIP, WHERE NEXT?

An old gentleman I knew used to say that the history of the South falls into four periods of State leadership. Down to 1820 Virginia led, with all that galaxy of statesmanship. From about 1820 until 1865 South Carolina led, and with nullification and secession led us to slaughter. From 1875 until perhaps 1890 Georgia led, with Henry Grady and the doctrine of industrialization, and with the Atlanta Exposition. The old gentleman was speaking twenty years ago at the University of North Carolina, and he pleased the audience there by saying, as was quite true, that from about 1890 North Carolina had clearly had the leadership of the South.

I suggest that in recent years leadership has clearly left North Carolina. And it is at the moment hard to name the State on which it will light next.

Pretty clearly the test of the present and of the coming period is in the field of interracial adjustment. That Southern State which shows us how to achieve recognition of equal human dignity will be a lighthouse guiding us all into harbor.

Of recent years we have been following North Carolina's lead toward the industrial society, but the echoes of the maxims which South Carolina set out more than a hundred years ago have been heavy in the wind. The political accompaniment for our age of industrial achievement has been the tattoo which South Carolina beat out to rally us for armed defense of slavery. And the angry drum beat hardly fits our present task. The need is domestic understanding and mutual hard work to hold our rate of prosperous growth; the drums that beat are not for mutual growth.

Who will take the lead for this new time?

Three candidates have appeared so far.

Eight years ago when there was the long string of successful court suits to open our Southern State Universities to Negro students one State gave the whole

South a gasp of hope when it said to its Negro applicant, "Come on in; glad to have you, and we won't go to law over a principle that's perfectly clear!" That was Arkansas. And she has followed up that lead, and made the University of Arkansas an institution where dignity is respected, and privilege is not abused. And Arkansas people have opened several of their public schools in the same spirit. It is altogether likely that for such a grace she will be rewarded with that utmost desideratum, the voluntary cooperation of the Negro people in easing the changeover to the new public policy. The palm may well rest on Arkansas.

Kentucky's another claimant. Louisville led the way years ago by suppressing its municipally supported Negro college, and combining it with the University of Louisville. She voluntarily dented and then repealed her State law requiring segregated education. Long ago segregation died away on most common carriers. There is now, I am told, no single county in Kentucky which has not either had a school or two to open or announces its date for opening, or does not touch a county of which that is true. And the change has been quietly made, with some study and conference beforetimes, but by negotiation and not by the issue of battles at law.

Tennessee has a claim. Florida has had her sparks of better purpose. Parts of Texas have behaved. For a few brief months Virginians even dared to hope that the dry bones of her leadership would come to flesh, but she's back to dry bones now!

We need urgently a new leader. The contest is on! Which among the dozen of us will find the method of agreement for change, and lead the whole South into a public mood that fits our modern way for making our living?

Charlotte and I are living in Cambridge for the summer, where she is going to summer school — We hope to go to Pittsburgh for a visit —

The AMERICAN HUMANIST ASSOCIATION

YELLOW SPRINGS, OHIO

20 Avon St.
Cambridge 38, Mass.
July 25, 1956

Dr. George Sinclair Mitchell
Director, Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED JUL 27 1956

Dear George,

I did it for you once-- at a time when I had no idea I would ever be in a position to exact my pound of flesh. Now I am sharpening a knife as editor of The Humanist, and wish to ask you to contribute to it.

No problem is of greater concern to Humanists than race relations and the struggle for a better life for all citizens. This is plainly the forefront of Humanist philosophy. May I add that with H.J.Muller as president of the association, we are getting very much more attention from the country's scientists than in the past? But we must move fast into the fields of social science and human relations.

What we would like best, of course, would be if you had something to say to our body of literate and concerned readers, and would say it just for us. But it occurs to me that you may plead you are busy (I can't imagine why.) If such be your plea, know that we sometimes use reprints from periodicals whose subscription lists do not greatly overlap our own. Would there be any piece with the inimitable Mitchell touch which we could get the rights to reprint? I can offer you the same elegant financial remuneration that you gave me. Affectionately,

PUBLISHERS OF *THE HUMANIST*

(Mrs. Robertson) Priscilla

Priscilla

RECEIVED NOV 13 1956

the HUMANIST

1956, No. 6 35¢

Leadership, Where Next?

by

GEORGE S. MITCHELL

A research study

ETHICS AND INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS

by Lester A. Kirkendall

A story on an Inca theme

ZARAN AND CAMAYU

by William C. Sayres

Special illustrated section on humanist art

'THE HUMANIST' IN SCULPTURE

by Warren Allen Smith

A FAUST PLAY

by Leon Katz

SYMBOLS FOR A NATURALISTIC RELIGION

by Kenneth L. Patton

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE:

Troy Wilson Organ
Paul Blanshard
Harold H. Webber
Cecil Miller

A Bi-Monthly Publication of
The American Humanist Association
Yellow Springs, Ohio

A Southerner challenges the South

Leadership, Where Next?

George S. Mitchell

An old gentleman I knew used to say that the history of the South falls into four periods of state leadership. Down to 1820 Virginia led, with all that galaxy of statesmanship. From about 1820 until 1865 South Carolina led, and with nullification and secession led us to slaughter. From 1875 until perhaps 1890 Georgia led, with Henry Grady and the doctrine of industrialization, and with the Atlanta Exposition. The old gentleman was speaking twenty years ago at the University of North Carolina, and he pleased the audience there by saying, as was quite true, that from 1890 North Carolina had clearly had the leadership of the South.

I suggest that in recent years leadership has left North Carolina. And it is at the moment hard to name the state on which it will light.

Pretty clearly the test of the present and of the coming period is in the field of interracial adjustment. That Southern state which shows us how to achieve recognition of equal human dignity will guide us all into harbor.

Of recent years we have been following North Carolina's lead toward the industrial society, but the echoes of the maxims which South Carolina set out more than a hundred years ago have been heavy in the wind. The political accompaniment for our age of industrial achievement has been the tattoo which South Carolina beat out to rally us for armed defense of slavery. And that angry drum-beat hardly fits our present task. The need is domestic understanding and mutual hard work to hold our rate of prosperous growth; the drums that beat are not for mutual growth.

Who will take the lead for this new time?

Three candidates have appeared so far.

Eight years ago when there was the long string of successful court suits to open our Southern state universities to Negro students, one state gave the whole South a gasp of hope when it said to its Negro applicant,

"Come on in; glad to have you, and we won't go to law over a principle that's perfectly clear!" That was Arkansas. And she has followed up that lead, and made the University of Arkansas an institution where dignity is respected, and privilege is not abused. And Arkansas people have opened several of their public schools in the same spirit. It is altogether likely that for such a grace she will be rewarded with that utmost desideratum, the voluntary co-operation of the Negro people in easing the changeover to the new public policy. The palm may well rest on Arkansas.

Kentucky is another claimant. Louisville led the way years ago by suppressing its municipally supported Negro college and combining it with the University of Louisville. She voluntarily dented and then repealed her state law requiring segregated education. Long ago segregation died away on most common carriers. There is now, I am told, no single county in Kentucky which has not either had an unsegregated school or two to open or announce its date for opening, or does not touch a county of which that is true. And the change has been quietly made, with some study and conference beforetimes, but by negotiation and not by the issue of battles at law.

Tennessee has a claim. Florida has had her sparks of better purpose. Parts of Texas have done well. For a few brief months Virginians even dared to hope that the dry bones of her leadership would come to flesh, but she's back to dry bones now!

We urgently need new leadership. The contest is on! Which among the dozen of us will find the method of agreement for change, and lead the South into a public mood that fits our modern way for making our living?

• GEORGE S. MITCHELL *has been a teacher, government servant and labor union worker, and is now Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council. An all-round Southerner, he was born in Virginia, educated at Johns Hopkins in Maryland, and now "lives in Georgia and stands up for what is right."*

UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS
FAYETTEVILLE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

November 27, 1956

RECEIVED NOV 29 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I sincerely appreciate your calling my attention to your article in the current issue of the Humanist in which you commended Arkansas and its University.

Sincerely yours

John T. Caldwell

John T. Caldwell
President

JTC:vsg

November 19, 1956

Mr. John T. Caldwell
President
University of Arkansas
Fayetteville, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Caldwell:

I send you separately an article in the current issue of the Humanist, which on pages 259-60 speaks praisingly of the University of Arkansas.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM:fc

did over

December 26, 1956

Mr. Cabbell Phillips
New York Times
1701 "K" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Cabbell:

Here's my will and testament.

Those hereabouts who are regardful of such things as the New York Times' Style Manual tell me that my clipped telegraphic sentences will have trouble with your rewrite people. The difficulty is that that is the way I write, and if you pull out a brick you tumble the house.

Nevertheless, I give you and your minions a freest hand to do anything you will. Change not the sense much; but jimmy the bricks to suit.

And if the whole thing is no show, say so.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

By: George S. Mitchell

Ten or twelve years on race relations in the South; and a lifetime before of knowing about the South. A mother from South Carolina and Kentucky; a father from Mississippi, and yourself born in Virginia. And now you knock off and go to Scotland to read your dear-bought books. What to say about how to get on with the job?

First thing is about hills and flats. Slavery stuck to the flats. It was so inefficient a system that it lived by chewing good land; the way a coal-mining machine digs coal. It spread over Eastern Virginia, and down in a great fishhook through the coastal plain of the Carolinas and Georgia and Alabama, with a dip into North Florida. It ate up the Delta, in Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee; took bites into Kentucky, and chunks out of East Texas. Over all of that area the dominant arrangement was the large place and black labor. And both are still there.

Nobody took slaves to hills. Hill farming needs personal attention. So the mountains are white, and the Piedmont Country is mainly white.

There was more flat land right around the Coast, but sandy or swampy, and not for slavery. A scattered population, white and black; mostly white, and few people with money. That's four different kinds of situations; plantations, mountains, hills, and piney-woods.

The South has its own, exaggerated, version of the National ill of lopsided and unrepresentative State Legislatures; and in the Lower South at least this puts the predominant power in the hands of the old plantation country. Wherefore Southern politics represents the views of a disappearing economy; and the newer South, which pushes up industrially and could accommodate itself to change, is politically a whisperer. For the moment, the last gasp of confederatism has even an occasional mountainy man waving the Stars and Bars.

Never mind the history of each; but on complying with what the Supreme Court said about schools, the point is that it will be tough in the plantation country, not so tough in the coast, still less tough in the Piedmont, and quite manageable in the Mountains. Most people say this is because there are so many Negro people still in the Old South, and fewer in the new parts. Fairer if somebody had the clerks to work out the statistics on the degree of diffusion of individual well-being and responsibility area by area. Up in the mountains, most people do pretty well, at least in comparison with their neighbors. In the Piedmont, the land is in farms that people own and work themselves, and a job in a mill is easy to get to. In the Coast we need more development of the one great resource (the timber), and a better spread of the money from the trees, but we are getting it. The real trouble is in the old slave country, where Mr. Big is still Mr. Big, and John is just John. And John usually has no lease on the land he farms, and just hopes Mr. Big will say that next year John can stay on. John is careful not to vote and generally speaking he's scared and hasn't gotten very far. And Mr. Big and his friends feel responsible for most of what happens in the County. Where everybody has some standing, some independence, some settled earning-power, civil rights and even school desegregation can be faced. Where most people haven't got much, civil rights come hard.

Which is to say: do it where it can be done. Take the easier spots first. The thing has already taken that course. We keep a map on the wall in the Southern Regional Council office, and the counties where the schools are open are in the easier places. Now that's not to deny any American citizen his right to sue for compliance tomorrow in his schools; fair enough, and I hope the lawsuit succeeds. But it is to say that for two or three years to come, it is likely that it will be the easier places that will open; and that's

healthy and wise. Because eventually the tough ones will find that things went all right, and they will come around, too.

All this business of cultural and geographical differences establishes a need for a differential pace in change. But law is for accomplishing change over quite large chunks of territory, without refinements of concession to local variations. Which is another way of saying that a citizen's constitutional rights are the same in the Mississippi Delta as in Keokuk, Iowa, and should be so respected. And the way out, in a voluntary society, is for people to agree locally on the pace at which change in their community will proceed. And therein lies the probable solution.

When you get right down to it the only way to dissolve race prejudice is to get people of similar background from the different groups to work together on a matter of common interest. Two drops out of that bottle and any amount of race prejudice disappears. And the thing to do is to open the bottle in every affected community. Which means: bring together twelve or fifteen people, of similar standing and responsibilities, some of them white and some of them Negro, and probably most of them Church women. They agree that they will over quite a string of afternoons cast up the exact facts about their local schools. How many schools, exactly where located in regard to white and Negro centers of population; buildings of what age; for how many pupils? How many teachers, with what training and experience, and at what salaries and on what tenure? What are the established school district lines? If you undertook to use the existing plant just to get education to the existing children, how would you do it? And a plan of compliance pops up at the committee. Usually they are startled by the slightness of the change. In this process a lot of things happen. What was a bugaboo, an unknown, becomes named, described, ticketed, local, and hence acceptable. Also, and most important, the indispensable drops

of prejudice-solvent have been at work. Further, in the many meetings the committee people sorted themselves out by their specialty interests. Mrs. Johnson, who worries about class-room lighting, found out that Mrs. Thompson is worried about the same thing. From then on, if any question arises in the Negro community about class-room lighting, the two ladies get on the telephone, and the principal straightens it out!

Still another thing: the ladies have all got wigglety-wigglety tongues, and in not many minutes after agreement is reached it is all over town that the thing has been worked out, and it can go in such and such a way. And that groundwork laid underneath, plus the pressure of the change in the law from above, is enough to accomplish the actual change in the town.

Although there is one further thing that the social science people know. They have a rule called the anti-wobble. Which is that if authority knows the law, intends to go through with it, and is lastingly firm, the change gets made, and little or nothing happens.

Still another queer aspect, not in the books. If you ask people in any town whether they want to stick with good old Southern tradition they will say you bet they do. But if some townspeople find a different course that suits their town, they will say, "Well, we are not trying to tell any other town what it ought to do, but we have decided in this place that the right thing for us to do is so and so." And that pleasant human failing for doing what is locally wise will spread, and at a pleasant pace.

There are some rules about the local committees. No good if even some of the Negro people on the committee are old-timers, anxious first of all to do what will please the white people. Get the vigorous and the representative; indeed, get the very ones whom the powerful people in the town are skittish about having on! Then the decisions will stick. In some places there will be

no one of the Negro group capable of holding up his people's end of the argument. In those cases bring in somebody from a Negro faculty, who can ask for all that is possible.

All of which leads to where the N.A.A.C.P. comes in. Wisdom about it comes from a man who some years back addressed one of their conventions. This was a Southern white man. He said: "The United States of America can thank its lucky stars that for more than forty years the organization which has best represented its most oppressed racial minority has sought a program no more radical than the full enforcement of the Constitution of the United States." That's true, and no one can get around it. In the back places of this earth, in the last twenty years, people after people has resorted to weapons cruel and intolerant as it made its way toward equality. Assassination, sabotage, war, communism, and rebellion. Whereas in the country Negro people in pursuit of equality have engaged brilliant Negro lawyers to stand before the robed justices of our Courts, and ask for their written rights. That's the method of civilized change. It is the most precious inheritance of a thousand years of political experience -- the white man's experience. And here in the South when some people newish to the white man's laws have learned the rules, and have taken some tricks, it is a little unworthy to say (as so much of the white South says): "Why we've changed the rules, and we took those tricks, not you."

Southern towns that proceed in old grooves on matters of race are like autos out on the highway with the back wheels locked. Hot down there where the Negroes are objecting, and saying "we won't go," and feigning ignorance of public affairs. Thing to do is to take the brakes off. Elect or appoint go-ahead Negro persons to public office; ask them responsibly into the councils of the city, private as well as public; simply recognize equal human dignity; and for resistance they will substitute a strong push. And the towns that do

it will get ahead! The South's greatest and most neglected resource is the unused energy of the Negro people.

There really is only one way to meet the change, and that's with the grace of concession. The change has behind it a relentless world-wide pressure, mounting each year. It will succeed. It is fundamentally the American purpose.

In the mind of every person who loves the South there lurks somewhere the notion, somewhat romantic, that the society he has known does have a special quality, little known elsewhere. Clearly the special thing that we have is that we are accustomed to having two races together. In the past it has usually been on terms, and on terms intolerable to-day. But there is something to being accustomed to being together. And I cannot but believe that when the South puts its shoulder to the job of making friends we will get further than the rest of the world. I expect to see the day when Virginia sends missionaries to Chicago to teach Chicago how to behave!

January 2, 1957

Mrs. Cary Robertson
Anchorage,
Kentucky

Dear Priscilla:

Here's a scribble I worked out in the last couple of years, and have not caused to be printed so far as I know. It's barely a note, but it has a bite.

I offer it; if you don't like it, skip it!

Best, till you get over,

G.

GSM/eab
Encl.

MUMBLEDEPEG AND SCOOTER BASEBALL

For three hundred years the South played a game called plantations. Queer game! It depended for its motive-power solely upon the disciplined muscles of men and mules. South Carolina had a law forbidding the importation of a steam engine into the State. On their principles they were right. Plantations run by some odd rules. It wants its workpeople ignorant, obedient, divided, and voteless. In so long a time everybody down here learned the rules of that game pretty well.

And while we played plantations the North and West played cogwheels. Where they found a rill of water they put in a wheel and turned machinery and made things and sold them to us and got rich. Cogwheels run by the opposite rules. It wants its workpeople highly educated; well if they can read blueprints. It does best if they are organized into a union. They need to be friendly; and you have to let them vote, else they'll overturn it.

Cogwheels and plantations had a war. Cogwheels won.

About twenty years after the war a few people down here began saying, "Now, that trick about cogwheels; maybe we could work that?" And they tried, and it worked. In the last fifteen years cogwheels have come with a rush. The South is now an industrial society. And we are still trying to run it by the plantation rules.

Put it more vividly. Assume a society where for three hundred years the national sport was mumbledepeg. Do you remember? With pocket-knife, off your nose and over your fist, and stick it in the ground? All the pink pages of the papers would be full of the world series mumbledepeg contests. And everybody knew all about how to play mumbledepeg. About fifteen years ago this society took to playing baseball on scooters; by the mumbledepeg rules. And it doesn't work so well. Every now and then

somebody says, "Why don't we write up to the Supreme Court where they have the rules for scooter baseball and see how to play it right?" "No," the answer is, "This is Georgia, and we always did go by the mumbledepeg rules, and we're going to keep on!"

The AMERICAN HUMANIST ASSOCIATION

YELLOW SPRINGS, OHIO

RECEIVED JAN 2 1957

Box 218, Route 3
Anchorage, Kentucky
December 31, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. S.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George,

I guess you know how much I selfishly hope the New York Times doesn't want your story. They will, though. And it is better for you if they do.

Once during our Nieman fellow days, when meat rationing was still in effect and we had a beef killed in Kentucky and shipped to Cambridge, I once promised a hostess she would be second in line for a particular steak. She assumed that was the same as being at the end of a long queue-- and yet, by a queer concatenation of circumstances, she got it!

You know we have in The Humanist a column called, "Of Human Rights." It has often been edited by Lewis McGee, but we are thinking of parceling itout to guest writers during 1957-- and before your second-in-line offer came in, we had thought of asking you whether you would be willingto summarize some of your experiences and conclusions in such a ~~also~~ column forthe issue of our magazine that has March 15 for its deadline. Something under a thousand words. Would you be willing to undertake this if we couldn't have the longer piece? (Remember Iwrote a whole issue of the New South for you, once, complete with research and all.)

We are sailing, it seems, on the SS Nova Scotia, out of Boston, for Liverpool, July 9, and may turn up in Inverness about a month later. It seems a fur piece to have to see you in Scotland after we have both been living inthe same South for many years-- but it will certainly make Scotland nicer to have you there and our trip more fun to have it be partly a family reunion.

So there's a special quality to my wishes for your and Alice's HAPPY NEW YEAR --

Very best,

Priscilla

Ans. Jan 2, '57

THE HUMANIST

PRISCILLA ROBERTSON, *Editor*
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11 Edison Avenue, Medford 55, Mass.

February 6, 1957

Mr. George Mitchell — articles, eds
906 Lullwater Rd. NE — Make Feeder
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George,

Our office checked back, and we have apparently never used any former version of your Humbledepeg story. But it doesn't look as if there is a place for it now, either. I'm sorry- it's amusing, but really too slight for an article, or even a column.

I don't see the New York Times to know how they have dealt with your larger story, but that we should most definitely like to have-- or any other serious reflections on your life as an agitator. Maybe you will have some thoughts from Scotland!

I envy you your early sailing. Charlotte Reeder is looking forward to your stopover in Washington. But everybody thinks we shall be the first family guests to show up in Inverness-- I hope so.

Affectionately,

Priscilla

Published by THE AMERICAN HUMANIST ASSOCIATION *Yellow Springs, Ohio*

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Special feature reviews, briefer comment, and announcements

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THE HARVARD REPORT*

ALEXANDER BRODY

College of the City of New York

I. IN SEARCH OF UNITY

The Persian Wars, according to the history textbooks, produced a division among the Athenians between the innovators and the conservatives. A "fierce and tumultuous individualism" released by increased opportunities for wealth, leaisure, and political power weakened civic loyalty, while the growth of knowledge and the critical spirit challenged the institutional basis of social and moral life. The impact of

*GENERAL EDUCATION IN A FREE SOCIETY. Report of the Harvard Committee. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1945. 267 pp. $2.00.

Administration as thus analyzed demands every knowledge, every skill, and every resource. As Leighton at one point phrases it, "Every administrator must be prepared when the time comes to back himself against the world, and, if necessary, take the consequence of losing. It is no field for the faint of heart."

Leighton's volume has more insight and wisdom about people (the basic in administration) than a shelf of books on principles of administration. His volume has utility for all administrators and teachers of administrators, for judges and wardens, for politicians and generals, for the plant manager and the labor leader; in short, its value reaches to those in positions of leadership, responsibility, and authority.

ARTHUR E. FINK

University of North Carolina

NEGRO LABOR: A NATIONAL PROBLEM. By Robert C. Weaver. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1946. 329 pp. $3.00.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS. ITS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT. By Brailsford R. Brazeal. New York and London: Harper & Brothers 1946. 258 pp. $3.00.

In an increasingly administered society one of the most interesting points for its study is the frontier at which the forces of the market and of social habit give way to organization and voluntary directive control. One such frontier is Negro employment. These two books concern themselves with what goes on at this frontier.

Weaver brings out mainly the effect of the war. Those who in the defense period before hostilities had the task of making ready for maximum use of manpower foresaw the demands that total war would make on strength and skill and tried to prepare. Success was meager. Through administrative inertia, national, State, and local, little was accomplished in the way of teaching the to-be-needed skill to Negro labor. A few industries, such as shipbuilding and construction, brough in more Negroes, but the great flow of Negroes into war work did not come until many months after Pearl Harbor.

In the end over a million Negroes took civilian jobs and in thousands of industrial plants got into the better grades of work which had been denied them before. Weaver tells the story of this change. His figures and his general story cover the whole field, but he goes most carefully into aircraft manufacture, shipbuilding, and street transportation. He works out also the role of Government through the successive agencies that became the FEPC; through efforts at trade education; and the helps and hindrances of management and of organized labor. He concludes that where manpower is needed, local habits of discrimination yield readily to firmness on the part of either Government, management or labor; but timidity on the part of any of these agencies yields bitterness, dispute and delay.

For the postwar period the picture is not bright. The great Negro gains were in industries which have already been cut back sharply, and the usual story comes on of dropping the last to be hired. Still, the lesson survives that clear purpose and intelligent foreseeing action by public and private agencies that administer employment can greatly speed integration.

Brazeal's is a fascinating story. Here was a subservient job, staffed entirely by Negroes, performed for a company which accepted modern ideas of labor management with outstanding reluctance. When the porters began to organize twenty years ago, they were up against race prejudice, the jealousy of white craft unions which claimed, but never exercised, jurisdiction over them, a company union, and a hardboiled employer. They even had to do quite a lot of scrapping within their own race. Several leading Negro newspapers fought the Brotherhood. Various public characters among the Negro citizen body were trotted out to denounce the ingratitude of Negro workers for asking more from the hand that fed them. Brazeal clearly feels that the company footed the bill for these Uncle Tom efforts. For ten years Pullman refused to deal with the Brotherhood. The union grew from under 2,000 members to 4,600 by 1928, but by 1933 it had almost raveled out. Membership was 658. The New Deal and the new administration of the Railway Labor Act opened the gates. Pullman signed in 1937. Then the union was 6,000 strong, and it has since achieved almost complete organization of the job.

This is as good a case history as is to be found of the delays and obstruction which unwilling management can place in the way of self-organization of its employees. The book also reviews the interesting and difficult position which the Brotherhood has had inside the AFL. Lastly, he discusses the administration of seniority and wages, and the intricacies of lay-overs and rest periods and terminal waiting time. You get a good whiff of the

fresh air that democratic organization blows into a bargaining relationship which had been onesided before.

GEORGE S. MITCHELL

Southern Regional Council

BREAKING THE BUILDING BLOCKADE. By Robert Lasch. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946. 316 pp. $3.00.

U. S. social scientists today are displaying more interest in housing and community development than ever before. More courses are offered, more research is under way. This is as it should be in view of the profound importance of these matters in our national life as well as in our scientific development. There is a noticeable lag, however, between the knowledge and policy thinking of housing specialists, planners, executives, and journalists like Robert Lasch on the one hand; and what most of the professors are teaching and studying on the other. We are behind in both theoretical and applied matters. To catch up, to assume intellectual leadership, we must place housing and community development in an inclusive context—urbanism, industrialism, community, neighborhood—and recognize the meaninglessness of the controversy over public *or* private enterprise. We should learn to synthesize our perspectives as specialists, and draw upon our general knowledge of social organization, social change and social control, land and public utility economics, government and public administration, personality-in-culture. We should become as familiar with the wartime and current activities of the National Housing Agency, the testimony and lobbying in connection with the Wagner-Ellender-Taft Housing Bill, the economic effects of urban blight, the organization and operation of the U. S. housebuilding industry as many of us have been with the "evils" of slums and the history of public housing. Mr. Lasch's book will prove useful to those academicians who want to catch up or who find themselves scheduled to teach a housing course for the first time, and heretofore have done little more than read about housing in the newspapers. The book is a lucid, accurate introduction to the facts and thinking which promise to give us better communities and better housing—eventually!

Lasch is a Chicago newspaperman and one-time Littauer Fellow of Harvard. His housing philosophy and approach come from Beveridge (policy of the social minimum), Keynes and Hansen (compensatory economy), and the doctrine of the "Middle Way" (mixed public and private enterprise). His facts are taken principally from the Twentieth Century Fund's *American Housing*, the testimony before the Taft Subcommittee on Housing and Urban Redevelopment, and certain NRPB Reports. He recognizes that the initiative for a broad housing program must come from "the people," and urges a crusade enlisting neighborhood groups, citizens' committees, city councils, and planning boards. He warns against another boom-and-bust cycle, already far advanced, much to the disappointment of Wilson Wyatt and the veterans and much to the satisfaction of speculative builders and realtors. Maybe the silver lining to this otherwise black cloud will prove to be the crusade Mr. Lasch calls for. Maybe social scientists should put across Mr. Lasch's arguments to the future real estate operators, land owners, builders, family heads, and taxpayers now in school.

N. J. DEMERATH

University of North Carolina

PROPAGANDA, COMMUNICATION, AND PUBLIC OPINION. By Bruce Lannes Smith, Harold D. Lasswell, and Ralph D. Casey. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946. 435 pp. $5.00.

This is a reference guide introduced by four essays on the Science of Mass Communication, their motif being the safeguarding of "humane values." In 1935 *Propaganda and Promotional Activities: An Annotated Bibliography* of 4,500 titles came from the same authors. The present volume with more than 2,600 additional titles is a continuation of the earlier compilation. Titles are classified as to propaganda strategy, technique, symbols, promotional groups, response, measurement, control, and censorship. Representative of the whole field of public opinion analysis, 150 titles are starred as outstanding. The book is well arranged, splendidly indexed.

Casey's chapter on channels of communication mentions the press of the 1930's, in contrast to the yellow journalism of the 1890's, as sober, intelligent, and democratic. "Newspapers and periodicals of today remain the journals of the average man, and the radio and motion picture direct their appeal to mass constituencies." Yet, today standardization, urbanization, and consolidation are the outcome of our material advance. Press, radio, movies, and book clubs: we live amid chains

TRIAL DIRECTORY OF VETERANS ORGANIZATIONS

IN THE SOUTHERN STATES

This, as the name implies, is a trial directory of veterans organizations in Southern States, particularly as they relate to Negro membership.

The old-established veterans' organizations will of course have in each state responsible state-wide officials. Such an officer has been listed where known for each state for each organization.

Where, particularly with the newer organizations, state-wide officials do not exist, the name and address is given of local post or chapter heads in several leading cities.

In the case of veterans' organizations in the South which customarily accept Negroes only in separate all-Negro posts for each State, the name and address of a local head official of two or three such Negro posts is given. This applies to the American Legion and the VFW.

For the National Council of Negro Veterans and the UNAVA all known local posts are listed and the officials where known.

The AMVETS are not known to have in the Southern States covered any posts for Negroes. The constitution of the organization forbids discrimination and it is possible that some local posts include Negroes. For this organization a ranking state official has been given and where state officers are not known the officials of two local posts are shown.

The AVC states that it does not charter chapters which discriminate among veterans. Most of the Southern chapters do in fact contain members of both races. Some are presently either all white or all Negro, but these are usually organized at educational institutions. In the absence of state-wide officials, officials of all state chapters are listed.

Independent local organizations of Negro veterans are listed where known.

In several of the Southern States, representative groups of Negro veterans organized and unorganized have set up councils for mutual consultation. These are listed under their state headings.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

ALABAMA

I. AMERICAN LEGION

II. VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS

III. AMVETS

1. Mr. John W. Watts
   108 Mt. Vernon Drive
   Montgomery, Alabama
   Comdr. Montgomery Post #1

2. Mr. Joseph G. Law
   1810 Duncan St.
   Mobile, Alabama
   Comdr. Mobile Post #2

IV. AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE, INC.

1. Mr. Martin P. Knowlton
   921 Massey Building
   Birmingham, Alabama
   Chrm. Jefferson County Chapter

2. Mr. John P. White
   Box 2074
   University of Alabama
   Chrm. University of Alabama Chapter

ARKANSAS

I. AMERICAN LEGION

1. Mr. Clovis Copeland
   War Memorial Building
   Little Rock, Arkansas
   Assistant State Departmental Adjutant

2. No posts for Negroes

II. VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS

1.

2. Mr. R. J. Green
   1518 Bishop St.
   Little Rock, Ark.
   Comdrm of a principal Negro Post.

3. Mr. Theodore Tegus
   1304 N. Eighth St.
   Fort Smith, Ark.
   Comdr. of a principal Negro Post.

III. AMERICAN VETERANS OF WORLD WAR II(AMVETS)

1. Mr. James T. Phillips
   Phillips Motor Co.
   Fayetteville, Ark.
   Comdr. Fayetteville Post #3

2. Mr. Frank W. Newell
   206 Worker Building
   Little Rock, Ark.
   Comdr. Little Rock, Post #5

IV. AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE, INC.

1. Mr. Hobart Ford
   117 West Bulford St.
   Forrest City, Ark.
   Chrm. Forrest City Chapter #1

V. UNITED NEGRO AND ALLIED VETERANS OF AMERICA

1. Mr. Roscoe Sharpe
   717 West 10th St.
   Little Rock, Ark.
   Post Comdr.

FLORIDA

I. AMERICAN LEGION

4. Mr. Edward Frieldson
   P. O. Box 1319
   Miami Beach, Fla.
   Chrm. Miami Beach Chapter

5. Mr. Louis Orenitz
   P. O. Box 5560
   Tampa 5, Fla.
   Chrm. Tampa Chapter #1

II. VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS

6. Mr. M. Freedman
   University of Florida
   Gainesville, Fla.
   Chrm. University of Florida

7. Mr. Copus G. Bradham
   1758 Louisiana St.
   Jacksonville, Fla.
   Chrm. Jacksonville Chapter

III. AMERICAN VETERANS OF WORLD WAR II (Amvets)

1. Mr. George E. Burke
   1126 Central Ave.
   St. Petersburg, Fla.
   Comdr. Buddy Chaffee Post #1

2. Mr. L. A. Hall
   Box 748
   Daytona Beach, Fla.
   Comdr. Daytona Beach Post #12

IV. AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE, INC.

1. Mr. James B. Bennett
   613 West Ashley St.
   Jacksonville, Fla.
   Treas., Jacksonville, Chapter #2

2. Mr. Burnett Roth
   412 Congress Building
   Miami, Fla.
   Chrm. Miami Chapter #1

3. Mr. Elliott J. Pieze
   1504 N.W. 6th Place
   Miami, Fla.
   Chr. Miami Chapter #2

GEORGIA

I. AMERICAN LEGION

1. Mr. John Williams
Valdosta, Ga.
State Commander

2. Mr. Chauncey Hudson
606 S. Lee St.
Valdosta, Ga.
District Commander, Negro Posts

II. VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS

1. Mr. Mayo C. Buckley
P.O. Box 855
Athens, Ga.
State Commander

2. Mr. Johnny P. Jones
576 Williams St. N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.
Quartermaster of a principal Negro Post.

III. AMERICAN VETERANS OF WORLD WAR II (Amvets)

1. Mr. George Lewis
125 State Capitol
Atlanta, Georgia
Adjutant, Atlanta Post #1

2. Mr. George Lewis
125 State Capitol
Atlanta, Ga.
Adjutant, Southern Bell Post #2

IV. AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE, INC.

1. Mr. William Carter
Summit, Ga.
Chrm. Emanuel County Chapter

2. Mr. Wesley S. Sherman
Chandler Hall
University of Georgia
Athens, Ga.
Chrm. University of Georgia Chapter

3. Mr. Charles A. Harper, Jr.
216 Bell St.
Toccoa, Ga.
Chrm. Toccoa Chapter

4. Mr. J. W. Childs
701 E. Jackson St.
Dublin, Ga.
Chrm. Dublin Chapter

5. Mr. Robert Green
c/o Mr. Lester H. Persells
1923 N. Decatur Rd. N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.
Chrm. Atlanta Chapter

V. UNITED NEGRO AND ALLIED VETERANS OF AMERICA

1. Mr. John W. Summeford
c/o B.T. Washington Community Center
Macon, Georgia
State Commander.

VI. NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO VETERANS

1. Mr. John W. Merkerson
583 Houston St., N.E
Atlanta, Ga.
State Commander.

LOUISIANA

I. AMERICAN LEGION

II. VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS

III. AMERICAN VETERANS OF WORLD WAR II (Amvets)

1. Mr. Robert C. Taylor
   P. O. Box 2246
   Baton Rouge, La.
   Comdr. Foss - Laundry Post #2

2. Mr. Austin Anderson
   825 Gravier St.
   New Orleans, La.
   Comdr. Greater New Orleans, Post #4

3. Mr. Otto E. Passman
   P. O. Drawer 1833
   Monroe, La.
   Comdr. Gueyson, La. Post #22

IV. AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE, INC.

1. Mr. Alfred Millstein
   2011 Prytonia St.
   New Orleans, La.
   Chrm. New Orleans, Chapter

2. Mr. Harold Gaussian
   217 Luie St.
   Lake Charles, La.
   Chrm. Lakes Charles Chapter

3. Mr. Grady O. Wheeler
   Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La.
   Chrm. Louisiana State University Chapter

MISSISSIPPI

I. AMERICAN LEGION

1. Mr. Robert A. Morrow
   War Memorial Building
   Jackson, Miss.
   Adjutant, State Department

2. No Negro members.

II. VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS

1. Mr. W. J. McCoy
   War Memorial Building
   Jackson, Miss.
   Adjutant, State Department

2. Mr. Howard Hunt
   311 Magnolia Court
   Clarksdale, Miss.
   Comdr. of the only post for Negroes.

III. AMERICAN VETERANS OF WORLD WAR II (AMvets)

1. Mr. John J. Clark
   257 Harrison Court
   Biloxi, Miss.
   Comdr. Francis V. Letort Post #1

2. Mr. F. E. Dubuisson
   356 Hardy St.
   Gulfport, Miss.
   Adjutant, Gulfport Post #3

IV. AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE, INC.

1. Mr. Louis A. Myles
   1034 West Pearl St.
   Jackson 29, Miss.
   Chrm. Jackson Chapter #1

V. MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL OF VETERANS ORGANIZATIONS

1. Mr. Dorsey Griffin
   c/o Security Life Insurance Co.
   Farish St.
   Jackson, Miss.

NORTH CAROLINA

I. AMERICAN LEGION

1. Mr. William N. York
   Box 127
   Greensboro, N. C.
   State Commander

2. Mr. Charles G. Irving
   615 South East St.
   Raleigh, N. C.
   State Vice Commander (in Charge of Negro Affairs).

5. Mr. Walter Spearman
   207 M St.
   Chapel Hill, N. C.
   Chrm. Chapel Hill Chapter

II. VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS

1. Mr. J. R. Ryals
   c/o Post Office Department
   Raleigh, N. C.
   Contact Representative

III. AMERICAN VETERANS OF WORLD WAR II (AMVETS)

1. Mr. Black
   C-25 Kirk Road
   Durham, N. C.
   Comdr. Durham Post #12

2. Mr. Harry Suggs
   509 Florence St.
   Raleigh, N. C.

IV. AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE, INC.

1. Mr. George V. Hunter
   Box 2075
   Charlotte, N. C.
   Chrm. Charlotte Chapter

2. Mr. Henry Jeages
   Black Mountain College
   Black Mountain, N. C.
   Chrm. Buncombe County Chapter

3. Mr. William H. Macy
   Box 742
   Davidson, N. C.
   Chrm. Davidson College Chapter

4. Mr. Thomas P. Malone
   101 North Dower Ave.
   Durham, N. C.
   Chrm. Durham Chapter

OKLAHOMA

I. AMERICAN LEGION

1. Mr. Charles B. Duffy
   Box 628
   Ponca City, Oklahoma

2. Mr. LeRoy Blanton
   501 N. E. 4th St.
   Oklahoma City, Okla.
   Commander, Negro Post, James Europe Post #157

3. Mr. Philip E. Dessamer
   2515 N.W. 18th St.
   Oklahoma City, Okla.
   Chrm. Oklahoma City Chapter.

II. VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS

1. Mr. William I. Carter
   609 South 11th St.
   Ponca City Oklahoma
   Departmental Commander

2. Mr. Sam Harrison
   536 E. Latimer St.
   Tulsa, Okla.
   Commander, a principal Negro post.

3. Mr. Vollie Johnson
   706 N. Porter St.
   Okmulgee, Okla.
   Commander of an important Negro Post.

III. AMERICAN VETERANS OF WORLD WAR II (AMVETS)

1. Mr. Thurman R. Medley
   315 N.W. 3rd Street
   Oklahoma City, Okla.
   Comdr. Oklahoma City Post #1

2. Mr. R. G. Granger
   1131 South Birmingham Place
   Tulsa 4, Oklahoma
   Comdr. Virgil Deems Post #2

IV. AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE

1. Mr. Maurice Ogden
   Box 2055
   Norman, Okla.
   Chrm. University of Oklahoma Chapter

2. Mr. L. C. Parker
   2512 East 6th St.
   Tulsa, Okla.
   Sec-Treas. Tulsa Chapter #1

V. UNITED NEGRO AND ALLIED VETERANS

1. Mr. Wilbur O. Mack
   Langston University
   Langston, Oklahoma.

SOUTH CAROLINA

I. AMERICAN LEGION

1. Mr. Audley H. Ward
   Aiken, S. C.
   State Commander

2. No Negro members.

II. VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS

1. Mr. L. F. Langford
   Palmetto Building
   Columbia, S. C.
   State Commander

2. Mr. Winsell Jacques
   2118 Pendleton St.
   Columbia, S. C.
   Post Commander, of a principal post for Negroes.

III. AMERICAN VETERANS OF WORLD WAR II (AMVETS)

1. Mr. Robert W. Donnald
   P. O. Box 2
   Easley, S. C.
   Comdr. Easley Post #1

2. Mr. E. W. Ware
   13 Watson Ave.
   Greenville, S. C.
   Comdr. Greenville Post #2

IV. AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE, INC.

1. Mr. Charles F. Dendy
   State A & M College
   Orangeburg, S. C.
   Chrm. Nelson C. Nix Chapter

V. BENEDICT COLLEGE VETERANS ORGANIZATION

1. Mr. George White
   Benedict College
   Columbia, S. C.
   President.

VI. SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL OF VETERANS AFFAIRS

1. Mr. George White
   Benedict College
   Columbia, S. C.
   President.

VII. VETERANS ORGANIZATION OF ALLEN UNIVERSITY

1. Mr. Leonard Barrett
   Allen University
   Columbia, S. C.
   President.

VIII. UNITED NEGRO AND ALLIED VETERANS OF AMERICA

1. Mr. Leonard Hazzard
   Benedict College
   Columbia, S. C.
   Organizer.

TENNESSEE

I. AMERICAN LEGION

4. Mr. James J. Daby
517 Summer Place
Knoxville, Tenn.
Chrm. Knoxville, Tenn. Chapter

II. VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS

III. AMERICAN VETERANS OF WORLD WAR II (AMVETS)

1. Mr. Ken C. Collins
1120 Third National Bank Building
Nashville, Tennessee
Comdr. Nashville Post #3

2. Mr. Fritz M. Cox
5609 Chopman Hwy.
Knoxville, Tenn.
Adjutant, Knoxville Post #4

IV. AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE, INC

1. Mr. John M. Sharpe
Oak Street
Chattanooga, Tenn.
Chrm. Chattanooga Chapter #1

2. Mr. Kase Eahart
P. O. Box 126
Memphis, Tenn.
Chrm. Memphis Chapter #1

3. Mr. W. T. Mallison, Jr.
2501 Highland Ave.
Nashville, Tenn.
Chrm., Nashville Chapter #1

TEXAS

I. AMERICAN LEGION

II. VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS

1. Mr. J. Henry Perry
   709 N. Main
   Belton, Texas
   State Commander

2. Mr. Walker Thomas
   331 West Bond St.
   Denison, Texas
   Commander of a principal Negro Post.

3. Mr. A. R. Branch
   1717 Lexington St.
   Corpus Christi, Texas
   Commander of an important Negro post.

III. AMERICAN VETERANS OF WORLD WAR II (AMVETS)

1. Mr. Hank C. Wood
   1236 Spurgeon St.
   Fort Worth, Texas
   Comdr. Fort Worth Post #3

2. Mr. William H. Posey
   P. O. Drawer 4133
   Houston, Texas
   Comdr. Jefferson Post #9

IV. AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE, INC.

1. Mr. Robert P. Halston
   634 Victoria St.
   San Antonia, Texas
   Field Officer

2. Mr. Fred H. Schmidt
   7622 Romble Road
   Dallas 9, Texas
   Chrm. Dallas Chapter

V. PRAIRIE VIEW COLLEGE VETERANS ORGANIZATION

1. Mr. Larry Abrams
   Prairie View College
   Prairie View, Texas
   Representative

VI. WILEY COLLEGE VETERAN CLUB

1. Mr. Dennis Ware
   Wiley College
   Marshall, Texas

VII. BUTLER COLLEGE VETERAN ORGANIZATION

1. Mr. James Tatum

VIII. SAMUEL HOUSTON COLLEGE VETERANS ORGANIZATION

1. Mr. Calvin Lynch
   Samuel Houston College
   Austin, Texas

VIRGINIA

I. AMERICAN LEGION

1. Mr. R. B. Crawford
   Farmville, Va.
   State Commander

2. Mr. Cleveland Woodson
   1510 North 30th St.
   Richmond, Va.
   Post Commander of a principal Negro Post

II. VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS

1. Mr. W. I. Woodell
   P. O. Box 959
   Staunton, Va.
   Adjutant, State Department

2. Mr. Walter Page
   910 North 5th St.
   Richmond, Va.
   Post Commander of a principal Negro Post.

III. AMERICAN VETERANS OF WORLD WAR II (AMVETS)

1. Mr. Floyd Williams
   704 North Monroe St.
   Arlington, Va.
   Comdr. Arlington Post #2

2. Mr. Joseph L. Humphrey
   23 Easton Ave.
   Lynchburg, Va.
   Comdr. Lynchburg Post #6

IV. AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE, INC.

1. Mr. Emanuel Bertrand
   606 James Hall
   Hampton, Institute
   Hampton, Va.
   Vice Chrm. Elizabeth City Chapter #1

2. Mr. G. O. Elwood
   500 North Shore Road
   Norfolk, Virginia
   Chrm. Norfolk Chapter #1

George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

23-Mitchell, George S. — file: Gyrne Wreko II

WHAT ARE LABOR'S POLICIES AND HOW DO THEY AFFECT FARM PEOPLE?

The organized labor movement in this country today embraces some sixteen million workers. At least two-thirds of this growth has occurred since the bottom of the last depression, when industrial workers began to organize on a large scale. The structure of the movement is confused and competitive. Policy for labor is a mixture of long-run considerations with responses to day-to-day pressures, and the latter are perhaps generally the strongest. No central organ of the movement as a whole exists, and therefore students, statesmen, and businessmen seeking labor's policies must all turn to individual labor leaders, voicing for the time-being the policies of their own organizations. Still, within this uncertainty some generalizations hold. I list a few:

High wages

The short work-week

Agreeable and safe working conditions

Security on the job

Steady earnings

Democratic procedures in factory management

Political democracy

Certain of these policies, notably the first two, are often held by farmers to be hurtful to them. The familiar argument is that city labor, by demanding high pay and short hours, runs up the prices of city-made things, and farmers suffer.

The argument has some truth, of course. It has most truth in occupations least modified by modern mass-production methods. It is in these occupations that labor cost is large. This applies particularly to the building trades. But the range of such high-labor-cost occupations is constantly narrowing. In the industries which make most of the things farmers use the rule is mass-production under conditions of heavy capital investment. Direct labor cost in these modern industries seldom exceeds twenty or twenty-five per cent. The rest is cost of materials, management overhead, interest, sales cost, and profits. It is true that high wages figure as an element of cost in the materials purchased by factories, but again they are seldom predominant. Industry sets prices at what it can get, in open competition or by the help of semi-monopoly conditions. In a sellers' market such as we have today industry is not visibly pricing its goods at levels which will merely cover costs; it asks, and gets, about what it can. Thus, the CIO printed figures the other week to show that in the first two rounds of post-war wage increases the straight-time hourly earnings rose 29%. During the same period the companies granting this wage increase upped their prices 61%, and their profits increased 116% (Union News Service, July 5, 1948).

Some account must also be taken of the steady increase in productivity per worker, under conditions of high investment and careful management. That this is important is strikingly proved in the recent UAW-General Motors agreement to add to wages each year a modest increment for this growth in productivity.

The conclusion pointed to is that the price of manufactured goods, while influenced by labor costs, is influenced mainly by what the traffic will bear, and includes in recent years a bonanza of corporate profit.

The other things for which labor unions work are quite minor in their effects on costs; few will quarrel if from higher prices some small part covers cleanliness and safety in factory and mining conditions, stability of employment even to the point of the guaranteed annual wage, and a work week no longer than is compatible with health and reasonable leisure in a machine economy.

The public, including farmers, undoubtedly feel aggrieved by labor's ultimate means of getting its gains, namely, the strike. Labor has no pleasure in using this weapon. Union members are as able as anyone else to make the calculation that it will take many months of higher wages to cover the loss of wages while out on strike. Labor uses the strike because during many decades it has learned that employers able to pay more will withhold wage increases unless forced by the threat of the strike, or by the strike itself, to divide income with the workers. In passing it should be said, also, that many strikes in recent years have occurred because, notwithstanding the legal recognition of collective bargaining, many employers have doggedly used every tactic of delay and obstruction to avoid recognizing and dealing with the union, until their workpeople in exasperation have resorted to the cut-through device of the strike. We would have much more labor peace if employers stood ready to bargain honestly, and in time we would gain a soberer and more responsible union leadership were bargaining on such terms to become generally accepted.

Parenthetically, it should be said that the labor movement in this country has generally, during and since the war, vigorously supported price control. It has been willing to hold its wage demands to a price level controlled centrally. When Congress threw price control away, listening to the argument of the National Association of Manufacturers that free prices would bring high production and therefore reasonable prices soon, labor had no choice but to pursue a rising price level with demands for wage increases. In a period of continuing inflationary pressures the decision to decontrol prices was in labor's opinion unwise. The Nation, through its Congress, had a public responsibility in this matter of post-war prices, and the Congress ducked.

Labor has long argued that a generally high wage level means greater prosperity for farmers. The five million farmers sell most of their products to the thirty-eight million industrial workers. This argument has at last achieved responsible recognition. The proposals made to the Congress by the Department of Agriculture last year for a long-range Agricultural Policy were largely built on the doctrine that farm income depends on the rate of city consumption. Mr. Secretary Anderson said, "It is clear that people are willing to buy, when they have the money, more agricultural goods than they have ever bought." He then proceeded to recommend to the Congress that our future plans for farm production be based upon assumptions as to non-farm income. Thus the fundamental policy questions of how much to raise of what crops becomes a function of the level of non-farm income, as modified by our needs in soil and resource conservation. And the overwhelming component of non-farm income is wages. I take

it that from here on out our agricultural policy-makers will chart their course upon actual or anticipated trends in wages. All this means that the maintenance of prosperity for American agriculture depends mainly upon the maintenance of heavy or full employment and the spread of the high levels of consumption which accompany a pervasively high-wage structure. Labor works for such a structure, and thereby lays the basis for high income for farmers.

Correspondingly, labor wants farm income high, and wishes it spread widely among the farm population. The lower-income two-thirds of American farmers are still the nation's greatest beckoning market for city-made goods. Labor will not begrudge country people the actual earnings that will equip country homes with the conveniences and comforts that are standard in city homes, and farms with the machines that can lessen the hours of labor in the country.

I have said that among labor's objectives is a broadened political democracy. It is in this field that a whole new prospect of farmer-labor cooperation opens before us. Labor and farmers between them make up eighty-five per cent of the people of the United States. If they would pool their voting strength, they could provide a President and a Congress responsive to their wishes. Let us examine the general objectives that labor has in mind in its political effort, and see which of them would work to the detriment of farmers.

Labor has consistently stood for more education, and for the Federal aid to education which would equalize school opportunities in the many agricultural states. Most farmers are for that.

Labor wants more vocational and technical education. Surely when agriculture confronts a loss of people from mechanization and attendant changes, it is common sense to dot our countryside with area vocational schools, which can enable those who leave the country to light on their feet when they get to town.

Labor has favored social security, and has wished it broadened to include domestic and agricultural workers. My guess is that the majority of rural-dwellers would like that.

Labor wants a broad program of health and medical care. Farm people get the short end of the stick in matters of health, and should favor measures to get them doctors and hospitals.

Labor is for housing, including public housing and public rural housing. It has pushed the sort of rural housing program that was in the last version of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Housing Bill, that passed the Senate. That's a good program, which would help rural people a lot.

Labor is in favor of cooperatives, both of producers and consumers, and wishes by their increase to lessen the spread between prices to the farmer and prices in the store.

Labor has consistently supported whatever plans and measures were in circulation to uphold and improve the position of the family-type farmer. The American Federation of Labor worked with the Farmers' Alliance in the old days. Both great branches of today's labor movement lent their support to the program of the former Farm Security Administration, in its work of helping the smaller farmers into better status, and in backing farm-ownership for tenants. Labor sees the family-farmer as its friend, wedded to

democratic standards. Labor will be generally sympathetic to the measures of reorganization of land-control in the cotton belt that were current in the hearings before the Pace Committee. It must be said, however, that labor can be expected to use its own political pressure vigorously in the direction of preventing, as those measures of reorganization proceed, any careless shoving to "somewhere else" of the people who will lose out when Southern cotton farms are reduced in numbers and enlarged in size to the 175-acre and up holdings that are being discussed. And it will also be found increasingly active in assistance to the semi-industrialized labor force that mechanization will bring.

It is only right that this farm labor force, migratory or otherwise, should share fully in the American standard of living. Labor can be expected to help protect it, by resisting importation of Mexican and West Indian labor as long as underpaid people are available at home; by working for Federal supervision of camps; and by direct organizational aid, as through the National Farm Labor Union. Labor will have noted the recent statement before the Georgia Cotton Manufacturers Association of the President of the Georgia Farm Bureau (May 5, at Daytona Beach, Florida, reported in Atlanta (Ga.) Journal of May 6, 1948) in which he was quoted as having said that farm leaders will oppose "to the bitter end" any effort on the part of present unions to organize farm labor, and that this stand was not vindictive but was necessary "if the form of economy under which we operate is to be preserved." Labor believes in freedom of organization.

Lastly, labor would welcome fully representative self-organization among American farmers. It is convinced that much present farm organization is unduly influenced by big landlords and commercial and manufacturing interests. It has had experience of the teamwork of big business lobbies and the major farm organizations. It is making its own salvation by its own organized efforts; it would consider that the basic problems of American agriculture would be much further along toward solution if the family farmers, whether tenants or owners, were strongly and broadly organized, in an association or union in the policies of which they had control.

Social security. ~~Southxxx~~

¶ By comparison with the rest of the country, ~~Southxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ fewer Southern workers are eligible for unemployment benefits and for old age and survivors' insurance benefits because under Federal ~~and State~~ ~~pensions~~ laws fewer Southern people are in covered occupations, and our lower wage scales have backed up smaller contributions.

¶ On the public assitance features, aiding the elderly, the blind, and dependent children, our people get smaller sums because our States put up only small appropriations to supplement Federal funds.

Rough Draft: GSM

24 - Mitchell, G.S. - "GSM wrote it"

A favorite remark of an old gentleman I knew well was that a university is the state thinking. That could be extended to cover our Council, part of whose job is to be the South thinking.

1949 gives promise of being a year of decisive planning. A great deal of material useful for planning for economic advance will be coming into print. Surely it is a major lesson of the elections just closed that the nation is impatient of drift and wishes positive action on the pressing needs of its people.

As to planning materials, what will be coming out includes the following:

A long series of studies by the Committee of the South on industrial location, farm adjustments, state planning and development agencies, population migration, rural industries, surplus war facilities, and general economic policy.

The Southern Addociation of Science and Industry, in conjunction with the University of North Carolina Institute for Research in Social Science has already produced in 1948 two excellent studies respectively on forestry and possibilities for further industrial expansion in the South. Their forthcoming schedule includes studies on developmental research, wildlife resources, soils, natural resources, climate, minerals, recreations, and human resources.

In the field of state government, a lengthy report and recommendations on constitutional and legal changes should be available from Mr. Alexander Heard, through a study at the University of Alabama.

The Several Universities cooperating in the Bureau of Public Administration studies have issued much material lately. The Resource-Use Education group have useful studies completed and under way, and some of the State Planning Boards are turning out ~~good work.~~ valuable publications.

In the field of education, results should be had during 1949 from the Regional Council for Education.

Much material prepared by the federal government ten years or so ago and laid aside in the war period is still useful today.

From these various sources, and from many others, the South will be supplied during the coming year with a rich flow of factual research results. It would be the Council's business, in any case, to collect, study, and popularize information of this kind. With our tiny staff we would in ordinary course do a skimpy job on such an amount of fact. Fortunately, we have been able to engage the services of a patly competent person, Mr. Charles Smith, of Louisiana and Virginia. As of September last he went to work full-time for the Council, keeping his residence just outside Washington. He is painstakingly building a plan for southern development. The fundamental device is to divide the South into its major sub-regions--mountain, piedmont, plantation, and piney woods, and those of the southwest. He is producing a description of the status of each sub-region in industry, agriculture, population, and the main factors of social well- or ill-being. He proposes then to state the things to be done, section by section of the South, in order to safeguard and develop to the full limits of present techniques our physical and human resources. It is a reasonable hope that by the latter part of 1949, through Mr. Smith's work, the Council will be able to present to the South a simple, understandable, and practical program of action which, if followed, should provide for all the people of the South the goal of basic equality in economic opportunity and in health, housing, education, and public services.

The best of plans do little good without the will and the power to put them into effect. On this our resources as a Council are weak. We have earned the good will of much of the southern press, and doubtless the papers and journals of the South would be helpful in getting wide understanding of what the Council would be proposing. We have the resources of our state divisions and affiliated state committees. They could be expected to take up the crucial

job of hammering for action in the several fields laid out.

We have another resource, ~~the~~ whose effectiveness we can only guess at, but it may be quite important. That is in the extension of the device of the community self-survey, so admirably worked out in Jacksonville, Florida, over two years ago. You are familiar with the mechanics of that survey. A committee of responsible Jacksonville people themselves collected the information. They went down into slum situations and tabulated what they found. They talked to school officials and tabulated what they found. They inquired into bus services and recreational opportunities and sidewalks and sanitary services and so on. When the information was completed, they had something much greater than their substantial printed volume; their city possessed a body of informed and effective people who, as a follow-up committee, got in the succeeding couple of years quite remarkable improvements.

Margaret Price here in the Council, with others on the staff who have helped her, has put together a manual designed to make it easy for smaller communities over the South to do that same job. It is called "The Home Town Self Survey", with a sub-title, "How to Get the Facts--Then What to Do." If we have been fortunate in the exigencies of last-minute mimeographing and of Miss Price's feverish authorship--notwithstanding the imminent approach of matrimony--this manual is before you, in a first preliminary edition. In it the Council makes an offer. We will provide for brief visits to any town undertaking a survey of this kind the services of a qualified professional adviser, provided that the committee in charge of the survey finds the money to cover the travel expense involved. We will also try, wherever it may seem useful, to arrange a link with some appropriate faculty person in a college or university near the home town which is making the survey, in order that competent technical

advice may be within easy reach. We hope that largely through the efforts of you who have come to today's meeting, and of ~~those Fellows?~~ your fellows interested in the Council's work in their own community, this manual can be quite widely used. The information asked for in its questionnaires is simple and basic. Correctly filled in, it would yield a new and interesting body of statistically comparable fact about southern towns and cities. Much more than that, the manual's wide use would start a ground swell of just the sort of local concern for home town betterment which was so effective in Jacksonville.

If surveys of this kind can be undertaken in dozens or perhaps in scores of southern communities, the energetic public opinion which that would build would be perhaps our richest source for getting local action in the light of a major plan for the whole South. Each surveying community would locate itself on the maps in the plan, and would thus be readily tied into an over-all pattern of wholesome development for the South.

These are the things which we ourselves can do through our members and their friends in getting action on a plan. What our states will do and what the nation will do are imponderables. As to the states, the Council can, at any rate, spread the doctrine that they are to be regarded properly as instruments of the welfare of the public. After all, in any county a fast-growing, if still too little recognized importance attaches to the work of the quiet staff of technical people who are active in highway engineering, public health, agricultural development, education, recreation, and in other similar services. The same thing is true of the states. Of old habit we think of them in old terms. Examine the budget of any one of them today and you will find nearly all the money going into modern public services of one kind or another. We can reasonably hope for the day when our southern state governments are seen not as engines of white supremacy but as agencies of impartial public well-being. This bright day, it may be said in passing, will come in reality when state and local government

admit to their council ungrudgingly, as a matter of practical usefulness, Negro citizenship in its full stature. As to the federal government, it may be said again that many now expect from it, cooperatively with the states, renewed attention to the every-day needs of the people in welfare matters.

The plan for the South which it is here recommended that the Council bend its energies toward in 1949 will need most of a year for its preparation. Meanwhile the Council, in its studies over the last five years, knows in general the main things that need to be done. It has been our doctrine, well put by your executive committee in a statement of September 15, that the reforms which the South, assisted by the nation, needs to make in the field of civil rights will require underpinning by ~~planned~~ conscious action toward an improved economy and a sounder condition for our people.

From what we already have available, it is safe to lay out the following ~~five~~ six general goals toward ~~which the~~ South should now vigorously strive:

1. Expanding manufacturing and commercial industry, reaching into the parts of the South which have hitherto had little such development. Along with industrial growth we need also the rapid growth of ~~the~~ public opinion in favor of fair employment practices.
2. In agriculture, a speeding-up in our already vigorous conversion from staple crops to livestock, fruits, vegetables, and other high-value specialty crops. ~~Along~~ With growing mechanization, we should ~~with~~ of public policy take measures to preserve the pattern of the family farm where in the South it is already deeply rooted and to extend it vigorously into the plantation areas, whose lack of that fundamentally democratic institution is an important source of many of our political and economic woes .

3. Education (to be supplied)

4. Housing

5. Health

6. Social Security

Can you read this and return it now? I am at this point in typing the speech.

The South today has a deficit of approximately 2 million homes. That many dwellings are needed, in [redacted] urban and rural areas, to make up for the present shortage and to replace homes that are ~~unsatisfactory for habitation~~ not really fit to live in. Much of the deficit can be made up by private builders, responding to the incentives in recent federal legislation. Some will require action by local authorities aided by the federal government. Slums are extensive throughout the South. Since 1937 southern cities have replaced 56,000 slum dwellings with low-rent public housing. Now city and county public housing authorities are asking for federal aid in construction of an additional 100,000 urban and 150,000 rural homes. The need for public housing beyond that will depend on the ability of private builders to supply housing within the means of families of low and moderate income.

Sorry - I was confused. Was there anything else in there?

What has been said above is the major recommendation of the staff for the Council's program for the year 1949. We shall expect to find time and funds for a good deal else besides. We ought to add at least a thousand new members. We ought to strengthen our state organizations, and that should include the growth of active local chapters and committees of the Council over the South.

A suggested main job for our membership could be equalization of school facilities. That is coming, willy-nilly. Who in the South would not greatly prefer to see it come willy? We can get it in that way at the price of collecting the facts, town by town, and ~~seeking~~ pressing immediately in constructive common citizenship to make our schools equal for all.

We should continue our modest service as a channel for corrective action where it is suspected or known that people's rights are being invaded. It is a hopeful sign that the Council and its committees and divisions handle fewer such cases than we used to have years back, but we still want to be able to put quick energy into unraveling them as they come up.

We would propose to continue to publish New South, as a device for getting topical information and stimulus out to our own people and to the many others whose thought is influenced by our members.

GR

We have a number of topics on which we can expect to ~~get out~~ prepare and print special pamphlets in the coming months.

The first of these is a manual for newspapermen on the handling of race in the news. It is being worked up by Mr. Calvin Kytle, now of the Journalism Department at Emory. He has had the assistance of several southern state newspaper publishers' associations in circulating ~~the~~ his questionnaire and we have

all helped him with clippings showing good and bad treatment of matters of race in news stories. Our hope is that newspaper offices will use the manual in training their reporting staff in the, after all, fairly simple rules of being fair.

Mr. Harding Hughes has completed a revised version of his useful and popular pamphlet, "The Economic Value of the Negro to the South." When we have money for printing, it will appear as "The Negro in our Economy".

Professor Benjamin Bullock at Atlanta University is at work on a pamphlet on farm tenancy. His thesis will be the ready gains to be had in such a revision of our state laws on farm land tenure as ~~to~~ will regularize the ladder of progression from sharecropper to tenant and then to owner, protecting with stipulated written lease clauses each man's status as he comes up.

Mention has already been made of the manual on the home town survey, which we want to get into printed form.

DD

We have other ideas which could be developed. One of these is for a pamphlet on state and local civil service systems. Nearly the whole of the South is woefully backward in this phase of ~~these~~ public administrative services. Model civil service laws are a dime a dozen. Various private associations are actively interested in promoting the civil service avenue to improved administration. We could usefully get this program better known.

~~BB~~ The South is in need of a Southern-prepared, temperate, informative, and persuasive pamphlet about fair employment practices. The movement for a fair break in public and private employment is an old one, worked at by many groups, and one which has found expression in a variety of devices. The fact that one of these devices - the war-time Federal Fair Employment Practices Commission - has become a symbol of controversy should merely stir us all to find every effective way of furthering the general movement for being fair about bread and butter. Many Southern employers have found it good business to recruit, train, and promote personnel on a basis of availability and ability, without regard to race. The purely private practice is being extended, and could be extended much more rapidly. The trade unions in several of our leading Southern industries are active in protecting, by contract and by day-to-day negotiation, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ the practice of racial fairness. The Federal Government, let us hope, will under the recent Executive Order set an example on this whole matter. State and local government should do likewise. Whatever is done in legislation in this field will need all the supporting public opinion the South can muster. The Council would serve well by getting to the people the unalarming and wholesome fact that modern industrial and public administration possess the technique of getting fair ~~employment~~ play in employment without destroying public order.

DD

Another is the field of vocational education. As the South makes its conversion from an agricultural to a mainly industrial economy, it will need more and more, both in its agriculture and its industry, a technically competent citizenship. We have been laggard in providing the education in skills which every industrial society finds rewarding and necessary. We have also a long-neglected project for describing the changes needed in the South in our public system of social security.

TT

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These, then, are the things your staff would like to give the coming year to. Getting them done is mainly a matter of having the money to do them. The staff itself cannot both do the work and get the money. The staff will help on money. But it is going to be up to our members to find and send in, for their own state organizations and for the Council, as a whole, substantially larger sums than have been found in the past. Further, more of the money should and can be raised in the South itself. The South is strong enough now to help itself. Your staff pleads that the membership will take responsibility for finding ways to pay for work which by your presence here today you show that you esteem.

SCHOOLS.

Already spending more of its taxes on schools, the South still gives much poorer schooling than the rest of the country. In 1944-45, the Nation spent $134 per ~~pupil~~ child in school; the South spent $82. To come up even with the Nation, the South would have to spend $330 million dollars on top of the $526 million it was already putting up. That's another 63 per cent. Even then our school buildings and equipment would be only half as good as the United States level. Just to be even with the whole country, the South would have to double its school investment. That means finding at least a billion-and-a-half dollars more for school and what goes in them.

In achieving equality with the rest of the country, we must also achieve equality for everybody's children in the South.

[illegible]

Father Austin Sachere

MEDICAL CARE FACILITIES

Whatever way you look at it, the South is poorer in health and medical care than any other region. Although it has the greatest needs, it has the fewest resources -- the fewest hospitals, doctors, dentists, and nurses. And What resources it has barely touch the many people living in rural areas. Even when they can get it, most people in the South cannot pay for good medical care. Blue Cross hospital insurance covered only 4% of the Southern people in 1943, compared to a national coverage of 14.8%.

The South needs more than twice as many general hospital beds* -- about 160,000 -- to raise its hospital care to minimum standards. At a conservative estimate of $7,500 per bed, this calls for an expenditure of more than 1 billion dollars; yet the Hill-Burton Act provides for federal hospital grants to the South totalling only about $166,000,000. The South also needs many more doctors, dentists, and other medical personnel. For example, in 1940 the South had only 1 physician for every 1338 people, and it had only 1 Negro physician for every 5832 Negroes. The minimum standard is 1 physician per 1000. Also, against the minimum standard of 1 dentist per 2000 people, the South had 1 dentist per 4162 people.

* The South also needs more than twice as many:
Mental hospital beds
Tuberculosis " "
It needs 36,489 chronic disease hospital beds — it has only 1877.
It needs 453 public health centers - it has only 86 adequate centers.

(These figures are bare minimums.)

23-Mitchell, Geo. "GSM Wrote It"

The reactionary forces of the South have been put, in the last few years under very heavy pressure. In the next two or three years the nation, with a degree of consent from the South, is going to decide on long range policies and programs about the issues of discrimination, some forms of segregation, and the economic underpinning of depressed groups in the South. Everything that strengthens the South's knowledge of the forces at work within it, each run of facts, each defining of argument, contributes to the virtue and quality of the decisions that will be made. There is no other broadly representative body in the South that consults both races on matters that come up. The informed voices of both races must be heard if good decisions are to be made. If we live at all, we can contribute weightily. We can contribute much more weightily if we have the money to do it with.

For thirty years, we have held a strait and most difficult course, having always in mind the time when the reward for that course would be opportunity to provide the basis for broader agreement within the South. These are the years in which the new basis is being worked out. Our appeal is directly to the Southern people. The South is getting stronger financially, and with greater resources must bear greater responsibility in decision.

This is harvest time for our painstaking accumulation of facts, our careful readings of public pressures. With money, that accumulation can be flowed into the South's process of decision. If voices like those of the men and women who make up the Council's membership and Board are not markedly strengthened, then bitter, less constructive voices and views will cast the decisions in these States.

It is much the situation that they have in Europe today. They, and we, can either support democracy or let it die of neglect. Support in our case means the persuasion of the people of the South that, at a by no means impossible cost materially and emotionally, the Nation and the South can provide the basic human equality in which democratic institutions can become inclusive.

The Southern Regional Council is the voice of reason in these conflicts. Now is its time to be best armed for persuasion.

POLICE ADMINISTRATION IN THE SOUTHERN STATES

In many aspects of its life the South preserves out of its agricultural past, and out of the twisted morality of slavery, standards of conduct which contrast strongly with standards prevailing in fully modern economics. Police administration is one of these. The prejudiced, coarse, and unfeelingly cruel behavior which characterizes a very large part of the police of Southern cities and counties breeds hatred among Negroes from the Potomac to the Rio Grande.

Standards are not yet high enough in Northern and Western cities but at least the police systems outside the South have in recent years been played upon by modern ideas in criminology and a ferment is at work within many of them which increasingly replaces brutal repression with a degree of understanding, and with constant constructive and preventive work.

These Northern experiences can be conveniently tapped in a number of cities. For instance, at Detroit, Chicago San Francisco, and in New York much conscious administrative effort has gone into understanding and fairness in police work dealing with racially varied populations.

What is needed is a speeded-up transference into the stream of Southern police administration of the ideas and practices current in our best National experience.

The Method

It is proposed to employ for a period of not less than two years two carefully chosen Southern persons, one white and one Negro. The white man's work for most of the first year would be to travel to Southern cities, towns, and county seats, and make the friendly acquaintance of responsible police officials and sheriffs. In the course of that year he would become the South's only expert on the problems faced by the police in interracial situations. He would be sympathetic with the difficulties of police officials in matters of recruitment and training, funds, discipline, ~~training,~~ and relationships with the

courts, with newspapers, and with the public. He would also acquire a wide knowledge of the way in which Southern policemen handle Negroes. In getting this knowledge he would need the help of a Negro working parallel with him.

This man would have the job of going to Southern towns and cities somewhat ahead of the white representative. He would enquire among Negro lawyers and other local leaders as to the pattern of police behavior. He would of course also learn which white leaders in such and such a town are informed and well-disposed in police matters, and what if anything has been done by interracial committees and other bodies. This information the Negro representative would give in advance to the white representative, who would then visit the same town for conferences with police officials and leading citizens. The fore-knowledge of the situation provided by the Negro representative ordinarily would not be specifically disclosed but would be vital in helping the white man to plan his conversations.

After something like a year of such travel it would be practicable to conduct a systematic and extended campaign for improvement of police administration in the South. Here are some of the things that we can see now might be done:

Stimulation to use of a manual of race relations in police training institutes.
Pressure through the Southern Governors' Conference.
Speaking engagements at meetings of mayors, city managers, police officers, and sheriffs and peace officers.
Articles in professional journals of police officials.
Possibly some cooperative work with the Department of Justice to advantage its work by the special knowledge of the two representatives.
Pamphlets, and possibly a book.
Citizen pressure through interracial and other local committees.

In all of this work countless opportunities would occur for the representatives to talk directly with responsible officials about the value of Negro police, both in detection and prevention of Negro crime, and in giving the Negro p[illegible] beginning of confidence in the integrity of the police system. S[illegible]ies and towns now use Negro police. Their number is g[illegible]er before, but as yet little more than a dent has been made. Hundreds of populous Southern places refuse absolutely to use Negro police. Experience has been almost uniformly excellent wherever Negroes have been added to the forces, and this experience could be persuasively passed on in conversation with officials eager for reliable knowledge of how these matters are handled elsewhere.

WHAT ARE LABOR'S POLICIES AND HOW DO THEY AFFECT FARM PEOPLE?

The organized labor movement in this country today embraces some sixteen million workers. At least two-thirds of this growth has occurred since the bottom of the last depression, when industrial workers began to organize on a large scale. The structure of the movement is confused and competetive. Policy for labor is a mixture of long-run considerations with responses to day-to-day pressures, and the latter are perhaps generally the strongest. No central organ of the movement as a whole exists, and therefore students, statesmen, and businessmen seeking labor's policies must all turn to individual labor leaders, voicing for the time-being the policies of their own organizations. Still, within this uncertainty some generalizations hold. I list a few:

High wages

The short work-week

Agreeable and safe working conditions

Security on the job

Steady earnings

Democratic procedures in factory management

Political democracy

Certain of these policies, notably the first two, are often held by farmers to be hurtful to them. The familiar argument is that city labor by demanding high pay and short hours runs up the prices of city-made things, and farmers suffer.

The argument has some truth, of course. It has most truth in occupations least modified by modern mass-production methods. It is in these occupations that labor cost is large. This applies particularly to the building trades. But the range of such high-labor-cost occupations is constantly narrowing. In the industries which make most of the things farmers use the rule is mass-production under conditions of heavy capital

investment. Direct labor cost in these modern industries seldom exceeds twenty of 25 per cent. The rest is cost of materials, management overhead, interest, sales cost, and profits. It is true that high wages figure as an element of cost in the materials purchased by factories, but again they are seldom predominant. Industry sets prices at what it can get, in open competition or by the help of semi-monopoly conditions. In a sellers' market such as we have today industry is not visibly pricing it goods at levels which will merely cover costs; it asks, and gets, about what it can. Thus , the CIO printed figures the other week to show that in the first two rounds of post-war wage increases the straight-time hourly earnings rose 29%. During the same period the companies granting this wage increase upped their prices 61%, and their profits increased 116%. [Union News Service, July 5, 1948].

Some account must also be taken of the steady increase in productivity per worker, under conditions of high investment and careful management. That this is important is strikingly proven in the recent UAW- General Motors agreement to add to wages each year a modest increment for this growth in productivity.

The conclusion pointed to is that the price of manufactured goods, while influenced by labor costs, is influenced mainly by what the traffic will bear, and includes in recent years a bonanza of corporate profit.

The other things for which labor union work are quite minor in their effects on costs; few will quarrel if from higher prices some small part covers cleanliness and safety in factory and mining conditions, stability of employment even to thepoint of the guaranteed annual wage, and a work week no longer than is compatible with health and reasonable leisure in a machine economy.

The public, including farmers, undoubtedly feel aggrieved by labor's ultimate means of getting its gains, namely, the strike. Labor has no ~~fiendish~~ pleasure in using this weapon. Union members are as able as anyone else to make the calculation that it will take many months of higher wages to cover the loss of wages while out on strike. Labor uses the strike because during many decades it has learned that employers able to pay more will withhold wage increases unless forced by the threat of the strike, or by the strike itself, to divide income with the workers. In passing it should be said, also, that many strikes in recent years have occurred because notwithstanding the legal recognition of collective bargaining, many employers have doggedly used every tactic of delay and obstruction to avoid recognizing and dealing with the union, until their workpeople in exasperation have resorted to the cut-through device of the strike. We would have much more labor peace if employers stood ready to bargain honestly, and in time we would gain a soberer and more responsbile union leadership were bargaining on such terms to become generally accepted.

Parenthetically, it should be said that the labor movement in this country has generally, during and since the war, vigorously supported price control. It has been willing to hold its wage demands to a price level controlled centrally. When Congress threw price control away, listening to the argument of the National Association of Manufacturers that free prices would bring high production and therefore reasonable prices soon, labor had no choice but to pursue a rising price level with demoands for wage increases. In a period of continuing inflationary pressures the decision to decontrol prices was in labor's opinion unwise. The Nation, through its Congress, had a public responsibility in this matter of post-war prices, and the Congress ducked.

~~Labor's adherence to a general policy of high wages undoubtedly~~

Labor has long argued that a generally high wage level means greater prosperity for farmers. The five million farmers sell most of their products to the thirty-eight million industrial workers. This argument has at last achieved responsible recognition. The proposals made to the Congress by the Departmentof Agriculture last year for a long-range Aprigultural Policy were largely built on the doctrine that farm income depends on the rate of city consumption. Mr. Secretary Anderson said "It is clear that people are willing to buy when they have the money, more agricultural goods than they have ever bought". He then proceeded to recommend to the Congress that our future plans for farm production be based upon assumptions as to non-farm income. Thus the fundamental policy questions of how much to raise of what crops become a function of the level of non-farm income, as modified by our needs in soil and resource conservation. And the overwhelming component of non-farm income is wages. I take it that from here on out our agricultural policy-makers will chart their course upon actual or anticipated trends in wages. All this means that the

maintenance of prosperity for American agriculture depends mainly upon the maintenance of heavy or full employment and the spread of the high levels of consumption which accompany a pervasively high-wage structure. Labor works for such a structure, and thereby lays the basis for high income for farmers.

Correspondingly, labor wants farm income high, and wishes it spread widely among the farm population. The lower-income two-thirds of American farmers are still the nation's greatest beckoning market for city-made goods. Labor will not begrudge country people the actual earnings that will equip country homes with the conveniences and comforts that are standard in city homes, and farms with the machines that can lessen the hours of labor in the country.

I have said that among labor's objectives is a broadened polictical democracy. It is in this field that a whole new prospect of farmer-labor cooperation opens before us. Labor and farmers between them make up eight-five percent of the people of the United States. If they would pool their voting strength they could provide a President and a Congress responsive to their wishes. Let us examine the general objectives that labor has in mind in its polictical effort, and see which of them would work to the detriment of farmers.

Labor has consistently stood for more education, and for the Federal Aid to education which would equalize school opportunities in the many agricultural States, Most Farmers are for that.

Labor wants more vocational and technical education. Surely when agriculture confronts a loss of people from mechanization and attendant changes it is common sense to dot our countryside with area vocational schools, which can enable those who leave the country to light on their feet when the get to town.

Labor has favored social security, and has wished it broadened to include domestic and agricultural workers. My guess is that the majority of rural-dwellers would like that.

Labor wants a broad program of health and medical care. Farm people get the short end of the stick in matters of health, and should favor measures to get them doctors and hospitals.

Labor is for housing, including public housing and public rural housing. It has pushed the sort of rural housing program that was in the last version of the Taft, Ellender, Wagner Housing Bill, that passed the Senate. That's a good program, which would help rural people a lot.

Labor is in favor of cooperatives, both of producers and consumers, and wishes by their increse to lessen the spread between prices to the farmer and prices in the store.

Labor has consistently supported whatever plans and measures were in circulation to uphold and improve the psoition of the family-type farmer. The American Federation of Labor worked with the Farmers' Alliance in the old days. Both great branches of to-day's labor movement lent their support to the program of the former Farm Security Administration, in its work of helping the smaller farmers into better status, and in backing farm-ownership for tenants. Labor sees the family-farmer as its friend, wedded to democratic standards. Labor will be generally sympathetic to the measures of reorganization of land-control ~~that~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ in the cotton belt that were current in the hearings before the Pace Committee. It must be said, however, that labor can be expected to use its own ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ political pressure vigorously in the direction of preventing, as those measures of reorganization proceed, any careless ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ shoving to "somewhere else" of the people who will lose out when Southern cotton farms are reduced in numbers and enlarged in size to the 175 acre and up holdings that are being discussed. And it will also be found increasingly active in assistance to the semi-industrialized labor force that ~~xxxxx~~ mechanization will bring.

It is only right that this farm labor force, migratory or otherwise, should share fully in the American standard of living. Labor can be expected to help protect it, by resisting importation of Mexican and West Indian labor as long as underpaid people are available at home; by working for Federal supervision of camps; and by direct organizational aid as through the National Farm Labor Union. Labor will have noted the recent statement before the Georgia Cotton Manufacturers Association of the President of the Georgia Farm Bureau [May 5, at Daytona Beach, Fla. Atlanta Jnl, May 6, 1948,] in which he was quoted as having said that farm leaders will oppose "to the bitter end" any effort on the part of present unions to organize farm labor, and that this stand was not vindictive but was necessary "if the form of economy under which we operate is to be preserved". Labor believes in freedom of organization.

Lastly, labor would welcome fully representative self-organization among American farmers. It is convinced that much present farm organization is unduly influenced by big landlords and commercial and manufacturing interests. It has had experience of the teamwork of ~~the Farm Bureau and the National Association of Manufacturers,~~ and the major farm organizations. It is making its own salvation by its own organized efforts; it would consider that the basic problems of American agriculture would be much further along toward solution if the family farmers, whether tenants or owners, were strongly and broadly organized, in an association or union in the policies of which they had control.

Annual Award

Every now and then some Southern policeman does an outstandingly brave and fair thing in an interracial situation. Such a one was Deputy Sheriff Russell Lambert of Carroll County, Georgia, who on June 30, 1940 single-handed successfully stood off a lynch mob of 300 men, gathered at the jail to lynch a Negro accused of mudering a white man. He and his superiors get letters of praise, and the better newspapers write commending editorials. We think more men would do the brave and right thing if it were known that some notable award was possible for conduct of this kind. It should be large enough to have importance in the mind of everyday policemen. We judge that a thousand dollars would effectively draw out action, where a lesser sum would not. Such an award should be made to the sheriff, peace officer, or policeman best meriting it, and citations should be given to eight or ten others. A distinguished group of judges could be organized, and local officials would be requested through their various journals and societies to send in accounts of work thought meritorious, perhaps through special state committee headed by Superior Court Judges.

Such an award would not only do a considerable amount of good in itself; its availability would greatly ease the task of the two representatives of the Council in getting about in police circles in the South.

Police Manual

The Council has had in preparation for some months a manual of training for police officers in race relations. The contents will follow the outline given below. This is the manual which, after trial in selected places, would be prefected for general use in Southern police systems.

THE POLICE AND NEGRO CITIZENS: A BRIEF TRAINING IN HUMAN RELATIONS.

INTRODUCTION: The purpose of this course; appreciation of the policeman's tough job; what the lessons will deal with.

1st Session

RACE AND RACE PREJUDICE: Origins of the races; unity of mankind; scientific conclusions concerning the natural abilities of races; why race prejudice exists; minorities have prejudices too; races can get along in harmony.

2nd Session

SOME FACTS ABOUT NEGRO CITIZENS: How Negroes first come to this country; what slavery, war, and reconstruction did to both races; number and distribution of Negroes; economic condition; education; health and welfare; civil rights; achievements and ontributions; what the Negro wants.

3rd Session

ATTITUDES OF NEGROES TOWARD THE POLICE: Rightly or wrongly, most Negroes feel that they "don't have a chance" with the police, that most policemen use a lot of unnecessary force, that the police do not try to protect the Negro community as they do the white community; the resulting attitudes of distrust and non-cooperation on the part of Negroes.

4th Session

PROPER STANDARDS OF POLICE BEHAVIOR: The key principles of courtesy, common-sense, firmness, fairness; purnishment not the policeman's function; casual contacts; traffic violators; making arrests; handling of drunks; sick or injured prisoners; gathering evidence; getting confessions; conduct in court; use of weapons; skill in dealing with tension situations, hate groups, mobs; getting cooperation from Negroes.

	Cost	
For the first year,	two men at 5000	$10,000
	travel for each at 2500	5,000
	clerical and administrative services	3,000
	award	1,000
	Total	$19,000
For the second year,	travel could be reduced by a thousand dollars per man, giving a second year cost of	$17,000
Grand total, two years		$36,000

The award ought properly to available for at least five years, which would add to the cost

Three years' award	$3,000
Administration	600
	$3,600
Total, for whole project	$39,600.

The Southern Regional Council has ~~undoubtedly~~ given more attention to this problem than any other organization in the South. It has friends in the cities and counties whose cooperation would be indispensable to getting the job done. ~~It is part of our work, and~~ the judge it is ~~not~~ now more than high time to do something active about the matter.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell, Executive Director

Toward a farm program

credit help for the little man in mechanizing

farm enlargement loans

rural housing

land ownership

levels of living as high in country as in city

rural schools

farm to market and farm to school roads

coops

family farm

abolish real property tax, substitute income tax

direct marketing

labor and soil conservation.

social security, which will do , inter alia, something to tide them over the sudden shift to town when the boss decides to mechanize

guaranteed minimum annual ~~xxxx~~ income

cities to prepare for to-be-displaced farm labor - houses and jobs and schools

reeducation of the to-be-displaced

shift to livestock.. cows and hogs food crops

more processing plants

cooperation with farmers on needed state and federal legislation
regulation of tobacco warehousing charges
~~tax~~ exemption from road tax for farm-used gasoline
regulation of tenancy contracts, including provision for compensation of tenants for improvements

coope ownership of machinery by several family farms

land

prices, income, marketing, etc. direct access by farmers to city consumers

homes

roads

services
- organizations of farmers
- schools
- extension
  - scs, aaa, fha, voc ed., etc.

alternative opportunities
- voc ed

Labor sees no conflict of interests with the farmers. ~~of the State.~~ On the contrary, it sees many ways in which the people who labor in towns and cities and those who labor on the farm can usefully join hands. It invites farmers to take part in the labor movement, while it offers to lend its aid to the farmers in their efforts to build on the land a lasting prosperity and fair chance for all farm people.

Labor would welcome opportunities to plan with real farmers ways of getting the things they want. Meanwhile, here are some of the measures which labor union members are ready to support:

Land. For better soil conservation; larger public forests and more farm-forest care; every encouragement for qualified tenants to buy farms of their own, though loans and otherwise. Labor would like to see every acre of Georgia's soil in the hands of people who will manage it well. It believes that given fair opportunities, family type farms will take the best care of the land.

Prices. A farm family should make just as much money as a city family. Labor would like to see prices of farm products kept at levels which ~~will~~ yield for working famers as high a ~~standard of living as working people in cities have. If~~ give both groups an equal standard of living. It would encourage more direct marketing of farm produce, and it hopes farmers will make more and more use of cooperative methods of selling. For small farmers, who at present have not got enough good land to enable them to make a decent living, labor would be for a guaranteed minimum annual income, worked through an offer of agreed Government purchase of the farm's production, plus, where necessary, paid

it offers long-term loans for the living wage.

PAGE (s) MISSING

GSM Wrote It

AFRICAN STUDENTS IN THIS COUNTRY

One of the roots of prejudice in the South is our lack of knowledge about Africa. The slave trade and its proponents told us that in Africa all was savage cruelty. Part of the defense of the slave economy and of the demi-freedom that has succeeded it has been the doctrine that a century or two of toil was an easy price to pay for escape from the barbarities of "Darkest Africa." Travelers and missionaries have done little until lately in helping us to revise these ideas.

Africa is a continent of fierce geographic difficulties, and it contains much backwardness. But it also contains many ancient folk cultures. Its peoples are heaving with a new spirit of independence and nationalism. Today's map of Africa, pieced together win the last sixty or seventy years, will probably in our lifetimes undergo vast changes like those which came to pass in eastern Europe, in the Near East, and in the Far East. "Africa for the Africans" stirs in many hearts.

What relates it to our prejudices is this. The parent peoples of Negro Americans are reaching for responsibility, dignity, and status in their own home lands. That human growth inevitably interacts with a related process here.

Now it so happens that the wheel of history has brought to our shores four or five hundred eager African students. They are mostly from the very West African area from which the great bulk of the

American Negro peoples was drawn. They have made their way to our colleges and universities by overcoming great difficulties. Currency exchange is against them. Most of them assert that their colonial government officials resisted rather than encouraged their coming over here. Fulbright aid is not yet available to them, and the scholarships most of them get are quite insufficient. They are worried also about the employment they will find when they get back, because the training they will have had will perhaps be of less use in finding situations than the more traditional courses of education.

The whole matter is the subject of a brand new Survey of African Students Studying in the United States, just issued by the Phelps-Stokes Fund, 101 Park Avenue, New York. The survey was made jointly by Mrs. Ruth C. Sloan, on loan from the State Department to the Phelps-Stokes Fund, and Mr. Ivor G. Cummings, a member of the British Colonial Office Welfare Department. Their facts related mostly to 1948. In that year they found 410 African students in this country. They are scattered at 117 different colleges. They are taking mostly subjects that will be useful in building up their own lands -- agriculture, engineering, education, home economics, pre-medical, science, social science, and liberal arts. Scholastically, they are doing quite well. About 25 per cent were found to be on dean's honor rolls, and several have graduated summa cum laude. They themselves reported a good deal of embarrassment from discrimination or segregation, North and South, but they were still more concerned about their lack of funds.

They came to this country seeking a broad foundation in American ideas and ways. Those of them who have come to Southern colleges have had especially few opportunities to get a balanced view of American life. They have had apparently more friendships with faculty and stu-

dents than those who want to the big Northern institutions, but they have had very little opportunity to get a true understanding of white America.

It is hard to know just how much can be contrived in correction of this. It has been suggested that white churches and colleges could do something about inviting teams of the African students from nearby institutions to appear for talks or discussion gatherings. This has been done at some Southern universities, and the occasions have been popular. Imagination and a spirit of hospitality can work out many occasions which would broaden the outlook of these visiting students. The students are not used to separation and insult at home. Every instance of understanding and kindness will be fruitful of international good in years to come. Correspondingly, every instance of rudeness to sensitive minds will be charged to the heavy toll we must someday pay for clinging to the double standard.

Here is a list of Southern Negro colleges where one or more African students were in residence in April, 1949. In most cases, a call to the president of the college would make possible some contact with these young people.

Alabama

Oakwood College	Huntsville
Tuskegee Institute	Tuskegee

Arkansas

Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College	Pine Bluff
Philander Smith College	Little Rock

Florida

Bethune-Cookman College	Daytona Beach
Edward Waters Junior College	Jacksonville
Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College	Tallahassee
Florida Normal and Industrial College	St. Augustine

Georgia

Albany State College	Albany
Atlanta University	Atlanta
Clark College	Atlanta
Ft. Valley State College	Ft. Valley
Morehouse College	Atlanta
Morris Brown	Atlanta
Spelman College	Atlanta

Kentucky

Kentucky State College	Frankfort

Louisiana

Southern University and Agricultural and Mechanical College	Baton Rouge
Xavier University	New Orleans

Mississippi

Campbell College	Jackson
Jackson College	Jackson

North Carolina

Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina	Greensboro
Barber-Scotia College	Concord
Bennett College	Greensboro

North Carolina (Cont'd.)

Johnson C. Smith University	Charlotte
Livingstone College	Salisbury
Palmer Memorial Institute	Sedalia near Greensboro
Shaw University	Raleigh

Oklahoma

Langston University	Langston
University of Tulsa	Tulsa

South Carolina

Allen University	Columbia
Benedict College	Columbia
Claflin University	Orangeburg
State Agricultural and Mechanical College	Orangeburg

Tennessee

Fisk University	Nashville
Morristown College	Morristown

Texas

Prairie View A. & M. College	Prairie View

Virginia

Hampton Institute	Hampton
St. Paul's Polytechnic Institute	Lawrenceville
Virginia Union University	Richmond

TRADE SCHOOLS FOR VETERANS

George S. Mitchell
Director of Veterans
Services
Southern Regional Council

Everyone here is familiar with Booker Washington's story about "cast down your bucket where you are". It seems to me to fit an important phase of Southern education to-day. We have most of us, I suppose, been hoping and planning for the day of Federal aid to education. I suggest that Federal aid is here, and that it requires little more than farsightedness and energetic administration for us to avail ourselves of it.

The thirteen Southern states have well over three million veterans of World War II. Two and a half million are white and six hundred and fifty thousand are Negro. On the average, these men and women are entitled to three years and more of education mainly at the expense of the Federal Government. If we aim at a goal no higher than the manageable one of getting a full third of the veterans to take two years of institutional training, the available benefit in terms of money is startlingly large. Allowing a figure of four hundred dollars a year for tuition payments, and an average subsistence allowance of about $80.00 a month for twelve months, the Southern states would receive from the Federal Government for educational purposes in two years about three billion dollars. The tuition end of it would be 666 million dollars for whites and 175 million dollars for Negroes.

To get the figures into terms of a single state let's try South Carolina. If we aim for the same goal there - two years' full-time institutional training for one-third of the veterans - the problem is to provide institutional facilities for thirty-three thousand white veterans and seventeen thousand Negro veterans. The tuition payments available could be at least forty million dollars and the subsistence would run to

a hundred million. Tuition payments would be over twenty-six million for white schools and over thirteen million for Negro schools.

Thus far, the public has thought of the GI educational benefit mainly in terms of college-level training. Yet the great bulk of the veterans stopped school in the later grammar grades of early High School years, and among the Negro veterans I believe the general level would be between the fourth and eighth grades. I should be greatly surprised if, the South over, in four or five years time, as much as twelve per cent of the veterans had taken even one year of college work.

It is true that other programs are available for the men who will not go to college. Each state has been generous in contrivance to aid the men in completing High School work. Apprenticeship training is available to a fortunate few (almost entirely white, by the way), and on-the-job training and on-the-farm training are continuing to grow in the number reached and in the quality of the teaching achieved.

As of September 30, the Veterans Administration reported 153,000 veterans in job-training and 202,000 in institutional training under Public Law 346. Actually, for reasons of nomenclature, the proportion in job-training and farm-training is greater than the official figures will show. The reason is a matter of nomenclature. My own guess would be that in the South job-training and farm-training exceed insitutional training. By contrast, in many Northern areas, the situation is reversed. The Chicago area and the San Francisco area run to about 65% insitutional. New York's area is 79% institutional and only 21% job. The assumption is that where good institutional training is available, the men take it; and where it is not to be had, the other forms of training are what must be used.

The Southern officials working on veterans education with whom I have talked are pretty well in agreement that a very large part of the

veterans want practical instruction such as will fit them in a year of two's time to hold jobs paying clerical or skilled or semi-skilled rates. They have lost several years out of their normal lives, and they wish now to equip themselves as quickly as possible to carry civilian responsibilities.

This is one reason why job-training and farm-training have been so popular; and it fits in with this urge that these programs offer good total income while the men take the training. Yet few here are satisfied that in job-training is a really sound educational process being applied to more than a small part of the veterans. Job-training is particularly deficient for the Negro veterans, because comparatively few of them can get it at all, and of those who do too many are in establishments where the quality of the instruction cannot be high.

I urge more full-time vocational schools of secondary level as the answer. True, the men will miss thehigher earnings of job training, and this will cut down the number of applicants for insitutional trade training. But it is always possible that Congress will up the subsistence pay (as it will undoubtedly be under great pressure to do soon) and at the first appearance of general unemployment the trade school offering will gain in attractiveness. Of course, in order to get the men in we should have to offer training of a high type, and we should have to offer it in a geographical distribution that will put schools within reasonably easy reach of the home towns of most of the veterans.

The South has a pressing need for schools of this kind now and in the near future. We are about to be put into a scissor-process, with industrialization proceeding apace in the very decade in which mechanization of agriculture threatens to ~~xxxxxx~~ be intense. The wartime factories and shipyards trained hundreds of thousands of Southern people in industrial work. A competent labor force is already here. We are about out of the

period in which the South offered a substantial wage differential as a means of tempting industry down. But despite that, the evidence is all around us that industry continues to grow in the South, expands into parts of it hitherto not much reached, and constantly opens new lines of work. If industrialization continues, as we all suppose it will, the new factories will be demanding in volume people trained to do the technical, exact, and responsible machine-tending jobs of modern industry and trade. Thus industrialization will suck over and pick the South for industrial skills.

The Bureau of Agricultural Economics is authority for the prediction that under conditions of full employment the number of people working on Southern farms will by 1956 probably have dropped 1,600,000 as against the 1940 figure. Some of this shrinkage has occurredin the war period, but much of it has yet to come as mechanization proceeds in sugar cane and rice and tobacco and most of all in cotton.

Many people are casting about for measures that will cushion this shift from agriculture into town employment. Some interesting remedies have been proposed, but my guess is that in the end the committees and commissions will come out with the recommendation that the problem is largely one to be taken on by the educational forces of the South, where a good many other problems have fallen in times past. I do not see what the educational forces of the South can do that would beof more help on this problem than to dot the Southern States with trade schools. If we can teach the youngsters how to handle the machinery with whose aid their livings must be made in the coming period, whether the machines be in towns or on the farms, we shall clearly have saved ourselves a lot of misery, poverty, and inefficiency, possibly some violence, and almost certainly, a great deal of tax money.

Now this process of dotting the South with trade schools is going

ahead rapidly beneath our very eyes. In our larger cities, in many good-sized towns, and occasionally in some quite unexpected county seat, a brand new or a much enlarged full-time trade training school has recently been put into operation. Usually all but a very few of the students are veterans of World War II. The veterans are drawing subsistence and the school authorities are receiving tuition directly or indirectly from the Veterans Administration. Most of thse schools are public schools. One of their virtues is the fact that they have sprung out of public local demand. So far as the Negro trade schools are concerned, most of them represent a quite special gain in this regard; local citizens, Negro and white, perceiving the rot involved in leaving ambitious and partly-trained men as standing members of the 52-20 club, have brought their influence to bear on public school officials and have gotten classes going in this or that, which begin to meet the needs of eighteen or thirty-five or a hundred and seventy-five Negro veterans.

Incidentally, it can be argued that the opening of trade schools of this kind is an important contribution to interracial adjustment. When we seek the causes of jealousy and of violence between the races it is quite as urgent to look into the minds of the Negroes and of the whites. If for a good big share of the Negro veterans their ambitions, nursed during years of war, can be satisfied with opportunity, we shall have done a lot to replace bitterness with confidence that energy and industry and honorable conduct can usually, even in the South, win security and respect. Thus far, I do not think it can be claimed that in any field of veterans eductaional benefits other than college training, Southern communities have done much to build that confidence. We have fallen down on on-the-job-training and on apprentice training, and we have not done nearly enough with on-the-farm-training. We have fallen down badly in public administration and in

private business in finding for the Negro veterans jobs of the kind that use their present highest skills and offer growth for the future. It is true that high school education is still open, but that is not what the men want. This other can be tailormade to their needs. Through such schools, if they be adequate in number and in quality, we still have the opportunity to see to it that the cream of this generation's youth. the young men who will set the character of our publi life for fifty years to come, are assured that their home communities worked wisely for their benefit and gave them the knowledge on which they could base security and independence.

What we have done thus far is most uneven in quality. In order to get some idea of what is being done this Council, through its Veterans Services Division, engaged a man high ly recommended as an expert on vocational schools to travel to four or fiveselected schools and report on their work. In each instance he went with the blessing of appropriate State school officials and was courteously received by the local principals. Here is a compressed account of the schools he visited.

School A. An industrial city inthe cotton belt. Mainly textiles. White school has 150 veterans, Negro school has 188. Of the four buildings, three are quite unsuitable and are fire-traps. The one good building houses shops for white veterans. In only two minor trades do the space and light permit the practice of good work habits. Training and experience of the teachers for both groups of veterans is excellent. Quality of teaching good, despite the handicap of makeshift workshops. Relations with organiized labor good. School graduatesin several of the leading trades readily find work at union scale wages. Ten trades available for whites, including plumbing, refrigeration, watch-repairing, and air-conditioning. Six trades available for colored , of which veterans are entered in only four, namely, bricklaying, tailoring, auto-repair, and shoe-repair. This school has a much larger non-veteran enrollment. An integral part of the city school system. Tuition is charged.

School B. Seven miles out from a Delta town. Last two-and-a-half miles mud. The buildings are those of a former prisoner-of-war camp. Privately owned and managed. Space adequate, buildings all right. Layout of machinery and equipment excellent. Enrollment 360 Negro veterans. No whites. School set out to train Negro veterans mainly for work in mechanized plantation agriculture. Remarkably complete set of new farm machinery installed. Courses offered in farm mechanics, automobile mechanics, and in the building trades, farm equipment, and in reading, language, arts, and arithmetic. In most subjects a long course is available for those with fifth-grade education or lower and a shorter course for those with sixth-grade and up. Courses vary between 34 weeks and 136 weeks. Separate well-equipped shops for work with diesel engines, auto repair, welding, farm equipemnt, automotive electrical, housewiring, building, and general education. All white teachers, well trained and fully experienced. Absentee rate practically nil.

School C. A thriving, variegated industrial city in the Upper South. Fifty Negro veterans. The men are first put through eight or nine months of mechanical instruction and then given a finishing course in automobile repairs. One building old and small, another adequate, both fire-traps. Equipment poor and much of it in disrepair. Shops dirty, littered with refuse and grease. Teachers inexperienced. An integral part of the public school system. I will give quotes from the report of our visitor:

> "One of the trainees was trying to machine a small shaft, a half-inch in ~~xxxxxxx~~ diameter and twelve inches between centers, without any support rest. The tool he was using was ground at the wrong ~~xxx~~ angle and had incorrectly-placed tool-holder. On questioning him, I found he had had no instruction on the working of the lathe, even though he had been here three months".

> "Also in the shop there are two electric welders and three gas torches being used in the fashion of playthings, as I did not find any of the veterans instructed on the operation of either. It is a wonder that this place has not burned. There is much confusion, and it is with difficulty that you can make your way from one side of the room to the other".

> "I found cars within five feet of open, live stove. Trainees were welding on rear of a car near the gas tank with gas torch, and two other cars were backed hard against it. This made three gas tanks within a few inches of the torch flame".

School D. Located in a village in cotton and tobacco farming country in the Upper South. Opened only a month ago. Thirty-seven Negro veterans divided into three courses - agriculture, auto mechanics, and electrical service. Classroom work in the regular Negro High School building, in the late afternoon and evening. Agricultural course is part of on-the-farm training. English, mathematics, and health are taught to all students. Electrical shopwork given in a school classroom. Electrical teacher good, giving good work.

The practical work for auto mechanics is done in a Negro-owned garage across the street from the school building. From five to ten each evening the fifteen Negro veterans in this course work at the privately-owned garage on repair work for which the proprietor charges his customers. In return, the garage-owner permits the students to use his premises and tools. Space too small, dirty, and disorderly. Nearly half the garage building is thinly partitioned from the shop and used as a drink stand and dance hall with juke box going constantly while the veterans do their repair work. The dancers visible th the trainees through an open door. A few weeks ago a fight took place at the entrance of the garage by patrons of the dance dive next door - one patron killed, no veterans involved. Our visitor reports:

> "If this drink stand can be closed, the shop cleaned up, all junk parts removed outside, and an instructor employed who will keep it that way, then it would be possible to give the veterans training in running repairs; otherwise the place is of no value as a training center".

Thus far, it was understood, this school operates entirely on State and County funds, but it is hoped that it can begin at an early date to draw tuition from the Veterans Administration.

In addition to these four schools whose work was expertly reviewed, we had visits made to a number of others by interested and informed veterans who were not themselves experienced in vocational education. Here are brief summaries of their findings at two schools.

School E. Located in a busy Southwestern city. The three courses available to Negroes are radio, tailoring, and automobile mechanics. Ten courses are open to whites, incldding drafting, air conditioning, refrigeration repair, electrical appliance repair, and upholstering. The three Negro classes were scattered in three separate school buildings. Equipment good, in two of the courses, inadequate in the third. Ninety-seven Negro veterans enrolled. Instructors well-trained and experienced. The ten courses open to whites operate on a full-time day basis, thirty hours a week, forty-eight weeks a year. The Negro courses operate on a half-time basis in the late afternoon and evening, fifteen hours a week, three hours a day. These three courses each run eighteen months. The city school officials are said to be planning a brand-new vocational school for Negroes.

School F. One of the two trade schools open to Negroes in a state with 40,000 Negro veterans, located in a Delta county and attached to a State A and M College. The great bulk of the students in the trade courses are of sub-college level. Instruction offered in automobile mechanics, tailoring, sheet metal work, machine shop practices, carpentry, welding, radio repair, plumbing, and painting. Most classes sadly overcrowded. Auto mechanics work has to be done mainly out of doors. Equipment varies by shops from woefully inadequate to good. Most shops neatly arranged. All the teachers have had practical experience, but not all have had college training. Four hundred Negro veterans in attendance.

From such information as I have been able to gather about the institutional trade training opportunities open to Negro veterans in the South, the following observations are offered:

1. At many points public officials are due some criticism for the complacency with which they have approved the limitation of courses available to Negroes to the trades in which Negroes have an established hold. Generally speaking, Southern vocational school officials accept and will argue for the idea that Negroes should be taught only those lines of work in which they can fairly readily find employment in the area from which the school draws. Negroes would like to establish the principle that they should be given an opportunity to learn any trade they wish, provided it is a trade offering reasonable prospects for employment, color and area not regarded . Veterans are a rather mobile group anyway, and Negro veterans will be particularly so. It is also to be recalled that Negro business is steadily expanding and offers another channel of employment in specialized skills. Trade training would be considerably more tempting to Negro veterans if the range of courses were greatly widened, particularly in modern, expanding lines of work.

2. Everywhere it is plain that competent teachers are hard to get. This is probably partly a reflection of low salaries, but it is also a reflection of an absolute shortage of properly trained persons. It should become the business of some agency to gear the work of Negro trade training schools into the work of the Negro A & M colleges and such institutions as Hampton and Tuskegee. It is suggested that this duty might be assumed by the U. S. Office of Education or by the Veterans Administration or by the U. S. Retraining and Reemployment Administration.

3. A largely unsatisfied demand for full-time insitutional trade training exists among Negro veterans in the South. Just how large no one knows. Ideally, some agency of Government should take a census of veterans to find out their wishes as to training. Something of the kind has been done spasmodically and not too reliably in a few cities through voluntary organizations. Undoubtedly in some cities the school systems could readily provide

a fair approximation of the wishes of the veterans who have made themselves known in writing to school officials. Thus it is said on good authority that over 500 Negro veterans are of record in New Orleans as wishing trade training of this kind. But no one knows at all what is wanted in the small places and in the country. This is an opprotunity for the various veterans organizations to be of real service. They could probably put through a census of this kind.

4. In the case of most of the newly established schools, either the schools have themselves been unimaginative and slack in requesting surplus equipment or the Government officials concerned have been slow and uncooperative in making it available. Large numbers of students are using makeshift equipment when suitable equipment is available on surplus lists.

5. Thus far, no effective overall supervision of trade schools assisted with VA tuition money has been established with a view to bringing them up to minimum standards. Possibly this is one of the things that will be unravelled as the VA makes further progress with its staff of training officers and training facilities officers. The present situation is that numerous trade schools are teaching poorly and are charging the Government successfully for this poor work. At one of the schools described above, the inquirer's general opinion was that the men were "tinkering and loafing". In some degree that situation undoubtedly obtains in many of the schools.

6. The question of private versus public trade training schools is grave. Some private schools are obviously doing a shipshape job, for a profit. The profits available are large. The public institutions are at a disadvantage in that tradition and the needs of the non-veteran youth make it difficult to charge the stiff tuition that the Veterans Administration is willing to pay. Yet, clearly, schools begun under public assistance mainly for veterans would have every likelihood of surviving and even of growing into con-

tinued public usefulness after the veterans have moved through them. The private schools would have much less chance to survive.

7. Experience teaches that trade schools do the work expected of them in proportion to their success in keeping up close ties with industry and with organized labor, where organized. I have seen disquietingly little evidence that the new schools teaching Negro veterans are diligently cultivating such links.

In addition to these considerations, some policy questions are pressing for decision. They include the following:

1. Shall new trade schools be approved by the State officials on the basis that in my judgment is the present one in general use; namely, a school for whatever town squawks hardest to get one; or should there be a careful plan for schools so spaced sub-regionally within each State as to be within reach of all prospective students?

2. The same question posed in No. 1 above - should trade schools teach Negroes only trades that they can get into locally, or should they offer what the men want?

3. On the location of schools, should they continue to be put almost exclusively in presently industrialized areas, or should they be consciously established in areas presently rural but threatened with loss of population through loss of employment in agriculture? And if the latter, then -

4. Should schools in rural areas attempt to teach finished skills, or should they confine their work to background teaching in measurement, orderliness of work, materials, tools, and familiarity with large machinery?

Enough has been said to indicate the writer's view that the South has today a great opportunity to equip itself for greater industrial progress, readier absorption of the surplus of rural labor, a higher level of living, and more civic peace, if it will start and run two or three hundred new

trade training schools for Negroes and of course an even larger number of new schools for whites. My guess would be that if we set up the schools, the great bulk of the veterans of both races will be of the opinion ten years from now that the home public did well by them.

The South at Mid-Century

I suppose you all dream as I do, of a South in which the inequalities, between the races and within the races, have dwindled to unimportance

The encouraging thing is that the way to accomplish it is known. ~~I can~~ Any reasonable student of the economy of the South will list for you pretty much the following things:

1. Step up the pace, & broaden the ~~channels~~ range of our already rapid industrialization. Industry

puts money in every man's pocket. & will money be buys the housing & clothing and education and health which will yield ~~virtuous~~ a nearer approach to equality in all these material things. If anyone is afraid of the exploitation ~~[illegible]~~ pressures of profit industry the answer is that ~~[illegible]~~ trade union organization plus, where need arises, Soviet regulation, provides a ~~[illegible]~~ correction that can & will be applied when ~~[illegible]~~ needed. They perhaps come after revolution & struggle in

in that way process the
people learn to strengthen
& quicken their own
democracy. And industry
in a bi-racial society
~~offers~~ sets later the
puzzle of operating
bi-racial trade unionism
To the credit of Southern
labor, it is said that
the puzzle has been
solved, largely within
the last 15 years. Not
everywhere & often not
too well, but the trick
is known. & is & can be
used. This in itself
is a great democratizer.

2. We know what to do about our agriculture, about it is touch & go whether we shall do what is right. We have hold of the principles & practice of soil conservation; an enormous gain. We have an extension if sometime complacent educational network operating with the farm to spread the better practice. In moments rather we understand the conservation of land as regeneration & fill & water conservation, & education ~~of the~~ for life elsewhere of the children who pass upon reading will resources as here.

old plantation areas we are putting through a revolution in ~~f~~ crops & methods, and in doing so are ~~preparing~~ fastening an internal migration which in another decade will have wholly altered the economy of wide areas and of many cities. There are two main things to do.

1. Put into the areas where land holdings are large just as many individual owners of family size farms as we can. We probably cannot prevent a situation in which big units are owned & managed as mechanized crop operations

or as cattle farms, with
hired and other workers
later, but we can ~~to~~
~~f~~ imagine such an
economy with independent
farms, which all nations
are succumbed in their
use of modern equipment
and diversified farming, and
so provide a solution
of discovery in a
land pattern that
threatens to continue to
be unwholesome. We are
just now going ahead
with that tendency, I
I suppose ~~that~~ we stand
to follow that course for a
good while to come. One
particularly tragic feature

is the ~~worst~~ very worst improvement in rural housing. With electrification almost complete, we are within sight of modern sanitation & comfort in farm homes everywhere, ~~is~~ private effort, plus the work of the old Farm Security Administration, or which is built the newly begun rural housing program of the F.H.A. will ~~be~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~bring~~ ~~[illegible]~~ us to a happy time when slum-ridden slums will be as scarce as old scows.

The other thing is to bring into our educational system a

greatly increased
element of vocational
training - coop. etc.

Extended industrialization & greater equality in form land ownership, will go far toward providing a basic equality. We shall have to change our ways in some other matters, too.

1. Housing
   Health
2. Education equal, & at the top, open
3. Politics justice
   safety, security
4. Business
5. Government
6.

Here we come up against the whole matter of ~~compulsory~~ segregation, in education, in ~~religious~~ transportation, in private institutional life. I have no ~~[illegible]~~ easy solution to offer. One or two principles

① Our ~~[illegible]~~ conduct, as individuals or groups ~~[illegible]~~ rapidly as will achieve a near approach to equality of opportunity, in standard education, ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ the prevailing ~~[illegible]~~ and ~~leaving~~ they should have access to ~~at least~~ the ~~most important of the~~ further ~~opportunities~~ ~~[illegible]~~ to which ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ the level attained to. ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~

② Professional and interest group organizations should fully include all qualified persons who

share the work or the
values the ~~[illegible]~~
organization represents.

2. The prospect is that
the cracks in the old pattern
~~[illegible]~~ of navigation
will ~~[illegible]~~ widen; we shall
have neither a clamping
shutter of the away
determination preached by
Dale Warps, nor a sudden
arrival of universal
fraternity. I have been
informed, neither peacefully
or not, with the sequence of
the watchwords of the French
Revolution. Is it not apparent
that we first achieve liberty,
then equality, then fraternity?

4. The principle of ~~[illegible]~~

One or two more things may be provided to. Let us not be deceived by the cry that "if the North, or the agitators, or the what have yours, would leave us alone, we could work out everything all right by ourselves". The what have yours won't let us alone, so that's that. ~~Until the~~ ~~South~~ The prime of thing left alone is conserving development of justice — in industrial, governmental, educational, and in other things that concern human dignity. Until we can show that we achieve in these things ~~in~~

problems from without &
within will grow, &
should grow. But there's
a ray of light here.
We have only to make a
so ~~what~~ in the way of
reform certain symbolical things
in order to convince our
critics that we deserve
our ~~of~~ ~~the~~ blows but
appropriation to speed
what we begin. ~~We~~ ~~the~~
Southern governors & would
be thus admitted to ~~the~~
~~idea~~ make use of this
great leverage.

Lastly. The South, ~~the~~
~~not active~~ to her good
fortune, did not active

& law will be used, to bring us
around.

in the old war the
right to do as it pleased,
regardless of opinion in
the rest of the nation & in
the rest of the world, we
are now & more a part of
the struggle of the
civilized world against & now
in the face of a ~~worldly~~
form of sovereignty
day for of the rights of
the individual. Have you
noticed the odd circumstance
that we clean upon
distinguished Negro citizens to
various peoples abroad
of our fairness & Dr Burghardt
upon all hour. Mr Dr Johnson
holidays worked as a mission

India. I have numbers of
southern Negro friends who are
doing superior work in
the Carolinas, in
Africa. For all the
criticism of our society
they know that it is
promising ~~to~~ ~~with a hope~~ ~~towards~~ ~~to~~ by
~~of~~ what ~~could~~ can
fault in the above of
the democratic principle.
We are already near the
time when we will
thank our stars for the
~~every~~ American ~~of~~ loyalty
~~of Negro America~~ ~~to~~
~~the free~~ of our Negro
citizens. Then will
the many writers we shall
and delight to honor.

DR. MITCHELL'S COMMENCEMENT ...

Address, Tuskegee Institute - May 15, 1950

I WANT to talk about States: these Southern States, into whose life and activities, now that your training is over, most of you will be going.

Surely, next to religion, the strongest tradition in the Western World is that of political democracy. Centuries of effort have gone into its making. It has broadened and deepened, until it has become the central feature of our society. In two world wars its defense has been our battle-cry, and all too visibly the world drances still exist to our coming abreast of Western practice in self-government.

What is our hold on this central idea, here in the South, and how shall we read its future among us?

Let us recognize that we have the tradition in a lamed and fore-shortened form. Most of the States of the South were launched into the world after slavery had become dominant. Their constitutions provided citizenship only for free men. And even after the wrench of civil war had brought about constitutional conformity with the equal citizenship which our Federal government prescribes, the South soon fell back into devices which made state and local government the preserve of white men. It is only in the last ten or fifteen or twenty years that we have seen the removal of the heaviest barriers to an equal citizenship, regardless of race. And, of course, even yet, a thousand hinderances still exist to our coming abreast in political participation, of what is standard in other organized Western societies.

I am trained as an economist, and so I look, naturally, beneath the surface to the economic realities which so generally govern political arrangements. All over the world, political equality is closely tied to economic equality. The South was notoriously a land of economic inequality. With the spread of plantation agriculture our basic productive unit became the large land-holding, worked in simple routines by a labor force living in almost animal poverty, and yielding income and authority to a relatively small body of landowners. Tradition and numbers gave the franchise to the smaller white people, too, but for over a century they were subordinate in most matters of policy to those who directed plantation agriculture.

After about 1880, when our industrialization began, we reckoned with new sources of authority: first, in those who organized and ran the mills and mines, and banks and commerce; and more lately with the increasing insistence by those who worked in industry and business upon a share of political and economic power. Meanwhile, as transportation and markets and capital and skill reached the independent farmers, they too became articulate, and the South came to be governed by this or that mixture of the power of everyday farmers, big farmers, business men, industrialists, and organized labor.

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Still the Negro was excluded. But he made his way into many situations in which he shared economic influence. In industry he came into the regular income, a measure of skill, and the interdependence which made it advantageous to consult his wishes. In recent years his loyal and effective membership in trade unions has begun to bear fruit, not only in an approach to industrial equality, but in the appearance at many points of unquestioned political acceptance. In agriculture he seized upon opportunity to escape the dependence of tenancy and sharecropping, and found place and friends and influence in farm ownership. The migration North and West has lessened the pressure upon opportunity in the South, and has provided in areas of established political equality several million citizens who sacrifice and organize and vote to broaden freedoms here in the South. And education, wherever it has approached equality, has paid its desired return in a Negro citizenship as capable, as responsible, and as much concerned for the good of society as that of the once uniquely-favored white people.

Thus we are coming into a day when Southerners, by and large, are equal. There are pockets of dependence and backwardness, as we all know. The pervasive democratization which accompanies industry is felt in areas still too restricted; many an old cotton county clings to patterns of discrimination which the change in its farming methods is undercutting; housing and health and schooling are still deplorably worse for most Negroes than for most whites, but the pattern of economic equality has been set, and it is only a matter of years before it reaches into all the areas where the old arrangements linger.

I suggest that all this foreshadows, as the next great advance in Southern life, the era of equal citizenship. What does that mean? It means the unimpeded right to vote. It means the right to be appointed or elected to public office. It means a fair share in all the work of the modern State. Specifically, it means that Negroes may serve in state legislatures, as they do already in Kentucky; on city councils, as they do already in Richmond and Winston-Salem and Roanoke, and have opportunities to serve on boards and commissions affecting education and health and the many welfare activities of our governments. It means non-discriminating recruitment to administrative and clerical posts. It means a share in political management, by service on boards of regis-

trars, as election officials, and in political party offices. In short, it means political acceptance; a full and respected citizenship in the life of all our communities.

If we much longer delay this change we court a grave danger. Already it is current doctrine among many Negroes in the South that their gains have been won by their own efforts alone; that Negro lawyers paid with Negro dollars have opened opportunity by pressing reluctant Southern polities against the clear doctrines of the American Constitution, and that the white South is the enemy, which fought these gains step by step. An enemy, it is added, without even the grace of dignity, for is it not true that the opposition has shown, not the superior political wisdom which is boasted, but the unreasonable argument, the wounding gibes of demagoguery, chicanery, the filibuster, and, at the last, that resort to violence which eats away the very foundations of government? Thus it is argued, and understandably believed, that the Negro cause has negligible help from white Southerners, and that the Southern white man is to be written off as a figure out a comic-strip. This is poor ground in which to grow a common citizenship. And it is up to the South to make this belief die out.

I said it is up to the South! I mean that it is up to the South, both white and Negro, to make this belief die out. The major burden rests with the white people, but Negroes have a heavy responsibility, too. Hard as it may be, try at all times to remember that very many Southern white people deeply believe in fairness, and wish to work with you. Remember that tradition lays its bonds on us, and we have to learn to loose them. Show us all you can of self-discipline, of the generous spirit, of willingness to go your half-mile, too.

I am not asking patience; I am asking for sensitivity and imagination, for wisdom and tact. In your careers you will have an ever-growing number of opportunities to play a personal part in this unlocking of the civic energies of white and Negro people disposed to work together. You possess a special skill in helping us in these relationships; if you will use it, in dignity and kindness, we all move forward. The truth is that after all the talk about the uniqueness of the South is over, and notwithstanding all the strange and ultimately intolerable barriers between us, white people and colored people, in increasing number, do truly understand each other, simply as humans. That is our precious possession; the best hope of both races of building an honest way of living.

Very many who are white are ready to act in this spirit. This modern way spreads. Examples multiply all about us, of state and local services that are open to all without distinction; of professional associations which recruit on the basis of qualifications and not of color; of universities and colleges which open their doors to all who seek learning; of newspapers which follow the news impartially as

learn to loose them. Show us all you can of self-discipline, of the generous spirit, of willingness to go your half-mile, too.

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If any fear that to admit Negroes in the South to an equal citizenship will dilute the quality of our public life, two good answers are available. First, present-day public life in the South is seldom outstanding in purity and reasonableness. Second, it is the lesson of history that oppression corrupts, not its apparent victims, but those who inflict the injustice. In my observation, Negro citizenship in the South is everywhere behaving with a responsibility, a sense of purpose, and a fundamental integrity which might well be the envy of many a white electorate.

If the South will recognize in the aspirations of its Negro citizens not a threat, but a life-giving resource; if our States and towns will consciously and of purpose make room in their management for the Negro as a citizen, I am confident that in proportion as political equality is achieved, so will the character of our public life improve. In the eyes of the world today these commonwealths, which we are taught to love, are structures less than complete. Inheriting access to the richest political tradition in the world, we forego our due inheritance. It may be that we can make of Alabama, Georgia, and these others, societies which need no longer suffer the taunts of the world outside. In the past, they have been at bottom not true democracies, but agencies of white supremacy. In the future they must become agencies of impartial well-being. And when that is achieved, every Southerner whatever can be honorably proud of the State of his birth.

Here let me say a word about the current fad for reviving Confederate memories. The Confederacy itself was an artificial structure, built to cover and perpetuate special privilege. I share the admiration that most Southerners feel for the brilliance and daring with which that anguished effort was put through; but I know it was mistaken, and I am glad it lost.

What is it that men try to protect now when they talk of States Rights and sound the rebel yell, and wave a flag long furled? The narrow franchise, the entrenched political machine, the right to treat a third of our people as less than citizens, the hope of freedom from needful federal regulation, the right to be prejudiced in employment, the right to racial privilege. The plain people of the South were trapped by one Confederacy, and it cost them dear. Let us hope that commonsense will see through the romantic revivals of the slogans of a hundred years ago, and that the Southern people will understand that our best future lies in playing a full and equal and responsible part in the life of the United States as a whole.

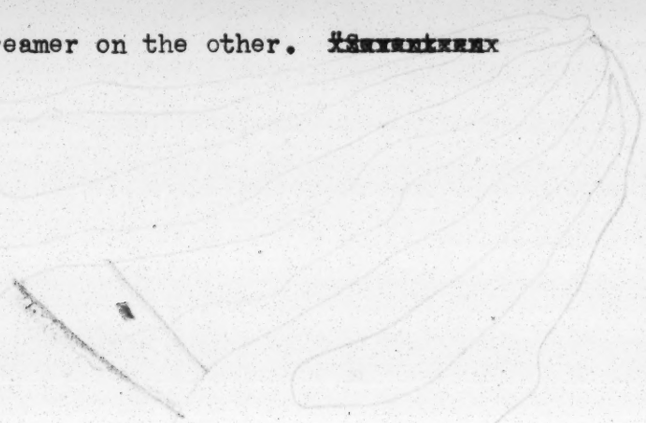
Such a South will need skills of many kinds, and it will lean far more heavily than in the past upon Negro citizens for the exercise of these skills. We will need more health officers, more agricultural agents and supervisors, more engineers and architects, more business men and auditors and accountants, still more teachers, and more men and women in trades which will serve a people with a rapidly rising standard of living. The sacrifices your parents have made, and the efforts of the many all over the country who have aided Tuskegee, will bear the fruit you have hoped for: opportunity to get your shoulders under a load of work, and in dignity and human respect build, in places you will seek out for yourselves, the quality of citizenship you admire. The goal is no longer, if ever it was, your own individual gain; your task is to do your best to bring local communities fully abreast of the modern world. Tuskegee has its richest rewards in those of her graduates who have worked in this way.

If, when you have found your first footing, you are at a loss for some purpose to put your best self into, look about you for the worst situation you can find; in health, in housing, in law, or in custom. Study it, become locally an authority on it, publish your findings, and study further. It will be the fortune of many of you to be surprised by the rapidity with which some obscure movement at which you are working will grow into public view, and how earnestly you will be besought to apply to a human need the skill and understanding you have learned.

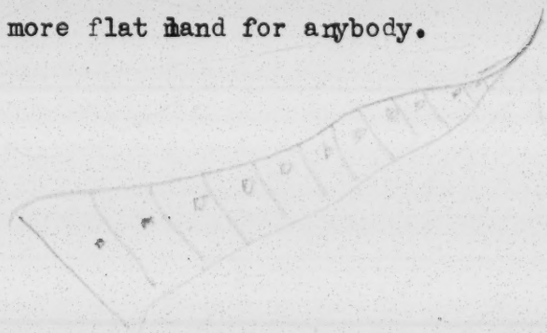
Let us turn our minds, at the last, to the world beyond our own shores. Two-thirds of the people of this earth are people of color. Our society, sustaining individual freedom, is in competition, for keeps, with another system which promises bread and growth for the loss of individuality. The United States has had cause, already, to thank her lucky stars that her oppressed Negro minority has cast to the surface men of the quality of Ralph Bunche and Governor Hastie, and others you and I could name who, as representatives of America, have gone out to convince Asiatic and African peoples that the promise of America is not a vain one.

Not many years remain in which to show that white and colored Americans can cause our cherished institutions of government to work to our common and equal good. In the battle of world opinion one great point of conflict is here in our own South; if democracy can win on this field we shall have made America's richest contribution to the cause of peace.

I never understood about the Mountains until a man from Eastern Kentucky laid it out for me pretty plain. He drew himself a map of a mountainvalley, about two miles long, with a strem down the middle. Put in Hogback Mountain on one side and Old Screamer on the other.



"seventeen and ninety-three", he said, "a man name of Will Driggers came up in here from North Carolina. Took up a pretty farm down at the mouth of the valley. Built him a cabin right by the creek. Old Man Will had been married four times before ever he left North Carolina, and he brought sixteen head of boys up in here with him. And he was married two more times in Kentucky. So when they buried the old man it made twenty-four farms they had to cut back up in the valley for the Driggerses. Well, by eighteen fifty one of the gradsons had taken up the spring bottom for his farm, and there wasn't any more flat land for anybody.



But the young folks were still coming on, and one young fellow went to his daddy and said 'Daddy, Me and Janie Belle is going to pair off, but it ain't no flat land for us. And we thought if we'd go up the side of Old Hogback and kin off them trees we could get us in a crop of burley tobacco and some corn and make out'. 'Well,'his daddy said , 'nobody

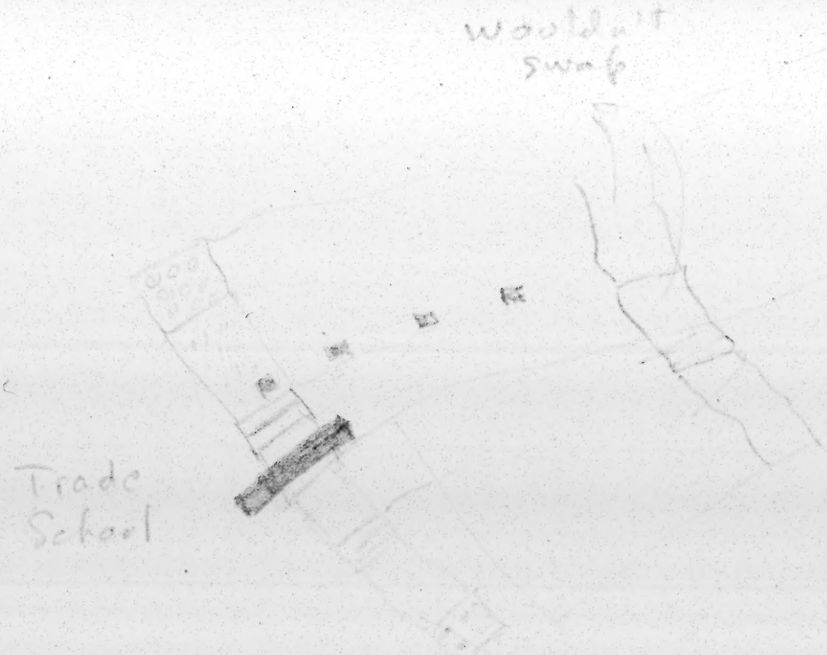
around here has ever ~~tried to~~ farm the side of a mountain before, but if you and Janie Belle want to try it, there's nothing to stop you'."

"So, of course, by eighteen-ninety they'd gone clean to the top of both mountains. Skinned off all the trees. Folks on the bottom farms noticed every time it rained it seemed to come through the creek harder than before, but nobody paid it much mind till eighteen and ninety-three, the old folks told me. Along about the second week in June, with the corn standing in the bottom land just about four and five inches high , it come to terriblest rain-storm that ever had hit Kentucky. First thing the wind ~~did was blow~~ down the willow-tree Old Man Will had planted, and it fell right across the creek, and kinder dammed it up. And that rain pouring down off of them naked hills, and carrying all them ~~sticks~~ and ~~roots~~ and ~~stumpxx~~ stumps backed up behind that willow tree, and the water stood for four days mighty nearly the whole length of the valley. And of course that killed all the corn, and nobody didn't get no corn crop that year. And just ~~thex~~ to tell you the Lord's truth, nobody's got no real good corn crop out of the bottom ~~ever~~ since, because it floods every year."

Well, if you've washed the dirt off the sides of the hills, and the bottom floods every year, although you live in the country and are called a farmer, you're hungry, and they are. I asked my friend what you can do about that.

"Tisn't so tough", he said. "Send somebody in there who knows something about agriculture. Let him stay at least a year, Get to know the people. As far as he can, persuade them to swap land, So each man's farm will be a long strip ~~xf~~ running up the mountainside, and a nice piece of bottom. Then take in a work-crew and dynamite out the snags in the stream-bed, and straighten out some of the bends. Then get each fellow to work his place on ~~xxfxxxx~~ what they call a farm plan. On the plan, ~~put~~ the top of each farm back into trees, and the long slope into grass that you aren't going to plow, and the low slope in terraces and strip-crops. Then ~~thex~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ for the whole valley the roots of the trees and the grass will

hold most of the water on the sides of the hills, and what does get down can get out. And each fellow can put cows on his grass, and ~~that'll give him~~ milk and ~~maybe some meat~~, and he can raise corn on ~~his~~ the bottom, and ~~with~~ milk and meal and meat he ought to be able to eat. But", said my friend, "even after you do that, there's still one more thing you've yet got to do. You want to get the State of Kentucky to come down there where Old Man Will's house was ,-course it's burned,-and build ~~you~~ the biggest one of these vocational trade schoolsyou can get. Because all ~~them~~ people up in there is still having children, and if ~~them~~ children ~~will~~ will come though that school, then when they get to Detroit they can light on their feet".



23- Mitchell, Geo. S.
GSM- "Wrote Of"

THE MAP OF THE SOUTH

I Historical Development

Colonial settlement
Indentured vs. slave labor
The Cotton Gin and the Spread of Slavery
Areas of wide farm settlement
Hinton Rowan Helper -- The Impending Crisis
Reconstruction as a struggle for economic freedom

II Emergence of Four Zones in the South

Description of economy and institutions, respectively, of the mountains, the Piedmont, the Plantation Area and the Piney Woods
Remedies prescribed

III How the States Fit In

Sub-areas of the states
Lopsided legislatures

IV The Problem of Civil Rights

Prescription: A combination of legislation and measures of economic reform

America is traditionally an individualistic society. We were born as a Nation in an age when the elaborate group life of the Medieval period was breaking up, and we learned to scorn the remnants of arbitrary status and grouping of the older period.

We were individualists in economics, in political philosophy, and in religion. In Economics, one man's dollar was as good as another, and any man was free to enter any trade. In Politics, one man's vote was as good as another. In Religion, one man's prayers were as good as another's.

That is the main stream of our tradition. Because of the strength of the tradition, it is harder for us to believe what our eyes tell us; that we are already far into another age of group life.

In the daily work of most people the competitiveness of our grandfathers' times is gone, or greatly modified. If we are business men, we work for a corporation, which in all likelihood is visibly or invisibly linked with other corporations in related trades, regulating production, price, and employment.

If we are professional men, we belong to our professional societies, and guard quite jealously the privileges of our station. If we are workingmen, we join, or are besought to join, great associations of our fellow workers, which negotiate with employers to set wages and hours and holidays and conditions. A fringe stays out of these various guild-like groups, but most are in, and the groups get bigger and stronger.

A similar thing has occurred in politics. Our constitutional democracy is founded on representation of single voters within geographic areas. A majority elects, and within our legislatures, a majority rules. Presumably our legislators weigh and discuss the interests of all those whom they represent, and then do their best to set out laws which will benefit the majority of the citizens. Yet who is not familiar with the pressure of groups of voters, whether organized as political parties, secret societies, or lobbies for particular trades or particular and limited numbers of voters? Our history books recognize an era, not yet everywhere closed, in which railways ran the legislatures. Nowadays the substance of politics is at least as much the whispered gossip of what "the interests" want and will pay for as what the people want and will vote for.

I hesitate to enter the field of religion, but I think it would be agreed that the tendency today is toward the strengthening of Church bodies, and toward united action by large numbers of religious persons in social, political and economic matters, in the spirit of religious teaching.

The explanation of all this is obscure, and little discussed. Modern communication has much to do with it. The rise of large populations freed from direst poverty has played a part; hungry, frightened, pleading men are poor material for stable organizations. Simple literacy has been important in making it possible for men to build organizations. My own guess would give the greatest weight to the factor of capital investment. When goods are made by hand processes, with little or no costly equipment, men can afford competition and its changes; when goods are made by dint of the commitment of millions and millions of dollars into plant and machinery adapted for particular purposes, our whole standard of living is involved in using the commitment. If another process threatens the investment, the owners of the old process organize, often with success, to protect their investment. And remember that in the large their investment is society's investment. Under our laws and traditions, the old investment should be scrapped; under our practices, we let them down easily, protecting what we acquiesce in considering their right to income from their commitment. The same principle of committed wealth goes for markets. Investors organize to secure steady consumption of what they make.

It holds, too, against the international doctrine of the day; in protection of investments and markets we pay lip-service to the independence and sovreignty of other nations, but we organize and impenetrate and, if need be, use war to answer the needs of our own commitments of wealth to the modern industrial process.

If men organize in protection of committed wealth, they will be answered by organization of those affected. That is where unions come in. Organization breeds counter-organization. Each new commitment to the complicated "round-about" production of modern society lays the track for new groups of men, to stabilize the use of the commitment, and to protect those whom the change injures or threatens to injure. That looks like a dark picture; a world of warring groups, fighting one another as organizations, and competing for legislative favors which will enhance the position of this or that group or group of groups.

But the cloud has a silver lining; though it is again one seldom seen. Observe that each group has many of the attributes of a government. Be it trade association or trade union, it has conventions and elections, it has boards of directors, it has paid executives, it has organs to push among its members and among the public the educational processes it desires. In short, organizations (ideally, at any rate) are

democracies within themselves. And they are democracies in which citizenship is cherished, and used. Manufacturers, I take it, think hard and discuss a lot before they select a 50,000 dollar executive of their trade association. Unions teach men inexperienced in these things how to ballot, how in picking officials to choose between the flashy mountebank who will employ the office to their injury and the stable, loyal fellow who will do the job he is chosen for. Men learn to serve on committees, to fulfill their responsibilities to their fellows, to pay dues to get results, to do things in the responsible, orderly way demanded by a decent respect for the opinions and needs of other groups. And I submit that a population taught by experience these qualities of loyalty, tolerance, duty, and responsibility is a democracy, and that a population notable for short-temperedness, for rashness, for intolerance, for readiness to be ruled by demagogues, is no democracy whatever may be the ringing phrases of its constitutions.

On this reasoning, it becomes a part of prescription for modern times to preach not the doing-in of our elaborate organizational structure, but its strengthening, and its extension to interest-groups hitherto unreached. Among these it is easy to point to consumers; to white-collar groups, to our many unorganized industrial groups, and to the three million or so of small farmers whose voice is hardly heard through the loudspeakers of what are called "the major farm organizations."

Organization by and large is a health-giving process; we shall all be the healthier when our littlest citizens are able to put their needs before the public with the expertise that is lent by organized and democratically controlled organization staffs.

In all this nothing has been said about race. Where does it enter in?

Certainly race has its own interest-groups. You are familiar with them and could probably name half a dozen at least which have attained national leadership in this country. Nationality groups often have a similar pattern of organizations. The Greeks, the Chinese, the German-Americans, and a long list of others assert through organization their effort to gain in status and security. For our public political health, I urge that we try to make universal two rules about these matters of race and national origin.

First, that no man be required to adhere to a racial or national group of which he does not, on his own, feel himself a part. If certain Greek-Americans, to choose an instance at random, care to organize as a society for the promotion of their status in American life, well and good. All who feel themselves closely linked to Greek culture, or injured by any discrimination against Greeks, should be welcomed as members of such a society. But, emphatically, no one who does not identify himself with the cause of Greek-Americans should be forced into an organization of Americans of Greek descent. To do that is to adopt Hitler's method of the yellow star. Our concept of freedom requires this

individual liberty to join or not to join, certainly where race or nationality is involved.

Second, and conversely, organizations economic and political in nature should be wide open to anyone, regardless of race or descent. That is becoming an established principle of trade-unionism. It should be made true, and kept true, of business organizations, farm organizations, consumer organizations, and political organizations. Anything else denies opportunity to participate, denies it on arbitrary grounds, and in so doing, destroys the democratic principle within organizations which is indispensable to the healthy conduct of modern society.

This matter of keeping organizations open has qualities of the moral, and I think could well be one of the great ways for the church to put to use its reservoir of moral vigor.

I can see in this pullulation of organizations the basis of democratic control of the industrial process. A completely organized economy would have the statistics, the staff, the experts, the organs of education, and the habits of voluntary discipline by means of which the giant could be made always responsive to the people's will. Surely that is the supreme problem of this day.

Let us touch for a moment, at the last, on the inter-national aspects of democratic control of this kind. Mass production industry reaches out for an organized, controllable market larger than that afforded within the boundaries of the nation-state. I believe it could be established, in reasoning and in history, that large-scale industrial production can only yield stable prosperity if it is subjected to democratic management. The problem then becomes one of finding groups of

(continued on next page)

nations, larger than any single nation, within which the possibility of democratic control of the super-national economy exists. It is my own view that the only groupings which will enable this latter would follow lines of cultural similarity. Organizations of plain men can reach across national lines, provided they reach within lines of cultural likeness, and make binding commitments on the basis of which democratic management could live. I see little reason to suppose that at the present stage of education, democratic commitment of this kind could be made as between peoples of widely varying cultural traditions. It is too long a matter to argue out, but my own groupings would be six or seven. They include the Anglo-teutono-American group, the Latin group, the Slavic group, the arabic and mohammedan group, and perhaps two Far Eastern groupings. Somewhere looms perhaps a pan-African grouping. I see a good many signs that this is the pattern into which the kaleidescope pieces are falling today. If that comes about, I believe it furthers our chances of organizing securely six or seven stable societies. Whether they can tread down their differences without war history will tell; at any rate, we shall all of us be putting our best shoulder to the wheel of progress when we push for understanding of peoples close to us and peoples remote from us; only in such inter-cultural education lies, to my mind, the chance for a world society.

APPRAISAL

The Southern Regional Council is a little more than six years old. It was founded, as we all know, on the work of the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation, whose experience in the South reached back twenty-five years before the Council began. Thus we have thirty years of knowledge of interracial work in the South to draw upon.

The Council itself has never filled out more than a part of the area of activity its organizers set out for it. I had no share in the beginning of the Council, and know the discussions and hopes only from hearsay. I take it that the Council was intended to provide in the South a voice which could speak with authority in a number of fields, and an association of friends, drawn from both races, who could act together in implementing the recommendations of the Council.

The fields in which the Council was expected to provide a scholarly and considered guide were at least the following:

Economic development -- which includes industry, agriculture, and commerce; housing; health education; civil government -- including violence; and relationships between the races.

I believe it was thought that to enable the Council to speak in these fields in an informed and responsible manner, it would be necessary to engage a staff which, in addition to a competent Executive Director and Associate Director, would have specialists trained in three or four of the subject-fields; a man who knew Southern Agriculture; a student of public health; someone who knew the educational problem, and so on. Had the Council had the funds to engage such people, pay for travel and for conferences to further the work, and publish the

the conclusions from time to time, I believe this program of detailed policy guidance could have been carried out, to the very great benefit of all the people of the South. Unfortunately, even the comparatively good budgets of the early years were not sufficient for this plan to be followed more than piecemeal. It would have taken close to a hundred thousand dollars a year, and the Council had fifty or fifty-five. Lacking staff, and building the organization in a time of war, Guy Johnson and Ira Reid nevertheless made a gallant beginning. They got into readable print the main facts about the South's poverty and needs. Rupert Vance's "Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation," Arthur Raper's "Machines in the Cotton Fields," Dorothy Dickins' "Wanted: A Healthy South," and the booklet "Wanted: An Educated South," brought together the main facts about economic development and about the Council's areas of interest. To these have been added Helen Bridgman's "Housing in the South," Luther Jackson's "Race and Suffrage in the South Since 1940," and "Race in the News." Other useful pamphlets have been issued, and the monthly magazine -- at the beginning called "Southern Frontier" and since 1945 "New South" -- has carried up-to-date facts in all these fields, and has been a vehicle for temperate discussion of the issues and events of race relations. "New South" reaches at least 5,000 people directly. This work has been of good quality, and has been very widely used for teaching, and in making public opinion. But it has nearly all been done by hurried people, giving only a few weeks or a few months to the preparation of each item, and the authors would be the first to recognize how far short the pamphlets fall of the goal set by the Council's organizers for its work. And in each field, events have moved rapidly on, and the conclusions of three or four years ago are an impossibly weak substitute for the kind of expert current criticism and advice the Council should make available. So I conclude that in giving an informed voice to Southern leadership we have done much with small means,

but woefully less than what was hoped for.

The Council undertakes to get equal opportunity not only by research, but by action. Toward this end we have built a membership organization. It has grown steadily from some 800 at the beginning to 3,500 today. We suppose it is about 50-50 Negro and white. In eight of the thirteen Southern states the members have State Divisions, which have officers and boards and meetings, and programs of their own. In two more states, independent State Interracial Committees are affiliated with the Council, in another the principal city has a Chapter of the Council, and in still another we work in kindly spirit with a Protestant Church Race Relations group. Thus we reach to organized bodies in our field in all the Southern states except Oklahoma. In theory, our eight State Divisions should be eagerly pressing, in the home towns and throughout their states, for local implementation of the Council's general policies. In sad fact, the State Divisions are in most cases paper organizations. They have able officers, mostly men and women who in one capacity or another give a great part of their lives to our sort of work. They can be counted on to wield a large and often speedy and effective influence on some particular matter. But they have minute treasuries, infrequent meetings which are seldom well attended, no publications of their own, and, with hardly an exception, no paid staff. Indeed, so far as I know, the whole of the South contains only one full-time paid staff person (Virginia) and two half-time persons (Georgia and New Orleans). The State Divisions afford a useful letterhead for reaching public and private officials; they are a network for obtaining and sending on information; they add something to the sum of local interracial friendship. But as fashioners of Southern state advance they are ridiculously weak. Two of the independent State Interracial Committees have, over the years, had an active program which could more justly claim results than

most of the Divisions.

So, in appraisal, I think it fair to conclude that the Council's field organization, on which it relies for most implementing action, has had gratifying growth, much loyalty and sacfifice and effort, but in an area of heavy need has carried a light load.

Central research, publication, and State organization have been our main visible programs. We have others, with a good deal of accomplishment and promise. The method of the home town self-survey, which Mrs. Havens with aid from the Council worked out so effectively in Jacksonville, Florida, has been given special support for 1949 and 1950, and has shown quite useful results. The first big survey has been completed at Greenville, South Carolina, and its findings should be printed in two weeks or so. Greenville is pleased with the improvements already made, traceable to the survey, and looks for much more to follow. We hope that the Greenville and Jacksonville examples, and the steady activity of our staff, will turn up half a dozen more places, at least, where surveys of this kind can be made. We have a manual for use by local communities, and it is being perfected by added experience. If this device will spread, it is probably a good part of the answer to the whole matter of local activity. The survey translates good will into measurable improvements, and builds a body of citizenship, across lines of race, whose individuals are old hands at getting things done together.

Lately we have added the Fellowship of the Concerned. This is an outgrowth of the 1949 Southwide Meeting of Churchwomen. It circulates among women of all religious groups an undertaking to sit in the courts and observe the processes of justice, to familiarize themselves with police methods, to watch for instances of violence and injustice, and to take action individually in some organized way against what is wrong. Though the clerical staff consists almost

entirely of Mrs. M. E. Tilly's midnight hours, it has already enlisted over 6,000 women in this movement, scattered over many states. Given staff, and funds for some travel and postage, it could contribute very importantly to general Southern advance.

I have spoken of the publicly visible part of our work. We have another, less tangible but no less important side of the job. Mainly through the staff here in Atlanta, and in large part through the work of the Director of Information, we help to shape the course of public enlightenment and of organized effort throughout the South on behalf of the Council's interests. We are consulted by a great many people, movements, and journals. We have helped notably to point up and aim accurately new enquiries and old and new movements within the South. We help the Urban League, we help Negro and white colleges and universities, we work with research staffs, we trade tasks with the NAACP, we serve groups of Negro teachers, and trade unions. We have written in the framework, and not seldom the substance, of important magazine and news stories about the South. Endless time, inside and outside the office, goes into this most interesting job of being in on the plans that the South makes for its own advance. Our help in this regard brings little reward in funds, but it is a rich contribution, we are led to believe, to the thinking and action of a great variety of helpful Southern movements.

So much in appraisal of what has been; let us turn for a look at what sort of organization, if any, the South now needs in the Council's general field.

First, we should recognize that the broad lines of economic and material advance have been deeply grooved in the last fifteen years, and are likely to hold for a good while to come. Industrialization continues apace; already in some Southern states more than half of the gainfully employed are in non-agricultural pursuits. Private effort is like to carry this trend much further. In housing, the New Deal, the wartime housing, and now the Truman program have

set a pattern of interrelated public and private effort which in a couple of decades, at most, should clean up urban and rural slums. In hospitals, the Hill-Burton Act foreshadows a network of local and area hospitals which should do much to spread even to presently inaccessible groups and places the benefits of adequate modern medical practice. In education, whatever the outcome of the movement to end segregation, we may reasonably expect substantial Federal aid, either to teaching budgets, to scholarship funds, or to school buildings and equipment. And even in the absence of Federal aid, states and cities are using their own taxing powers to provide for better and far more equal schooling than we have had in the recent past. In civil rights, it is safe to assume that so much educating controversy will produce substantially strengthened laws and enforcement. Of all the fields of the Council's special relations, that of agricultural policy alone remains without a sign-post to the future course. As plantation agriculture comes under mechanization, controversy mounts as to how we shall shape Southern farming. In this one special field there is still much need for a public voice and one that the Southern Regional Council should help to determine. Otherwise, on these matters our energies can go now not into persuasion as to policy, but into detailed comment on program as it is put into effect. That is to say, in most of our areas of work, public decision has been made as to the broad methods; which should shift the Council's work from advocacy to a critical analysis of public and private administration. This, be it said, calls for a more localized kind of program than the Council's has been in the past.

In the area of race relations, public controversy certainly mounts, but decision is as yet by no means clear. Much of the South clings stubbornly to discriminations that are scarcely supportable in an era of universal education, universal suffrage, industrialization, and an interrelated world society.

Certainly the next few years will perforce take the South through many precedent-shattering experiences. The tensions that will arise will call for the highest degree of statesmanship the South can muster, and that statesmanship will need information and advice of a kind that the Council's membership is peculiarly equipped to supply. Here is a function, in itself, that would call into being an organization like the Council. Already the proposal for a formal State Advisory Commission on Race Relations has come near to action in Virginia, North Carolina, and Mississippi. If the movement proceeds, as is likely, I would expect just the people who in each state have been the core of the Council's membership to be chosen for such steady and official advice.

Here I think we might face up to a dichotomy which has troubled the Council from its beginning. In the documents, we have the whole broad field of advance in the South. In theory, it is our business to know in detail about industry and agriculture and education and administration and so on. Yet in practice we remain an organization which does little more than learn (and influence) the interaction of all these public matters with Negro-white relationships. Dig into any institutional development or problem in the South, and the first, and toughest, layer is race. That's usually as far as we get. True, we retain, sincerely, the Council's goal of equal benefit for white people and Negro people, but we do look at our every job from the point of view of its bearing upon matters of race, and the bearing of race on it. It seems to me we should be less sweeping in our pretended area of inquiry and action, and admit that the thing we can do well is to aid in the unravelling of the knots and cords of racial jealousy that hamper the growth in the South of the modern society. We would not cease, ever, to work in this area against the broadest background of knowledge we could get, but we would address ourselves, admittedly, to each phase of Southern life through our knowledge of this divisiveness in the region.

The truth is, I dare suppose, that the lines of advance set out for the South call for all our citizens to come around to the mind of the Southern Regional Council. The South grows in a common citizenship. The intricate administrative effort of the future can never succeed in racial discrimination. We cannot obtain the loyal cooperation of the Negro third of our fellow Alabamians or South Carolinians if each state's government, and its city and county officialdoms, continue to be closed to men and women who can fully represent Negro interests. Negro citizens must be elected and appointed to offices of every character. Nor can the citizen today perform his task of discussion and decision in the rigid segregation which is established in the South. Democracy, next to religion, is the strongest popular force in our Western society. If we are to realize it fully in the South we must achieve an equal and united citizenship, which pays progressively less attention to distinctions of race.

And here we have a new problem to deal with. The white South, for its bitter years of resistance to the demand for equal recognition, begins now to pay a price. To many Negro Southerners, the evidence is convincing that the broader opportunities of today -- in the vote, in civil rights, in economic opportunity, have been achieved by legal battles fought by Negro lawyers and paid for with Negro money, with help, it is true, from white people in the North, but never with help from the white people of the South. The white South, fighting a losing battle, has not shown even the dignity of reason, but has relied upon false argument and filibuster and violence. Quite naturally, many Negroes have concluded that the Southern white man is all that much of modern Negro writing pictures: the enemy, the source of the trouble, and a figure to be ridiculed. On their part, most Southern white people walk about in a crude misconception of the Negro in the South. The stereotypes of long ago were slanderous then -- they in no wise reflect the Negro of today. This double misunderstanding is a wretched base upon which to build our common citizenship. To correct it is a mountainous

task, but it is a task the South has before it. We can learn by dragging our public bodies through every indignity and danger of "learning the hard way" (one would think experience already pretty revealing!), or we can learn by the rapid and organized multiplying of examples of private and public working-together on terms of equality. It is for just this sort of effort that the Council's membership is available. We are a body of Southerners who belie the stereotypes; we are simply people who are friends, and who more than anything else -- if our deepest interest could be found -- desire that these Southern states and towns should live and thrive in mutual human dignity. In just such citizenship will the South find its way to health. We know that Negroes and whites can work together on day to day public problems, in full faith in one another, with results that are helpful to all.

As an organization working in a difficult field, we are perhaps due some recognition, among ourselves, of the cumulative history of success in reresenting, and that publicly, a common mind within the South. All of us who work practically at these matters lead lives in greater or less degree at variance with our ideals. We all know, too, how near at all times to some damaging error is any course of action. It is to the credit of our members, and of this Board, that we have found agreement, and acted upon it, notwithstanding the divisions that surround us. I am constantly encouraged for the South when I reflect upon the quality of reasoning together, and working together, that has from the beginning been the stoutest prop the Council has had.

One great task which presses is that of furnishing, within the South, examples of our kind of cooperation which will give strength to our still feeble sense of common citizenship. That is a cause to which our members are devoted. What organization can we contrive, and what methods can we recommend for doing it?

First of all, it seems to me to need stimulus to local activity. Lately,

when a group of Negro leaders in a South Georgia town needed the cooperation of some white citizens on a matter of pressing public interest, they had to phone to us here in Atlanta to get the names of white people in their own home town who would be willing to go to work at the matter! We should use every good means of building effort on public problems. My recommendation as to a course of action which is within our possible means is partial subsidy of a full-time person for each of our State Divisions. The cost would not be above twelve or fifteen thousand dollars a year. What the Council could offer would be matched or exceeded by what people in the states would put up. If we want action, we will have to pay for it; and a little in money will get more action in this way than in any other I know.

It is to be noted, in this regard, that our reducation in staff last October left us with no one whose time is given regularly to the work of our former Field Secretaries. We are a head and a body, with a most insubstantial neck.

Second, we should push along with the home town survey. The 1950 Census will offer a great opportunity to translate figures into facts, and our people in every town would find it amazingly rewarding to work out the facts together.

Third, we should continue to prepare and print some such journal as New South. It could well be bigger, and it needs many more than its 4,500-odd subscribers. But even in its present form it is invaluable for letting us all know of experiences, good or bad, elsewhere.

Fourth, the general lines of Southern advance are fairly clear to us, but they are far from clear to the South as a whole. If two or three people on the staff had time to read, and fit things together, without further original research, a significant master plan could be turned out. We have had the basis of it knocking about the Council for years, but, without time to pin it down in detail, we can't get it out.

Fifth, we must find the funds to speed improvement in police administration.

Sixth, we ought to put help, and some funds, into the Fellowship of the Concerned. It can add greatly to the pace of our progress.

Seventh, we should take up again, to meet today's new interest, the work with the schools so well begun by the old Conference on Education and Race Relations.

Eighth, we should complete work we have in hand toward a pamphlet called "Work and Color" which would explain to the South the advantages and practicability of a policy of fairness in employment.

Ninth, we should engage again an Associate Executive Director. It is false economy for such an organization as this to do its day to day work without the aid of a principal Negro staff member.

You could have a Council that did nearly all of these things for a cost of about $75,000 a year.

Short of that, you, and we on the staff, are doing a job which in its inadequacy and hit-or-miss manner demeans the seriousness of the cause which is central to the well being of the South.

GSM wrote

Talk- Atlanta
Jan(?) 53

GSM wrote

PROBLEMS OF RURAL PLANNING

My real concern is for Democracy

Dogma

From Charlie Brannan: "The American pattern of family farming has long been accepted as one of the basic strengths of our democracy ... The family farm system leads to agricultural progress and good community life. It builds in the family members attitudes of self-reliance, social responsibility, individual initiative, tolerance, and self-government -- the attitudes that make for a sound democracy and the human qualities that have done so much to make our nation great. ...In a family farm area, most of the people have common interests: their churches, their schools, their roads....They have a common solidarity which makes the needs or the problems of one's neighbors a matter of kindly concern to all". USDA, "Preserving the Family Farm", in Family Farm Policy Review June 11, 1951.

The bearing of this on the South
- Our surviving plantation economy
- The difference from the North and the West
- Basic equality as a prescription for good race-relations
- Especial importance of the land in this field
- Wherefore the need to attain a democratic land pattern in the South

Statistics

In 1946, in the South, 71.5% of our farms brought in less than 2500 gross, equal to 1,250 net cash. US Average was 52.4

Tenancy, 1950

SC	Proportion of tenancy was	45.3,	down from	54.2 in 1945
Ala	" "	41.4		49.1 in 1945

But small farms are decreasing, and large farms are increasing

Definition of a family farm, FHA.."farms large enough and productive enough to furnish sufficient income for adequate living, maintenance of land and buildings, and debt repayment".

Our resources toward planning:
- soil survey
- air maps
- land classification
  - Great Britain
  - TVA
  - SCS, land capability maps Class I, etc , thru VIII (Galloway)
  - Soil conservation districts — Churches and family farms
    - coverage — watershed protection — neighborhood groups
    - half the States give power to issue land use regulations
- Personnel SCS FHA County Agents, etc. , Forest Service, State Foresters
  PMA + contrlarn
- Records of yields and prices
- Records on farm management practices

Rural housing
FHA standards, experience, costs
Possible State minimimum standards, or county regulation?

Rural Zoning
Cut-over area
Uses in South so farm
partial, suburban, highway
Tenn, Fla., Ga. Virginia

Heaven on earth within the fence lines, but how do it for the North end of the County. ~~Our~~ Or for the North Fork of the creek.

Some possible aids
FHA programs, FO, etc.
leasing
a proper system
revised membership on local committees of various agencies
full information from Census
better education, fast
continue industrialization, to drain people out of old-timey farming
Brannan plan.

CCC says two ways to hold up prices
loans, for commodities that can be stored for a long time.
farmer stores his crop, and on warehouse receipts gets loans, at harvest time. Hope he can sell later, at higher prices. Non-recourse loans.

purchase, for perishibles, or semi-perishibles.
eggs, milk, butter-fat, potatoes, turkeys
buy it either from the farmer, or from dealers.

If from dealers, farmers don'T know of it, dealer may not pass on benefit, dealer may make a killing
If from farmers, hard to administer.

Neither system so good. Problem greatest with purchase plam. The stuff perishes, money and food wasted, public hollers. Potatoes
So, they said, why not let the stuff be sold in regular channels, for what it'll bring, and make direct payments to the farmers. Perhaps in terms of a normal price, that wouldn't reflect depressions. But where do you put the maximum payment. Congress said 25,000, then knowcked that out. But this has in it germs of a preference for the family farm.

What to anticipate. And the undemocracy of the new pattern.

On the TVA map, for example, here is an area of 576 acres surrounding the hamlet of Grant, a few miles west of the town of Soddy. The classification reveals the following information:

Generally speaking, it is an area in which agricultural problems are very critical. It is poor land, with small to medium fields, considerable idle land, low-grade, inefficient or destructive agricultural use, under a regime ill-suited to the land, and for the most part, the land is poorly suited to all forms of arable farming, even under proper land management. In many cases, best suited to grazing. It is devoted to subsistence farming in fields of two to six acres, with a great deal of idle land, and the farm buildings and equipment are poor. The land is undulating to moderately hilly, has no drainage problems, is mildly eroded, moderately stony, has little or no exposed rock, is moderately deep, and is low in productivity.

GSM work it

INTRODUCTION FOR LUCY MASON EXCERPTS

Eighteen years ago in Birmingham you could see the beginnings of a new kind of unionism in the South. We had had craft unions in the building trades and in printing and on the railroads, and the textile workers had gone on strike spasmodically. Though you could find an occasional all-Negro local of plasterers or brickmasons or of railway firemen and oilers, unionism had not reached the larger industries where Negroes were employed in good numbers. True, the coal miners were organized, and they had learned from ~~bitter~~ experience that they were only powerful if their unions contained both the white and the Negro workers, ~~who, in any case, did much the same jobs in the pits.~~ + that was established UMW policy.

In 1934 I went out to the home of the secretary-treasurer of a new local of cast-iron pipe workers near Birmingham. It was an A.F. of L. federal labor union. It had a thousand members, 500 white and 500 Negro. My friend lived in a neat, white-painted house on top of a hill near twenty-odd similar white workers' homes. We stood on his front porch and looked down into the bottom at a huddle of tar-paper black shacks.

"Who lives in the bottom?" I asked.

"Colored."

"Do they work at the shop?"

"Yes."

"Do they belong to this union?"

"Yes."

Then he said, "Can you see a little path running back and forth between up here where we live and down there where they live?"

I could.

"Before this union came there wasn't any path there."

That idea has made a secure place for itself in the life of the South. People at first were skittish. This was bound to cause "trouble." But it didn't, except where some foreman stirred it up. And by now industrial unions, habitually organizing workers of both races, are powerful in steel, aluminum, meat packing, tobacco, in rubber, automobiles and aircraft, lumber and woodworking, in the chemical industries, in mining, in communications, and in paper and pulp.

Textiles have not really been cracked. It is doubtful if over twenty per cent of Southern textile workers have been organized at any one time in recent years, and the scattered locals are divided between the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. The textile industry was built on white labor. Few cotton mills use more than ten per cent of Negro employees, and they are jealously kept out of everything except the heavier operations. Some locals have admitted Negroes. Others have ignored them. Some have put them into separate units. On the surface, what a particular textile local does about the Negro workers appears at any one time unimportant. But underneath, the failure of the white people in this predominant Southern industry to accept a forward-looking pattern on matters of race is closely tied to the weakness of the textile unions.

A good measure of the strength of some of the unions is their ability to hold outlying plants. Steel is strong, not only in the main centers, but also at plants three or five hundred miles away. Packinghouses in little towns are often as well organized as those in the great cities. Paper mills and lumber plants in the Piney Woods have good unions.

Many of the biggest employers bargain honestly. Furniture still fights the unions, and textiles and isolated garment factories. But for half a dozen of the largest of Southern industries, collective bargaining has won its battle.

How far along is the Southern labor movement, just in organizing? The figures are hard to come by. Both the A. F. of L. and the C. I.O. have put on major Southern organizing drives in the last few years. Both have probably doubled their Southern membership since 1946. I would give the C. I. O. close to 500,000 dues-paying members in the South as of now, and the A. F. of L. around two million. The United Mine Workers, including District 50, probably have at least ~~50,000~~. 125,000 Add the independents, and you get a total of perhaps 2,750,000. The gainfully employed persons in non-agricultural industry in the South number somewhere around 9,300,000, by no means all of whom would ordinarily be accounted organizable. That percentage of union members is a good long start. And the unions have strong home bases in many operations, from which they have every chance to grow.

On Negro membership in Southern unions, things are even more shadowy. A guess would be a little under 700,000, out of the total of 2,750,000.

The thing that determines whether a union is fair with Negro workers is not whether it is A. F. of L. or C. I. O. or U. M. W., though to the great credit of the C. I. O., it has insisted from the beginning on integrated arrangements. Fundamentally, it is the proportion of Negro workers in the industry. When either body organized in an industry like paper and pulp, where perhaps forty per cent of the workers are Negro,

they hold pretty well to non-discrimination. In anybody's local where only a handful of workers are Negroes, they are apt to get "second table."

The mixed unions have not undertaken to slay the dragon of Southern segregation. They take workers as they find them, and for bargaining purposes get them together. At most local union meetings the Negro members bunch on one side of the aisle and the white members on the other. But only bunch--some in each group sit where they will, and that's all right with everybody else. The Negro plays a man's part in the unions. Everyone observes, in a token way, some of the formalities long-established in this bi-racial society. But, these out of the way, there is democracy and equality. That is so powerful an example that the South's leading race relations experts have said that the new mixed unions have done more to leaven the Southern situation than any other single force.

# # #

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Have a look at the map and see how many State boundaries the Southern Appalachians overlap. Eight, or even nine, if you include Maryland. Here is a region with a unity of its own in people and in problems, and with a multiplicity of political divisions.

One way to say it is that the mountains are the backyards of eight States. (In West Virginia, the frontyard.) Another way is to compare us to a pie sliced the usual way. A small circle at the middle of the pie cuts off the tips only of all the slices.

About the unity of the people of the mountains, not a lot needs to be said. Anglo-Saxon is the stock term. Perhaps a better would be Teutono-Celtic. Religion is diverse but essentially similar. The tradition of self-government is strong throughout the whole area.

The basic problems are the same for the length of the region. In agriculture, the characteristic situation is small valleys with more people than the land will support, even if well farmed. Yet most families are land owners and hate to leave what they own. Ill-adopted farming practices have eroded mountain sides and flooded the bottoms so that valley after valley needs all-in reorganization of land use. Since we have

extra people, we need to have industry climb the mountains. Chemical industries based on the mineral wealth of the mountains could be brought in. We could do much more processing of our lumber than we do. Dimension plants, plywood factories, and furniture factories would fit. Textiles have been the biggest industry and could expand much more. Still better transportation and still more development of power would make it easier to get industrial growth. In forestry we ought to have a great expansion not only of forest reserves but of private forest-land care. And finally, there is the recreation industry, which has been well developed in spots, but which has hardly appeared at all in vast areas. More roads and more public attention to standards in caring for visitors would add income to parts of the mountains which need it desperately.

All of these lines of development would benefit if the mountains as an area had a unified program and a permanent organization to push for the things the mountain people need. At present each pie bite must compete at its own State capital for the attention of a legislature in which it is a minority, often an impoverished minority, and often a politically estranged estranged minority too. Without some central representative organization pushing uniformly for concerted policy, it is unlikely that Charleston and Annapolis and Richmond and Raleigh and Columbia and Atlanta and Montgomery and Nashville and Frankfort will legislate advisedly. On the other hand, if the mountains had some sort of annual representative meeting and a permanent staff to formulate mountain needs, it would be probable that the distant circle of legislatures could be induced to provide tolerably uniform laws to assist mountain development.

There have been various suggestions as to what such a representative body ought to be. An interesting one would be an annual assembly of all of the mountain members of State legislatures. Possibly the Members of Congress from the mountains would make a sort of upper House. Another plan would be less formal: An annual assembly of officials of a great variety of organizations. These would include the farm organizations, labor unions, mining and manufacturing interests, forestry and recreation groups, power people, banks, etc. This would be a mountainy Chamber of Commerce. Whatever organization were formed ought to find the money to support a small staff engaged in research and planning for the benefit of all the people of the area. In the interplay of a secretariat and public representatives, a long-range plan would emerge. If the mountains showed that they were united behind a particular set of proposals, the whole region ought to find it a good deal easier to get what it needs.

#1 - announce
I have

Your author speaks from the yon side of the corn pone curtain, and disclaims knowledge of how the job of getting two sets of schools together is to be done where segregation has not been a cherished institution. He specializes in his side of the curtain. And on his side not a lot of desegregating of schools has been done. But for what his observation and speculation is worth, here beginneth.

The first rule is the anti-wobble. That's a rule which Robert Weaver distilled out of the experiences during World War II with strikes involving matters of race. Weaver said that at one time or another, in each such dispute, the bee of final authority lit on either the union, or the boss, or the government. If when the bee lit the man it lit on wobbled, the devil broke loose, and stayed loose. Later by weary weeks things could be patched up, but the weeks would be pretty bad, and to patch things up you had to save the face of the guy who had gone wrong. This anti-wobble is a rule which the social science people now have hold of, and (truth to tell) is the main pill in their little medecine bag. And it is important. It involves more than just a conviction in the minds of the schools board that they ought to comply with what the Supreme Court says; it involves a sound knowledge of the varying legal intepretations of the 14th Amendment; a clear undertsnanding that the Court ruling overtops local regulations to the contrary; and a good amount of study as to actual ways of doing the job, and a conviction that the community will be better off educationally, morally, and economically for playing fair and square. Given this much study and understanding, and a firm pronouncement that the Board or the Superintendent will obey the law, there remains the matter of sticking to the intention when opposition shows. There are good precedents in Baltimore, in St. Louis, and at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, and doubtless elsewhere. And there are sad precedents to the contrary. ~~Nonie, Arkansas is one such.~~ Study the law, announce what the Board intends responsibly to do, begin when you say, carry through, and use power against those who try to interfere with the lawful process. Ninety-nine times out of a hundred you get through with little or no "trouble".

Next rule relates to public opinion. Your author happened to be present for a revealing interchange in the final 1955 hearings before the Supreme Court on the school segregation cases. One of the Justices had asked Mr. Sobeloff, who appeared for the Department of Justice, if what the Government proposed did not neglect the matter of local opinion?

Said Mr. Sobeloff, "Your Honor, I had not supposed that the enforcement ofone's civil right depended upon a public opinion poll". That's right, of course. And most of those who say "Let's find out what people think, and do that" intend to interfere with somebody else's civil right. It isn't up to the School Board to go around and hold a meeting in every corner of the school district, and try to persuade absolutely every popper and mommer. If the Board knowsthe law, and intends to fulfill it, and if some people here and there similarly understand and agree, that's enough. Well to have as many people as can be got who understand and agree, but it isn't necessary to have fifty-one per cent. The United States through its due constitutional procedures decided this question, and it is now up to public authority to bring our public school systems into conformity with the law.

Here is rule Number Two. There isn't but one goo in the world that dissolves race prejudice. They keep it in a very small blue bottle. And the label on the bottle says, "Get people of similar background, of different groups, to work together on a matter of common interest." Two drops of that and any amount of race prejudice disappears. But, mind you, you have to take it like the label says. Similar backgrounds; not necessarily highly cultivated backgrounds; just similar. They can all be bootblacks, or all physicists; just so they can be together pleasantly. Then, work together; not talk together. And on a matter of common interest.

How to use this medecine on the schools situation? Experience has shown the way. The School Board by an official resolution impanels a Citizens' Committee, white and Negro, to find the facts, and advise it what to do. No go if the school board is setting up a cooked committee to advise it to resist the law. And no go if the committee is not to have courageous, representative citizens, from both groups. But if the Board is at least open-minded, and if the Committee is made up of strong people, things will happen. The meetings of the Committee occur in the presence of the little blue bottle, with the stopper out. And race prejudice is soon forgotten, as the members get down to facts about the kind of schooling their children are to have. The committee digs for the actual situation. How many children, in how many schools, which cost how much, and are worth how much? How many teachers, with what skill and training,and enjoying what tenure and salaries? How many children walk how far

to what schools, and how many get carried, and at what cost? Which grades in which schools are the most overcrowded? If and when you obeyed the law, what would the situation be? In most cities and towns (though often not in the open country) the end result would be a surprisingly manageable situation. And both the white and Negro members of the committee will discover that little givings-up here and there for the sake of a larger goal are quite worth the making. And people will become trusting friends. Best of all, the understanding and confidence found in the committee meetings soon gets about in the twon. What was a bogaboo, a nameless unknown, becomes clear, numbered, defined, and local. And the town makes up its mind to swing around to doing what the law says.

This sort of citizens' committee has become a habit in a good stretch of North Carolina (so much so that State officials recently asked local school Boards to quit arranging such study committees, as they seemed to be bringing desegregation of schools nearer!) widely in Kentucky, and here and there in Florida, Arkansas, Tennessee, Virginia, and Kentucky. A good many big Southern cities have committeess of this kind, and most of them are helping visibly. Some aren't. Some were set up to be crooked, and they are. Your official committee is not just for the naming of one a sure remedy, but if it is honestly entered upon, it ~~is sure to~~ will help a lot.

On the matter of teachers and integregation, it is clearly right to set up what personnel people call a "separation register," and in case of a redundancy (which will be rare) drop those names, regardless of race, where experience and skill are smallest. It takes a bit of managing to save employment for nearly everybody that wants it, but there are good instances, in New Jersey and in Baltimore and Washington and St. Louis, where it was done, and without much complaint. The main things isto have it clear that the Board intends to be fair; from then on, people work with good will to make it go.

Which brings up the last principle. A principle hard to state. Because it has been too little thought about. IT is bound up with the observation that within a system of scorn most of the scorned are mighty apt not to develope all that is in them. And the scorners will be injured for life, too. Segregated towns are dragging around with trailers or people taught segregation in segregated schools. The Negro people will have been, in too many instances, protected in half-efficiency by the wall of separation; and the white people will have learned too easy a

xxxxxxy preferment. It is inefficient, just from a business point of view. The Supreme Court opened a sort of horse race. Those twons which are earliest down the runway, finding the facts and figuring out how to xxx make the change, will earliest experience the spurt in pride and performance that leads xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx ~~the~~ to community success; towns that buck and kink, gib at the starting post, will get left behind. And they'll be left in the rear educationally and xxxxxxxxxxx in the growing of decent people, as well as in what the Chamber of Commerce calls success.

Thxxxxxxxxxxxx

THE SPIRIT OF THE NEW SOUTH

FILE COPY

by

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Many sociological studies have pointed to the intimate connection between stability in land tenure and stability in the cultural and religious development of local communities. Typically, the rural church in an area of heavy farm tenancy has a shifting population only a comparatively few of whom are closely associated with the church. Such areas are also generally characterized by considerable rural poverty, run-down land, and little community purpose. On the other hand, the rural churches have endured and have grown for the most part in areas in which land tenure is stable.

Unfortunately for the rural church and most of the South, our patterns of land tenure have been unstable. In the breakup of slavery the South developed a system of annual oral leases which has endured pervasively into the present. All praise to those who, in the first days of Southern defeat, by the device of the sharecrop and oral tenancy contract, put man and land together. Written leases would have been foolish at the time. Not too many of the landlords commanded the needed literacy and hardly any of the people who went to work on the land as croppers or tenants could have made heads or tails of a written lease.

It is to be remembered, also, that the basic crop of the South was cotton, which was an annual operation: plow, plant, chop, lay-by, pick, settle, rest; plow, plant, chop, etc., and the one-year lease fitted that arrangement.

But such a leasing system put an automatic damper on ambition and enterprise among the tenants. It could happen, and not infrequently it did happen, that a tenant who was industrious and who applied the best going methods he knew on the land he was tending, and who limed it and terraced it and set out trees and cared diligently for the soil had some irrelevant dispute with the landlord and was told that he had one month or two months to move. If he asked what about the value of the trees and the care and the lime on the land and could he have a settlement with his landlord on that, he was a lucky tenant if his landlord said "yes, I will be glad to pay the full and fair amount of those improvements you made." More usually, he left and he left the fruits of his work behind. Every tenant knows the danger of that system, and knowing it is the more careless of the land.

Nearly every other civilized western country has, many decades ago, departed from a leasing system of this kind, and has required by law the use of a long-term agricultural lease with strict clauses for compensation for unexhausted improvements and provision for arbitration in dispute between landlord and tenant as to the values of improvements involved.

It would be well for the land and the people of the South if some such leasing system became customary throughout the region. It is the more needed because the South in the last few years moves rapidly from cotton to cows, and nobody can wisely go into the cattle business on an annual unwritten lease. Such a short-term tenant is not going to lay down a pasture that will take five years to come to perfection and is not going to put up the fences and the barns and spread the lime and build the milk house that will be needed, if the land is not his securely. In this or that spot, it will occasionally be found that landlord "X" has worked out a queer lease with tenant "K" under which the land is pretty securely in "K's" possession for five years or fifteen years and the landlord provides a certain stated pro-

portion of the needed capital and equipment, and receives in return one-half the bull calves, or every third heifer, or half the milk check. But such leases are a rarity. And the upshot of it has been that if a man wants to get from cotton over into cattle, he needs enough capital not only to lease the land and build the barns, but to buy the land too. And the consequence of that is that getting into cattle is too hard a business for the poor fellow. So he sticks by his cotton and gradually gets crowded out.

Of course, it would be possible to move over to long-term written leases by legislative processes. The states indubitably have the power to require such leases. They could even resort to statutory leases with a stipulation that all land not rented on written leases should be deemed to be leased upon the terms of the statutory lease. But this is not politically feasible in any Southern state today and the lawyers say that it would not get very far in any case as courthouse lawyers would prepare exempting leases that would circumvent the purpose of the law.

So it comes back to an educational job of getting farm communities to adopt a stable system of land tenure. Doubtless in the end much will be done. But if we wait for the change to occur without special effort, the probability is that the land will have been injured further, and rural community life in many places will have declined beyond repair.

So, it is urged that the rural church concern itself with matters of land tenure. Suppose that a given church in cooperation with its Board of Stewards prepared a map of farm lands within its area and distinguished on the map between properties held by owners and by tenants with written leases and by tenants with oral leases and by croppers. It should also distinguish whether worked on exclusively or partly by hired labor. Then it could be the task of the local church, reaching through a number of years, gradually to get erased from the map those blocks of land insecurely held and build around it a community of stable farm families working land to which they feel a real attachment and making a thriving and healthy rural community.

Why should not there be established as a criteria of the success of the rural church its achievement in improving the tenure of the community around it? In the contests, now becoming frequent in the South, for the Rural Church of the Year, we award marks for the church house, and for neat pews, and good singing, and Bible study, and professions, but never is there a space for marks -- good or bad -- for reduction of farm tenancy or improvement of rural security.

Everyone is familiar with the story of the church on a hill which failed to repair its rain gutters. And the drip made a rill and the rill became a gulley and one day the church-house fell in the gulley. Insecurity of land tenure is a slow process, but just as surely it will take out the props in homes and well being from under the rural church.

Next it is suggested that the first major denomination in the South seriously, though circumspectly and carefully, take up the matter of land tenure. It would be known abroad after the passage of a few years that Methodist farmers, or Baptist farmers were on their own places or worked them mostly on long-term written leases, and have some security about moving away. A reputation of this kind will do more than a little to hold present membership in the church, to strengthen allegiance to the life which the church ministers to, and to increase the membership rolls.

Mitchell, with a blackboard and colored chalks, drew off the main sub-areas of the Southern states, dividing them into the Mountains, the Piedmont, the Plantation Belt, and the Piney Woods. He spoke of the historical and geographical influences which had shaped the habits of prople in each area, and then switched to the problem of producing, area by area, an equal and a democratic South.

For the mountains he urged land-use reorganization, better forest care, more recreational industry, more manufacturing industry, and rapid spread of vocational education to impart skill to the steady surplus of young people coming off of family-owned farms too small in size to keep the population employed.

The Piedmont area he praised as having a democratic pattern of individual farm ownership, interspersed with a prosperous manufacturing economy. That gave a balance between agriculture and industry. Also, he said, the people in this area have a firm grasp of political democracy and a beginning grasp of economic democracy, through trade unions; and in both these fields the people are learning to overleap the barriers of race.

The problems of the thinly-populated Piney Woods area were conservation of the trees which are the great natural resource, and spread of the income from the tree-related industries to the people of the area. For this he relied largely on trade unionism, and praised the success of the paper-workers, the wood-workers, and the chemical workers in getting a higher standard of wages.

In the plantation belt he described the typical arrangements of a few years ago in sharecropping and tenant farming, and contrasted the privileges and power of landowners with the dependence of the greater part of those who worked the soil. He gave an imaginary speech advocating Civil Rights to a landlord group in the plantation area, and suggested what the replies of the members of the more privileged group would be. By way of reorganization he proposed a consistent public

policy stretching over decades to come of encouraging independent family farming, the bringing in of industry to the plantation area, and the teaching of industrial arts in the schools of this belt particularly.

Turning at last to the States, he showed how within each of the States of the lower South the plantation belt predominates in sheer size, and then touched on the artificially increased authority of the small voting population of this area in the various State legislatures, because of the devices used to prevent legislative apportionment to accord with the population changes of recent years.

Toward achieving the civil rights of all the people of the South he advocated a program of fundamental change in health, housing, farm ownership, schooling, and industrial opportunity, coupled with legislative enactments to protect the rights of all, underpinned in this way with reorganization of the basic institutions of the whole region.

George S Mitchell is Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council. This is a body formed in 1944, on the basis of the work of the former Commission on Interracial Cooperation, to obtain, by research and action programs, equality of opportunity for all the people of the South. Dr Mitchell has often spoken to various Labor groups, including the CIO schools at Talladega and the AFL Southern Labor Schools at Lakeland, Florida, and Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. In 1944-5 he was Southeastern Regional Director for the CIO-PAC.

The Southern Regional Council is supported by contributions from Churches, Foundations, Labor Organizations, and private individuals. Its offices are at 63 Auburn Avenue, N E, Atlanta 3, Georgia.

By: George S. Mitchell

PROPOSED ARTICLE FOR WORLD OUTLOOK

Recently at the Herald-Tribune Forum Harry Ashmore, Editor of the Arkansas Gazette at Little Rock, made a most interesting observation. Every major denominational group in the South in which a split had occured on the issue of slavery had, he said, within recent months resolved officially that the decision of the Supreme Court in the public school segregation cases was morally right and deserved acceptance.

Some of these statements are as follows: From the Southern Baptist Convention in June, 1954 "That we recognize the fact that this Supreme Court decision is in harmony with the constitutional guarantee of equal freedom to all citizens, and with the Christian principles of equal justice and love for all men. . . . That we urge Christian statesmen and leaders in our churches to use their leadership in positive thought and planning to the end that this crisis in our national history shall not be made the occasion for new and bitter prejudices, but a movement toward a united nation embodying and proclaiming a democracy that will commend freedom to all peoples." From the Florida Conference of the Methodist Church: "We commend the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court guaranteeing to all American citizens equal educational opportunities, making the law of the land more consistent with the Scriptures and with the declared principles of the Churches, including our own. . . ." From the North Georgia Conference of the Methodist Church: "We believe our people should face the practical phases of this decision with the courage, poise and maturity of law-abiding citizens." From the Louisiana Conference of the Methodist Church: "We hold that Christian citizenship involves adherence to the Constitution even when the Supreme Court renders a decision contrary to our individual sentiment. We feel that this decision is consistent with and supports the view of the General Conference. . . . We call upon the governor, the members

of the state legislature, the public school authorities, and our people to explore ways and means of implementing the historic and unanimous decision." From the June, 1954, General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U. S.: "That the General Assembly affirm that enforced segregation of the races is discrimination which is out of harmony with Christian theology and ethics, and that the Church, in its relationship to cultural patterns, should lead rather than follow."

Quite similar statements could be adduced from the Catholic Church, from the Lutherans, from the Disciples of Christ, and from many others. This is a heartening development. The more so because the active work of religious people all over the United States, and particularly in the South, is going to be sorely needed in getting local community acceptance of the Supreme Court's decision.

I run a race relations agency extending into the thirteen Southern states. Our Southern Regional Council is in daily contact with the raw edge of this problem. And we are convinced that the greatest hope for peaceful progress in the whole matter is bound up with what church people will do.

The South is of many parts and of many minds. In some parts, more particularly the Appalachian areas and in the Ozarks and the far Southwest, there is every reason to expect compliance without a great deal of to-do. In another whole tier of counties industry has made such progress that both the white and Negro populations have achieved a basically similar economic and cultural status. The population is heavily urban and cities will generally find integration easier to work out than open country areas. In the old plantation counties, stretching around the coastal plain and extending around over the lower Mississippi valley, such a basic human equality is far from having been attained. In those counties, many of which have smaller white populations than Negro, public school integration is likely to get its

strongest opposition. In the coastal country and in much of Florida industrial opportunity is now available to both the white and Negro population, and while integration will be resisted, it is likely to be achieved spottily at a fairly early date.

The problem in some areas of the South is beyond what local civil institutions can cope with. The South in general has the tradition of political and civic democracy in a foreshortened form. Bias in those areas, therefore, puts civil democracy to its utmost strain.

Civil democracy in any case rests fundamentally upon religious concepts. And where civil democracy is under strain, it would seem to be the duty of the church to reknit with its gospel of brotherhood the fraying rope of community cohesion.

All well and good. And Christian people as a matter of theory will doubtless agree. The pronouncements of the major church bodies show that purpose. But how is religious purpose to be translated into local action?

The root of the problem is local understanding and agreement. Unfortunately, most Southern communities have few lay institutions through which agreement on such an important matter can be reached as between white and Negro citizens. One might think that that is to be done by local school boards. But with nine or ten carefully known exceptions, local school boards are Caucasian. And the Negro members of Southern state legislatures can be counted by a man who knows 1, 2, and 3. And the same is the case for Negro members of state school boards.

This is where the churches can exemplify Christian doctrine. They can arrange small neighborhood discussion meetings of white and Negro people. Such meetings in quite a number of places in the South have already reached agreement as to the issue, and have gon on to explore the local facts about the schools. How many children in School A? How many children in school B?

How many school buildings? Condition of the buildings? Cost of the buildings? How far do what children travel or walk to reach their school? How far do certain other children? What regulations govern teacher tenure? If the schools were put together, how many children from what grades would switch from A to B and from B to A? What would be the savings, or what would be the added cost in new school structures? In many communities, such an array of facts casts up as an end result that nine or eighteen or thirty-one children would, as a matter of fact, enter a different school from the one they have been going to, and those who take part in the discussions are apt to form the opinion that such degree of integration as the local facts call for is managable and managable at an early date. Thus a plan has been born. And the likelihood is great that in the coming years, local school officials will be under stern legal pressure to comply with the Court's decision, and will be seeking eagerly for some segment of supporting community opinion. This is a workable course of action, and one in which the churches can clearly most easily take the lead.

Often the communities do not begin something the church women can begin. They are parents and they are the ones who go to most of the PTA meetings, and through the various church organizations they feel keenly the impulse of Christian conscience.

A practicable, but often unexpected result comes out of such meetings. Negro citizens, approached in this way, show a degree of responsibility for which they had not formerly been given credit. They don't want strife and turmoil; they want schools that comply with the law and that comply peacefully and in an atmosphere of consent conducive to good education. Asked to play their fair responsible part toward achieving integration by combined community effort, there is every reason to believe that they will respond honorably and well.

A word of caution should be said about such meetings. If the two groups come together under circumstances reminiscent of the South's burden

of patronage and disdain -- no good. Each group must come with the clear purpose of solving in mutual dignity common problems. And that method gets close to the heart of the whole matter that public school integration is about. The central core of the demand of deprived peoples the world over is respect for equal human dignity. It is by an accident of American constitutional law that that same demand comes through our courts as a finding that segregated public schools are unconstitutional. Unsegregated public schools are seen as a step -- albeit an important one -- along the journey to equal human dignity. And those neighborhoods and towns which contrive successful local recognition of equal human dignity will be much nearer to peaceful agreement on what to do about the schools. Only religion is strong enough to bring alive in many a neighborhood equal human dignity.

Another task the churches could take up locally. In every Southern home there will come some day a morning when the mother is dressing the children to get them off to school, knowing in her heart that on that day there will be a new situation in the school. By a shrug or a word, she can communicate her burden of prejudice to the next generation. Or she can say "John," or "Jane, there will be some little new children in school this morning, and mama wants you to be nice to them." That is a Christian duty; and I should think ministers and lay people would wish to take it up.

The Western world is under challenge today. And the Western tradition is a Christian tradition. The whole world watches to see whether democracy and Christianity in America are strong enough to comply with that lawful conscience of America which lives in the Supreme Court. Unless church people, white and Negro, are persuaded that integration will work, it won't. Here is a great opportunity for America to live up to its finest motives. If local churches will remember and act upon their central teachings, none of us need have fear as to community responses.

CIVIL RIGHTS TO-DAY

Dr. Charles Johnson was right when he said a few weeks before his death that "basically this is a struggle today not between North and South, or whites and Negroes, or between national and international ~~is a struggle between those who believe in democracy and those who points of view. It is a struggle between those who believe in democracy and those who do not.~~"

~~I more and more impressed by the contrast between the way in which in fortunate country the effort of disadvantages peoples in the rest of the world~~

All around the warmer middle belt of the globe for the last couple of decades there has been what is called "trouble", as one disadvantaged people after another has made its way upward to equal opportunity and equal dignity. In most of the countries that come to mind the struggle has been fought with weapons that are sharp and ugly; with sabotage, assassination, rebellion, communism, and revolution. How extremely fortunate we are in the United States that this same struggle - for it is the same struggle- has followed the rules for civilized change. American Negroes organized in the NAACP have put together their two-dollarses and engaged brilliant Negro lawyers to stand before the robed justices of the Supreme Court of the United States and ask for the full enforcement of the constitution of our country! That's loyal and American and orderly and dutiful; and it's true and no-one can get around it!

I myself think that in its innermost aspect the toil of the Negro prople is for recognition of equal human dignity. Opening the public schools is a symbol of a community's decision to grant that respect. But it remains the case that respect is the main goal; is what I call the front door to the mansion, and the schools are a side door.

It so happens that there is no clause in the Constitution of the United States which says "Every American shall respect the equal human dignity of every other American". But there is a clause which says "nor shall any State deny to any person the equal protection of the laws". And on that clause the schools have been ordered to be opened. But it is still true that dignity is the goal. And I commend to any community that is puzzled about how to get the schools open the simple expedient of significant public and private recognition of equal human dignity. I think that is the way for communities to gain the patches of time they may need for bringing around some of the more vocal objectors to change.

I am conscious that I am prescribing a thing rarely mustered in public life; generosity of spirit. But these are some oddities about the South, and I am romantic enough to believe that in most Southern communities sufficient wisdom and morality can be found for the generous and not the mean-spirited solution to be offered. Certainly in my experence Negro persons are few who do not recognize warmth of purpose when they see it, and who will not prefer the agreed ~~and the locally pleasant~~ to the angry and the ordered solution. That good man Carmichael who put through the desgregetation of the schools in Louisville, Kentucky gave a good part of the answer a few weeks ago on a National television hook-up. One of the reporters baiting him said, "Mr. Carmichael, in a partly Western city such as Louisville doubtless what was done could be done; but for instance, in such a city as Richmond, Virginia, you wouldn't suppose that it would be possible?" And Carmichae gave the classic reply, "The trouble with Richmond was, leadership failed the city".

As to the matter of equal human dignity: be it said that what is called Southern tradition is wrong on this point, and we must be about learning a tenable point of view. There is no scientifically acceptable evidence that any race of people is ~~genetically~~ inferior to any other. And all our American tradition in law and morality and religion is on the side of our learning to deal with every man on his~~xxx~~ own merits alone.

On the matter of the schools, a simple and proven device is available. You cause ten or fifteen persons, similarly situated, ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ some of them white and some of the Negro, to undertake during a string of afternoons a careful study of the local school system. Exactly where are the schools, what shape are they in, how old, what did they cost, and so on. Where are the school district lines. Where do white people live and where to Negro people live? How many teachers, ~~xxxxx~~ at what salaries, and with what training and experience and tenure? Then after five or six such sessions quite a number of those present will see that compliance with the Supreme Court's ~~in~~ is perfectly workable. And a plan will have been born. Perhaps even more important, those who worked together on this common problem will have found the basis of mutual trust which must underlie any ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ public plan. And they will have sorted themselves out by their specialty interests. Thereafter, in any question about desks or about class-room lighting, the two people who found they were both interested in that matter will confer, perhaps by 'phone, and corrective and agreed action will be taken. ~~xxxxx~~

Now this is not beyond the capacities of Southern communities. Our society could not have stood all these years unless there were channels of communication in frankness and integrity. ~~xxxxxxxxx

to bring to bear this saving principle of health. ~~I think we can do it.~~ Some Towns begin already to do it.

Now here comes this very awkward problem of "how soon?". I study this matter a good deal. Indeed by Mr. ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ Mays' kind permission I do some teaching on it. And the best conclusion I can reach is that any people can be trusted to handle well their ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ part of public affairs when they have had some diffused experience of responsibility over private affairs. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Here again the South is fortunate. True that slavery and the sharecropping system which succeeded slavery concentrated responsibility in the hands of a very few people in each community; and we all know that over wide stretches of the South that old and depriving system of land tenure held sway until very recently. But true also that in most recent years industrialization has come with a rush, and that we have achieved jobs and farms and homes and schools and health in a tumbling cataract of advance. And we have certain ~~grave~~ weighty advantages in demonstrating individual responsibility. Our churches, white and Negro, have been ~~breeding grounds of~~ rich sources of democratic responsibility. The trade union movement has taught millions of ~~xxxxxx~~ Southern persons how to vote, and elect, and judge, and act wisely. Farm land tenure is better; not enough better, but better. I conclude that it would be statistically possible to calculate with some exactness the degree of diffusion in any community of individual authority. Such a measure would also be a measure of the comparative ease or difficulty of achieving compliance with the Supreme Court's rule. If a place has a high standard of per capita income, a high proportion of registered votes, a high proportion of home owners, ~~xxxxxx~~ and a multipilcity of voluntary organizations; if (being rural) it has a ~~xxxx~~ pattern if individual farm owvnership or of secure land tenure; if (being urban) it has a high proportion

of persons gainfully employed in industry; then that community has made many strides toward that underlying and basic equality on which recognity of ~~xxxx~~ equal human dignity can readily be based. IF the community registers low on these indices, I would look for human dignity to be little esteemed. This is not to say that a man's Rights are the less where the figures run against him and his fellows. That is the beauty of law; that it applies to every man with equality. But it is to say that some spots are ~~xxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ readier ground for change to grow in than others. And I am, generally speaking, in favor of doing one's ploughing where the land is likely to produce. But some men, and my admiration to them, plough the hard-pan by choice! They have a right to; and law and morality ~~xxx~~ have a duty to extend ~~xxx~~ their protection to all. In any case, the wise thing to do is to work consciously

At the end I must allude to what is going on in the world around us; that non-South, of which a few professional Southerns are so scornful. The United States has swung around; is asking for a new set of friends, and is saying to ~~the xxxxxxxxx~~ Asia and Africa, "It is your supporting votes that we wish in the United Nations". I delight to see this country align itself against colonialism, and on the side of the people who are pushing up. If we are wise we can have the lasting friendship of these people, who wish ~~above all~~ to achieve well-being while they grow in liberty. We probably have the only Key to that most desirable future. But if we are to keep these new and needed friendships we must go on through with American's own great unfinished piece of business; we must by deeds, not words, convince the rising parts of the earth that here at home American people delight to ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ help all Americans ~~representative of minorities like those who abroad are the majority, on~~ to their feet, and into the full stature of citizens of the world.

It is not the election, why, man of course, [illegible]

1.

By: George S. Mitchell

We come at the end of almost a century of delay to dealing, nationally, with the problem of a Nation Divided; a problem which war and attempted reconstruction did not solve. The basic cleavage was on the issue of slavery. Slavery was an infinitely corrupting system. It was ruthless in its searching pressure for conformity.

The plantation society sought to get work performed by the disciplined muscles of men and mules. South Carolina enacted a law forbidding the importation of steam engines into the state. On their principles they were right. If machines worked men would think; and the poor in a slave society were not to think, but to remain unlettered, obedient, divided, and voteless.

While the South nursed this ruinous system the rest of the United States went into the industrial age. In the North and the West if there was a rill of water men dipped in a paddle, and turned machinery, and made things, and sold them to us. They built what I call a cog-wheel society. Now cog-wheels require different rules. In such a society workpeople are needed who are highly educated, organized into unions, friendly among themselves, and armed with the power to vote.

Cog-wheels and plantations had the war. Cog-wheels won. About twenty years after the war a few people in the South (mostly in the Carolinas and Georgia) said to themselves: "Maybe that cog-wheels' business would work with us." They tried it, and made it work. And in the last fifteen years cog-wheels have come with a rush. The South is now an industrial society. And we are still trying to make it run by the rules we all learned so well, the rules of the plantation game. And that makes what this series of lectures calls tension.

Now there is an oddity about Southern geography which takes a little explaining. In the Southeast everything slopes up from the sea to the Appalachian mountains. And any man who travels back against the flow of the rivers finds himself crossing at least four distinct zones, four kinds of country, four ages of civilization, as he proceeds from the sea toward the hills. At the coast is a belt of sandy or swampy land, covered with pine trees, and holding a scattered population, white and Negro, traditionally picking a poor living off thin land, though mills are coming in.

Further inland he comes to our richest land; a broad plain of deep soils. It was onto this long half-moon stretch of flats that slavery spread. And here sharecropping succeeded slavery, and tenancy succeeded cropping, and cows are succeeding cotton. The old plantation counties run fifty, sixty, seventy, eighty per cent Negro. And the Negro people are poor and from their dependence upon their landlords rank very low in a statistically non-existent index of the diffusion of individual liberty.

After the flats, the low hills. This is Piedmont Country, with family-owned farms and a modern industrial economy, and with a Negro population running usually less than a power, and most of it concentrated in the cities.

After the little hills, the big ones. This is a refugee population, of farm and hunting folk who persistently fled from slavery, and ended on small farms which they own themselves, high in mountain valleys. Almost everybody is white, and everybody is friendly to everyone else in his valley.

The point is that these four stages of society are complexly different in organization. It is a crude measure of their differences to note the population-ratios by race, and to say that where the Negro population is tiny (as in the mountains, or in some coastal areas) it ought to be easier to achieve American standards of mutual respect; and conversely, that where the Negro-

white ratio is high, the matter is more difficult. I do not think just race is the true measure; it needs some complicated measure of the stature of men individually, and I have not yet been able to talk any big New York foundations out of enough money to enable such an index to be constructed.

But crudely it is right to perceive that there are places where change is easy, and places where it will be difficult. And the crashing point is that those larger areas in each state of the Lower South which are the remnants of the old plantation country control the state legislatures. They have lost heavily in both population and economic importance. But in each such state, away back fifty or eighty years ago, the plantation belt when it was thriving got a death-grip on the seats in the state legislature, and what once they gripped they haven't turned loose. Alabama has not taken a seat away from the plantation counties since 1901. Georgia hasn't substantially touched apportionment since the eighteen-eighties. I think Mississippi goes back to 1876; Tennessee is even earlier, and so on. South Carolina faithfully reapportions the lower house after each ten-year Federal Census, but she never touches the state Senate, where each county gets a senator, and in South Carolina the Senate shares the executive power. So that despite the growth of population in other parts of each state, and the steady loss of people from the old plantation belt, the plantation county has a quite disproportionate say in the legislatures. This is true of the Lower South, and less true of the states in the Upper South.

In terms of our cog-wheel analogy, the economy mainly runs by the cog-wheel rules (or tries to), and the politics runs by the plantation rules. Which also makes for tension.

I said that slavery was infinitely corrupting. It conquered religion.

Of all the sects in the South at the time of the slavery controversy, only the Quakers held fully to their faith instead of to their property. Which is why the fringes of the old Northwest Territory are peppered with Quakers today; they freed their slaves and moved to Ohio and Indiana and Illinois. It conquered what dim understanding people in those days had of anthropology. And the myth went wide and deep that Negro people had a savage past, a degraded present, and a future of servile toil. It conquered natural human kindness, so that in the interest of segregation your Southern white crowd at an auto wreck will stand by unexcitedly while a white ambulance refuses to pick up the victims, and runs back to town for a Negro ambulance. And it planted the pervasive fear of intermarriage, which fear lends unreason to every racial controversy. Also it posed in rigid terms separation of jobs; for a moulding two hundred years the tightest lines were drawn; and the lines are still there.

Meanwhile, and especially in the last forty years, the industrial North has reached into this last and Southern reserve of labor, and fetched up what it needed to replace the older streams of immigrants.

This is the anatomy.

What for remedy?

I propose two things that should blend together. Both are in progress, and it is only needful that we recognize them; use them more fully; and in a conscious, organized way pursue them both, with vigor. And we'll get through.

The first one is fixing up material things. That's the stock-in-trade of your economists. We are a great people for Point Fours and what we call community development projects in less developed parts of the earth, though we haven't tried them much in Alabama or Georgia. You get after jobs, and farms, and homes, and schools and health, assiduously. And as you get people nearer to being basically equal, they fuss less and less. This is important to do now, and later on.

The other thing is tougher to do. But even more important. And I have to get into it with a scrap of history, and somebody else's book. A man who had spent a lifetime as a British Colonial civil servant, out in India and East Africa and Burma, and had had a look at Java for the Dutch, got old and retired and went home and wrote his book. He called it Colonial Policy and Practice. In it he said that the nations who hold other people in colonial subjection justify their rule by saying they're squirting welfare on the backward people, and when they get enough welfare on them they're going to turn them loose. True, he said, a little welfare trickles out. They will show you a picture of seventeen brown-skinned boys with their sleeves rolled up and a public health nurse giving them injections; but that colony remains diseased. Or they start a school for the sons of chiefs, and make a big noise about universal education. Go back in ten years and ask them "How much illiteracy have you got out here?" And they will say, "Oh! It's ninety-three per cent!" The welfare doesn't stick; it doesn't spread; the people don't make it their own. "Now," he said, "the hard and bitter truth is: first you turn people loose; and then they get their own welfare." Now when this truth is pronounced the people in power squirm. "Too soon," they say, "don't do that yet." But the man is right; and India and Burma and Ceylon and the Gold Coast and Nigeria and the Phillippines and some more, all prove that he is right.

Now isn't there a whiff of that in the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court, in May, 1954? Establish the doctrine of freedom first, and then work it out in detail later.

Agreed that the man is right. And agreed that, in addition to continuing to get material change; you go after "turning people loose." But what do you mean, "turn people loose" in Alabama or in Georgia? Everybody's loose. Been loose a long time. And nobody (except maybe Dixiecrats) is asking

for colonial nationalism, or even for radical constitutional change. People are satisfied with American democracy, though we all think it could be tinkered with here and there. What do you mean, "turn people loose?" What is the secret spring that can be touched, that will release energy and cooperation and purpose among an injured people?

Well, I've looked in back of the book, and I think I can tell you the answer. Significant public and private respect for equal human dignity. That's it. And that's what Southern towns haven't mastered. And it comes hard. How to get it?

My illustration is homely. Assume any little Southern town, with an all-white schoolboard. Schoolboard meets and the paper next morning says what the schoolboard did. A white man meets a Negro acquaintance on the street, and says, "John, did you see what the school board said?" John says, "Yes." John goes home and shuts the door and calls his wife Susie and says, "Susie, you see what those peckerwoods did down at the school board?" As much as to say that "nobody any kin to us complies in the least degree with that unfair decision." The white man's wife meets Susie the next day on the street and says, "Susie, you see what the school board says?" Susie says, "No'm we don't take no paper." This has gone on for three hundred years. Presbyterians say it is predestined. I say Susie protected her pride, her independence, and her dignity in the only way she had available.

Mercifully this whole process is easy to reverse. Put Susie's brother on the school board. He comes up to his sister's house and says, "Susie, get your shoes on, we have got to scat around up here and get these people and do what the school board says."

Put it another way. Most Southern towns can be compared to automobiles going down the road with their brakes locked. Not down there where the brakes are. The Negro people are saying, "We don't agree, we are

not going, we won't!" So the thing to do is to take off the brakes. And each town that does will get along a whole lot faster. Well, how do you take off the brakes.

You begin by arranging a series of meetings of respectable white and Negro citizens. No business now of white people picking subservient Negro people. Ask in the ones who have been vigorous and notable in protest and demand.

So far as Southern experience means much, I can only see one tried and tested way of dissolving racial questions. Draw together people of similar cultural and educational background of different groups, and get them to work together on a matter of common interest. You have to hold closely to this recipe. Similar background and interest -- I didn't say highly educated, I just say similarly. And not to talk together, but to work together, and on a matter of pressing interest. I never go out into the byways and sweep together twenty-five white people and twenty-five brown people into a church and shut the door and say, "Now you-all interrace now, go ahead." They come shooting out of the windows. But if you get twenty-five white teachers and twenty-five brown teachers together to talk about raising teachers' pay, they make friends.

I don't know any medicine that will work in this situation except for local people, white and Negro, to meet in that way and meet about what to do on the schools. It will take a good many meetings. You have to gather up all the facts. Where are the schools; what shape are they in; how many children, in what grade; how many white, how many Negro; where do they live? How many teachers; what tenure; what training, what experience; what pay? How many children walk, how far, and how many ride? And out of the facts inevitably a plan emerges. In a great many places the plan will surprise the white people with the ease with which it could be put into effect. And I,

myself, have sensed in a good many such meetings that the Negro people show a responsibility and a reasonableness of community purpose that will make a hard man's eyes swell with tears. And in such meetings are formed the friendships which are the basis of any binding agreement. And upon those friendships the little difficulties that will crop up subsequently in putting a plan into effect can be pleasantly solved.

There is another reason why meetings of this kind should occur. The problem is to induce significant change in a comparatively short while. Law, either by statute or by court order, is necessarily stringent, and it can hardly make allowances for the temporizings which ease the path of change. Also, as we have seen earlier this evening, each state within the South contains segments of society organized on widely different bases. The Supreme Court has provided, in the round of locality decisions by district courts, a commendable degree of flexibility. Still we would be better off if we depended upon court orders for dealing with recalcitrants; and for selling agreements voluntarily arrived at. America is a free voluntary society. We confront here a most considerable social change. Almost inevitably it will proceed at a varying pace in the various sub-areas within the South. But locality agreement of citizens of each community white and Negro working together can decide in open consultation the pace at which they wish the change to occur in that community.

Thus there is available to the Southern states the happy issue out of all of their afflictions.

Fortunately, also, doing the thing differently in each community is well within deeply graven Southern folkways. "What we care to do in our particular town, we insist is our business, and what somebody else does in their town is their business. And in we in our town care to meet with Negro citizens in

equal dignity, few and weak are the voices that will be heard against us. I acknowledge there is some effort to say in this Southern state or that, "No sir, no town within the confines of our state shall depart by jot or tiddle from the institution of public school segregation. The people in the South, or in some parts of the South, are not without a decent dose of that fine and American spirit that says what we do is our business, and I suspect there are a good many school boards that before long will be telling their governors to go chase themselves. And I think the federal courts will back them up.

Thus the practice of change by agreement can spread.

One thing at the end. My father taught history in the Southern states for better than fifty years. And he learned a good deal of history. I heard him say to an audience at the University of North Carolina 20 years ago that the history of the South falls into four periods of state leadership. Down to 1820 Virginia led, with all that galaxy of statesmanship. From about 1820 until 1865 South Carolina led, and with nullification and secession led us to slaughter. From 1875 until perhaps 1890 Georgia led, with Henry Grady and the doctrine of industrialization, and with the Atlanta Exposition. And from about 1885 on, North Carolina -- industrial development, the common school, good roads, and a concern for public order.

I, myself, am clear that in these last few years leadership has left North Carolina. She slips in comparative per capita income. Her governors are no longer brave for what is right.

And the chance to lead is ready to light on some other Southern state. Which shall it be? Arkansas has the claim because years ago when the test came on whether the University of Arkansas would admit a Negro student or would fight it in the courts, the University of Arkansas won a sigh of

admiration from the world when it said, "Of course let him in."

That is the basis of the voluntary principle, and that I posit as the way out. And Arkansas has taken some few additional steps in that same direction. I am not saying leadership has lit there; I am saying Arkansas has a claim!

Kentucky has a claim. I am told that in Kentucky, with one exception, each county in the state has either by now offered to open some school within it, or touches a county which has opened a school.

I have seen leadership flutter above Florida, but I think it flew away. It could light on Texas. Tennessee could lead us on.

Everybody in the South keeps hearing the wail: "Oh, if only we had some great leader who would show us the way through!" I suggest that there isn't going to be any single great leader. But there will be some one state that will catch on to the principle of voluntary agreement and will solve the matter and will show the rest of us how to do it.

OFF WITH THEIR HEADS

Lesson from the history of the labor movement, to use in all this business about segregation.

Labor for all its decades has suffered from the screwball public notion that a grievance can be got rid of by scaring or discrediting the men who lead people in making the grievance known. How many times have a bunch of men organized to bargain with the boss, and put up a President of the Local Union to work at it; only to have the boss and the newspapers and half the preachers in town start shouting: "Let's get rid of that terrible man that's agitating this union business, and then there won't be any more trouble out of our nice working class of people."

Away back about 1929 the A.F. of L. sent one of its top organizers into Elizabethton, Tennessee, to organize the rayon workers. The business men, and I suppose the second-hands got together, and rode him out of town. He came back, and he got some sort of union going. And later he became Assistant Secretary of Labor under Mr. Roosevelt. And Elizabethton finally got a union, and likes it. In Gadsden, Alabama, when the Rubber Workers began to organize, twenty years ago, Sherman Dalrymple, who came in to get the workers together, was chased by a mob, and cruelly beaten. But the Rubber Workers organized, and so did the steel and textile workers. Years afterwards, when labor was strong politically, the Mayor of Gadsden asked Dalrymple to come back as an honored guest. He retraced his steps while the mob had been chasing him. Over this back fence, through that alley, and so on. And now he was a high officer of the Rubber Workers Union, and praised by the town. Any number of similar cases could be cited. Every union man is warmed by those cases that he knows of himself.

Labor is being just plain silly when it falls for this line on the agitation of the Negro people in the South to get their grievances straightened out. The stock in trade of the Citizens' Councils is to squeeze and threaten the Negroes who lead. It's just plain silly for two reasons. It won't accomplish what the Citizens' Councils want, and it makes it almost certain that wise solutions won't be found.

Let's take up this business of the N.A.A.C.P. The Citizens' Councils are spreading around the poisonous lie that the N.A.A.C.P. is some kind of Communist front, is a bunch of wild extremists, and ought to have its heads stepped on every time they can be seen. What's the truth? The Truth is that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was set up in 1909, before Communism was ever heard of on this side of the water, and it has fought the Communists for all its history. I used to know a wise old man who said, "The United States of America can thank its lucky stars that the organization which for more than forty years has best represented its most oppressed racial minority has sought a program no more radical than the full enforcement of the Constitution of the United States. That's legal, that's orderly, that's dutiful, and that's American." And that's true, and you can't get around it.

In most other countries of the world where brown-skinned men have claimed their equal place the movement has proceeded with every kind of murder, stealth, sabotage, and meanness. In this country it has proceeded by the brown-skinned people collecting dollars and paying to have an able lawyer stand up in front of the Supreme Court of the United States and ask for their rights under the law. That's pretty bloomin' nice; and it ought to be rewarded with honest playing of the game.

Colored people in this country have suffered all their lives from the kind of colored "leader" that would sell them out. The virtue of the NAACP leadership is that they stick by their people, and try faithfully to get equal privileges. Just plain folly to chop down those leaders, who are committed to the reasonable and to the legal process. If these men are got out of the way, dumber guys will take their places, and many of them will be angry, frightened, and cruel. So, if you chuck out the honest, chosen leaders (most of whom are part of the NAACP), you will be shut up with a baffled, ill-led crowd, and you're in for far more trouble than the town has now.

What's right? Deal with the leaders. That's always right. And every union guy knows it.

THE SPIRIT OF THE NEW SOUTH

by

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Many sociological studies have pointed to the intimate connection between stability in land tenure and stability in the cultural and religious development of local communities. Typically, the rural church in an area of heavy farm tenancy has a shifting population only a comparatively few of whom are closely associated with the church. Such areas are also generally characterized by considerable rural poverty, run-down land, and little community purpose. On the other hand, the rural churches have endured and have grown for the most part in areas in which land tenure is stable.

Unfortunately for the rural church and most of the South, our patterns of land tenure have been unstable. In the breakup of slavery the South developed a system of annual oral leases which has endured pervasively into the present. All praise to those who, in the first days of Southern defeat, by the device of the sharecrop and oral tenancy contract, put man and land together. Written leases would have been foolish at the time. Not too many of the landlords commanded the needed literacy and hardly any of the people who went to work on the land as croppers or tenants could have made heads or tails of a written lease.

It is to be remembered, also, that the basic crop of the South was cotton, which was an annual operation: plow, plant, chop, lay-by, pick, settle, rest; plow, plant, chop, etc., and the one-year lease fitted that arrangement.

But such a leasing system put an automatic damper on ambition and enterprise among the tenants. It could happen, and not infrequently it did happen, that a tenant who was industrious and who applied the best going methods he knew on the land he was tending, and who limed it and terraced it and set out trees and cared diligently for the soil had some irrelevant dispute with the landlord and was told that he had one month or two months to move. If he asked what about the value of the trees and the care and the lime on the land and could he have a settlement with his landlord on that, he was a lucky tenant if his landlord said "yes, I will be glad to pay the full and fair amount of those improvements you made." More usually, he left and he left the fruits of his work behind. Every tenant knows the danger of that system, and knowing it is the more careless of the land.

Nearly every other civilized western country has, many decades ago, departed from a leasing system of this kind, and has required by law the use of a long-term agricultural lease with strict clauses for compensation for unexhausted improvements and provision for arbitration in dispute between landlord and tenant as to the values of improvements involved.

It would be well for the land and the people of the South if some such leasing system became customary throughout the region. It is the more needed because the South in the last few years moves rapidly from cotton to cows, and nobody can wisely go into the cattle business on an annual unwritten lease. Such a short-term tenant is not going to lay down a pasture that will take five years to come to perfection and is not going to put up the fences and the barns and spread the lime and build the milk house that will be needed, if the land is not his securely. In this or that spot, it will occasionally be found that landlord "X" has worked out a queer lease with tenant "K" under which the land is pretty securely in "K's" possession for five years or fifteen years and the landlord provides a certain stated pro-

portion of the needed capital and equipment, and receives in return one-half the bull calves, or every third heifer, or half the milk check. But such leases are a rarity. And the upshot of it has been that if a man wants to get from cotton over into cattle, he needs enough capital not only to lease the land and build the barns, but to buy the land too. And the consequence of that is that getting into cattle is too hard a business for the poor fellow. So he sticks by his cotton and gradually gets crowded out.

Of course, it would be possible to move over to long-term written leases by legislative processes. The states indubitably have the power to require such leases. They could even resort to statutory leases with a stipulation that all land not rented on written leases should be deemed to be leased upon the terms of the statutory lease. But this is not politically feasible in any Southern state today and the lawyers say that it would not get very far in any case as courthouse lawyers would prepare exempting leases that would circumvent the purpose of the law.

So it comes back to an educational job of getting farm communities to adopt a stable system of land tenure. Doubtless in the end much will be done. But if we wait for the change to occur without special effort, the probability is that the land will have been injured further, and rural community life in many places will have declined beyond repair.

So, it is urged that the rural church concern itself with matters of land tenure. Suppose that a given church in cooperation with its Board of Stewards prepared a map of farm lands within its area and distinguished on the map between properties held by owners and by tenants with written leases and by tenants with oral leases and by croppers. It should also distinguish whether worked on exclusively or partly by hired labor. Then it could be the task of the local church, reaching through a number of years, gradually to get erased from the map those blocks of land insecurely held and build around it a community of stable farm families working land to which they feel a real attachment and making a thriving and healthy rural community.

Why should not there be established as a criteria of the success of the rural church its achievement in improving the tenure of the community around it? In the contests, now becoming frequent in the South, for the Rural Church of the Year, we award marks for the church house, and for neat pews, and good singing, and Bible study, and professions, but never is there a space for marks -- good or bad -- for reduction of farm tenancy or improvement of rural security.

Everyone is familiar with the story of the church on a hill which failed to repair its rain gutters. And the drip made a rill and the rill became a gulley and one day the church-house fell in the gulley. Insecurity of land tenure is a slow process, but just as surely it will take out the props in homes and well being from under the rural church.

Next it is suggested that the first major denomination in the South seriously, though circumspectly and carefully, take up the matter of land tenure. It would be known abroad after the passage of a few years that Methodist farmers, or Baptist farmers were on their own places or worked them mostly on long-term written leases, and have some security about moving away. A reputation of this kind will do more than a little to hold present membership in the church, to strengthen allegiance to the life which the church ministers to, and to increase the membership rolls.

FILE COPY

MUMBLE-DE-PEG AND SCOOTER BASEBALL

For close on to three hundred years the South played a game called plantations. It's a queer game, that runs by its own rules. It depends for motive power solely on the muscles of men and of mules, and the effort of those who run such a game is to coordinate the muscles, and make them do as they are told. Here are the rules of the game of plantations:

1. Workpeople should be ignorant.
2. And obedient. No talking back.
3. If there's some racial quarrel among the people who do the work, its easier to stay on top.
4. Plain men mustn't vote. If slaves could vote that would be the end of it!

In the Southern States most people played this game; and we all learned the rules of it.

In the North, people played a different game called cogwheels. If there was a rill of water they dammed it up, and put in a paddle, and turned machinery, and made things, and sold them to us. And they prospered. Now cogwheels run by exactly the opposite rules:

1. Workpeople must be well-educated. Good if they can read blueprints.
2. You need to consult them. Unions help.
3. Racial squabbling is bad for production and its bad for sales, so you ask it to disappear.
4. Plain men have to vote. Hard to see this one, but such are the possible concentrations of power in the industrial society that unless small people know they have in reserve the power of the State they will destroy the society around them. Witness Mussolini, who said he and

his friends could run it. They hung him up by his heels. And Hitler, who said no need to ask people, just tell them. And when they burned him up the world was in flames around him. And these men in Russia will trip on the same thing. You have to let people vote.

Plantations and cogwheels had a war. Cogwheels won.

About twenty years after the war was over a few people down here said, "Now, this business of cogwheels. We could play that, too." And they did. Old man Buck Duke, who dammed the rivers and made electric power, and the cotton mills and the mines and the factories. In the last fifteen years cogwheels have come with a rush. The South is now an industrial society. In only two Southern States does the census show that the largest body of gainfully employed people is still employed in agriculture. Mostly it's industry and commerce.

We are trying to play cogwheels by the plantation rules. And it won't work.

Put it more vividly. Suppose a society in which people for three hundred years played mumble-de-peg, as the national past time. Every kid knew all the rules and all the tricks. Off the head, over the nose, under the knee. And the papers were full of the results of the region-wide and world series champeen mumble-de-peggers.

About fifteen years ago our society took to playing baseball on scooters. By the mumble-de-peg rules!

Every now and then somebody says, "Why don't we write up there to the Supreme Court where they have the rule-book for scooter baseball, and see what the book says?" And the answer is, "Naw, this is Georgia, and we always did play by the mumble-de-peg rules, and we're 'gonna keep on!"

MITCHELL AWARD

Membership - State Councils
as of Oct. 1, 1966

	1965	1966		
	2 (6) (3)	5 3 5		
Ala.	1,036	1,132		9%
Ark.	423	825	six organizational memberships @ $20.00	195%
Fla.	1,070 (2043)	c. 1,300		
Ga.	1,072	1,637		53%
Ky.	150	c. 250		
Miss.	325	c. 400		
N.C.	389	612		57%
S.C.	967	1,178		23%
Tenn.	1,041	1,178		13%
Va.	c 2,063	2,167		5%
	8,536	10,679		~~25%~~
Houston	610	610		23%
	9,146	11,289		

Full Time Staff

Va.	- 3	(2)
N.C.	- 2	(1)
S.C.	- 4	(3)
Fla.	- 3	(2)
Ga.	- 5	(4)
Ala.	- 4	(3)
Miss.	- 3	(2)
Tenn.	- 4	(3)
Ark.	- 3	(2)
La	- 2	(1)
Houston	3	(2)
36 full time	25	(up 13.5% from previous year)

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        312 3
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Funds

	Local	Total
N.C. –	$8,589	$19,389
Ala. –	12,203	24,078
Fla. –	9,000	
Ga. –	14,474	46,897
La –	235	11,612
Ark –	9,271	37,795 (budget)
Houston –	25,000	
S.C.	9,283	
Tenn.	8,350	
Miss	5,000	
Va. –	15,315	
	$116,720	

Budgets

Ala.	$36,000	+	12,000
Ark.	35,000		
Fla.	28,335	+	12,000
Ga.	45,000	+	12,000
La.	17,700		
Miss.	20,480		
N.C.	20,000		
S.C.	50,000	+	12,000
Tenn.	33,000		
Va.	34,500		
Houston	33,317		
	353,332		48,000
	48,000		
	$401,332		

Membership - State Councils
As of October 1, 1965

	1965	(1964)	
Ala.	1,036	336	(No "associates")
Ark.	423		
Fla.	2,043		
Georgia	1072		
La.	150		(paid up members)
Miss.	325		
N.C.	743		(Does not include Durham, Greensboro)
S.C.	967		
Tenn.	1,041		
Houston. Tex			
Va.			

Mrs. W

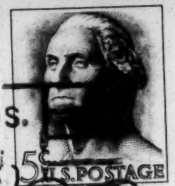
Paul,

Our membership is as of October 8 325. Don't rightly know what George S. Mitchell Award is. Just hope that he was hit in one of two ways: theologically or theoretically. HOpe asll is well. Enjoyed seeing you'all.

ken

Ken.

Read 10/10/68



USE ZONE NOS. FOR BETTER MAIL SERVICE

ADDRESS

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director, Southern Region
Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Lord And Master

From The Commercial Appeal June 18, 1963

Lawrence Printing Co. Inc.
Greenwood, Miss.

77217

Rec'd 10/21/65
PA-for
Mem-files

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

356 SOUTH BEACH STREET
DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA - 32014

TELEPHONE
255-5881

October 20, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Membership in the Florida Council as of October 1, 1965, is 2,043 members.

Sincerely yours,

Edwyn E Lewis Jr

Edwyn E. Lewis, Jr.
Executive Director

EEL,JR/nai

From, the Desk of . . .
NAT GRISWOLD

MM

October 8, 1965

Dear Paul Anthony —

Our membership, card-carrying no "associate", amounts to 423. No contest!

Narrative Quarterly Report is enclosed. Need that money! Thanks —

Nat Griswold

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
121 East Third Street
Charlotte, N. C.

Rec'd 10/11/65

October 8, 1965

TO: Paul Anthony, Southern Regional Council, Inc.

FROM: Roberta E. Blackwell

Our membership is 743 (as of October 1, 1965). This figure does not include membership of affiliated councils in Durham and Greensboro.

cc: Dr. T. Franklin Williams

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

MM

Rec'd 10/13/65

October 6, 1965

MEMO

TO: Directors of State Councils on Human Relations

FROM: Paul Anthony

Please send us, just as quickly as possible, your membership figure as of October 1, 1965, so that we may determine who will receive this year's George S. Mitchell Award.

Thanks.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS:

Membership as of October 1, 1965 (dues paid during period October 1, 1964--September 30, 1965) -- 1,036.

Membership as of October 1, 1964 (dues paid during period October 1, 1963--September 30, 1964) -- 336.

J. Edwin Stanfield

J. Edwin Stanfield
Executive Director

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1330 Laurel Street Columbia, S. C.

MEMBERSHIP STATISTICS

1964	October	39
	November	76
	December	58
1965	January	88
	February	55
	March	95
	April	114
	May	124
	June	123
	July	116
	August	47
	September	32
	TOTAL	967

States - Gen - Reading File

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
STEPHEN J. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-3764

June 23, 1965

M E M O

TO: State Directors

RE: Monthly financial reports

As we discussed some time ago, it would be extremely helpful to us if we had monthly rather than quarterly financial reports.

Many of you are already doing this and I think it a good internal procedure for all. If this were not the case we would hesitate to add to your paperwork burden.

Any form you choose, so long as it serves as an accurate breakdown of all funds received and all funds spent, is satisfactory to us.

Several directors now share these monthly reports with all members of their executive committees. We recommend this also.

If you have readily available these monthly reports for the past months of 1965 we would appreciate copies. Whether or not this is the case we would like to begin receiving them as of July.

Some Councils include in their monthly reports paid-up memberships to date. While not required, this too seems to us good procedure and we would like this information if it is available.

Adm George Mitchell Award

State Councils on Human Relations: Membership

	1964	1963	1962
ALABAMA	400	420	350
ARKANSAS	751	503	322
FLORIDA	1,451	718	400
GEORGIA	1,241	1,023	913
MISSISSIPPI	196	45	0
NORTH CAROLINA	648	514	534
SOUTH CAROLINA	1,050	945	600
TENNESSEE	775	676	570
VIRGINIA	2,423	2,367	1,243
HOUSTON	610	509	239
TOTAL:	9,545	7,720	5,171

State Councils on Human Relations: Current Operating Budgets

mm

Alabama - $24,500.00

Arkansas -

Florida - $39,000.00

Georgia - $50,000.00

Louisiana -

Mississippi - $19,000.00

North Carolina - $35,519.40

South Carolina -

Tennessee - $31,000.00

Virginia - $27,135.00

Houston -

T.C.H.R.

MEMBERSHIP BY CHAPTERS LIST

Nashville	451
Memphis	278
Knoxville	55
Oak Ridge	49
Murfreesboro	14
Johnson City	10
Jackson	18
Mixed Small Cities	41
Bristol	25
Chattanooga	45
Lauderdale County	13
Fayette County	13
Mt. Juliet	9
Coffee County	17
Total State	998
Out-of-State	43
Total Membership	1041

Dayton Bryant

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR OF FIELD ACTIVITIES
Southern Regional Council
Annual Meeting---November 16, 1966

Insofar as this report might deal with the personal activity of the Director of Field Activities, it is tempting to summarize by quoting one of the central characters from the Book of Job. Whenever the council of heaven was called, "Satan came also among them." Bach time, in answer to the question, "Whence have you come?" Satan answered the Lord, "From going to and fro on the earth, and from walking up and down on it."

Taking advantage of opportunities during my first year to acquaint myself with the region, as well as carrying out necessary duties, has carried me twice to Arkansas, three times into Tennessee, twice to Washington, D.C., and once to Virginia. I have been four times each to North and South Carolina and thrice to Florida. I have lost the count for Alabama and Mississippi, and the air lines think I commute to Louisiana. Georgia can thank my desk work for distracting me from my duties here, except for attending the annual meeting of the Georgia Council, fairly regular attendance at their executive committee meetings, and a couple of speaking engagements.

Most of these wanderings have been occasioned by some function of the state councils. As with all of the professional staff of the SRC, however, there have been responses to occasional requests and opportunities, such as attendance at the Mid-Decade Conference on Children and Youth and the White House Conference on Civil Rights; a talk on "The Nature of Prejudice" at a workshop in Mobile for the Personnel Directors of the largest Post Offices in the region; an address to the United Church Women of Huntsville and to local human relations councils in Charleston, Aiken, and Auburn; and a briefing for Y.W.C.A. executives at Lake Junaluska.

Additional travel was occasioned by special program efforts involving the field department. In the spring and early summer we cooperated with the American Friends Service Committee, the NAACP Legal Defence and Education Fund, and the several state councils in workshops on school desegregation in each of the

southern states. These were held in conjunction with wider conferences sponsored by the state advisory committees to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. Along with John Boone, Director of SRC's Special Project on Crime and Corrections, we assisted the Fellowship of Concern and the state councils with a series of workshops on "Dual Justice in the Courts." These, too, were held in each state in the region. Mrs. Tilly will tell you more about them later in this meeting.

In the course of the year we have been called upon for other services requiring less travel, but a great deal of administrative work. We were asked to secure the names of Negro boys now in the eighth grade, a list of apt candidates from which eighteen could be selected for admission to six of the top prep schools of the South.

A more involved project has been an experiment in the distribution of paperback books among people who otherwise have had little opportunity to use and own books. We are attempting to find unorthodox means of making them available, such as bookshelves in community centers; parents groups connected with day care or Head Start programs; in connection with tutorial projects, reading rooms, and study halls; and by creating or supplementing inadequate classroom or school libraries. Under the able administration of Miss Louise Cole of our staff and with the invaluable aid of the Atlanta News Agency, we are well into the process of distributing some 40,000 paperback books in these ways.

Your field department continues to serve as the secretariat for the Southern Interagency Conference, an informal gathering, four times per year, of most of the intergroup relations agencies working in the region for the purpose of discussing current problems and prospects and mutual briefing on new programs.

Service and assistance to the state councils on human relations remains, however, the primary continuing responsibility of your Department of Field Activities--and their growth in size, strength and effectiveness our constant concern.

As you know, we have been able this year, because of increased foundation support, to triple the total of our grants-in-aid to the state councils to $150,000. In addition we are now able to invest some $50,000 per year in Rural Advancement Projects under the structures of four state councils, working in close cooperation with the National Sharecroppers Fund. Moreover, the councils are able to take advantage of incidental program funds available in connection with SRC;s special projects for specific, short-term activities. Thus we are contributing between $225,000 and $250,000 to state and local council operation and program.

For the reasons mentioned by Mr. Anthony this afternoon the purpose of the expanded grant-in-aid program is to enable the state councils to grow to the point where they can be self-sustaining in their basic staffed operations. Our goal is to see this point reached by the end of 1968, with possible exceptions in the cases of the Mississippi and Louisiana Councils, which have only recently been reorganized. To this end we have constantly emphasized organized recruitment and involvement of members, organized efforts at indigenous funding, increase in size of staffs, and professional upgrading of staff--as well as concomitant development of program and services.

The response of state council leaders, both lay and professional has been gratifying and the results are notable. In addition to Rural Advancement Projects in South Carolina, Florida, Georgia and Alabama--each with a full-time director--other full-time staff professionals have been added: two in Tennessee and one each in Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. In Louisiana an office has been opened in Baton Rouge and an able Executive Director and Office Manager employed, giving that council a staff for the first time. The operations in Arkansas, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Florida have been stabilized with adequate salaries for executives and full-time clerical employees.

While speaking of personnel changes, we note with regret that some members of the state council family who were present at this meeting last year are missing this year. Bob Alexander and Ozell Sutton resigned from the staffs of the Houston and Arkansas Councils, respectively, to accept other positions. Nat Griswold, who has been Executive Director of the Arkansas Council from its beginning, is on a six-month leave of absence to write a book and will formally retire at the end of the year. Most sadly do we report the death, on September 19, of Mr. Oliver Holmes, personable and invaluable Assistant to the Director of the Georgia Council.

As for training and upgrading of the council staffs, it has been possible to double the number of state council staff conferences. We have brought them together five times this year, in addition to their attendance at this meeting. One time it was for an eight-day Community Leadership Development Laboratory at Emory University--a first attempt to secure formal in-service training for council staffers.

The state council presidents were brought together also for a two-day conference on June 17 and 18. This, too, was the first meeting of its kind. The presidents felt that the discussion of purposes, policy and philosophy and the sharing of problems was very helpful, and they have asked that this be made an annual affair.

Time would not permit my telling you, even if I could, of all the imaginative, creative things the state councils have been doing. But let me mention a few.

The Virginia Council has made a thorough study of the ethnic bias of that state's approved textbooks and has promoted use of multi-ethnic texts by the preparation of two excellent publications on the subject, among other ways. They are also sponsoring a significant conference on religion and race, scheduled for the last of this month.

The Georgia Council has conducted and reported a well-planned study of the state's public assistance program. Jointly with the Georgia A.C.L.U. and with the aid of the SRC staff and resources,

the Georgia Council prepared an attractive, easily readable handbook titled Know Your Rights, which sets forth basic rights of persons arrested by police officers. It has received wide distribution and acclaim. The North Dekalb chapter of GCHR conducted a Voter Education Project which registered about 500 persons.

The Tennessee Council has done an effective job of securing truly representative and democratic Community Action agencies in two of the largest cities in the state. Since the addition of Mr. and Mrs. Wiersema to the staff they have begun important studies of public housing and public welfare in Tennessee. Their Knoxville chapter carried out an effective Voter Registration Project.

"Project SPEED-UP" of the South Carolina Council employed college students to tutor more than 2,000 children in 28 locations in 13 counties.

The Arkansas Council secured a grant from the Voter Education Project and conducted a registration drive in 14 counties. Well over 7,000 persons were registered to vote.

The Florida Council conducted a two-day workshop for local council leaders and, partly as a result of the ideas and resources discovered to them at that meeting, the local councils of Florida have been unusually active.

The Alabama Council, utilizing a VEP grant, did an excellent job in informing farmers in 12 counties about the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service elections and of policing the elections themselves. ASCS elections are vital because the representative chosen in them determine crop allotments for the year.

The Mississippi Council has sponsored a number of statewide conferences, including one which brought together a large number of the state's impoverished people and officials of the Office of Economic Opportunity. The Executive Director has become an effective link in communication between the white establishment and Negro leaders.

The growth of the state councils is measurable statistically. We have sought this year to limit our reckoning of membership to those whose dues are currently paid. On that basis the total membership now stands at approximately 11,500, an increase of some 23% over last year. Percentage increases ranged from five percent in Virginia, which is the largest of the councils, to ninety-five percent in Arkansas, which heretofore had been one of the smallest. The Alabama Council, which won the Mitchell Award last year, increased its membership another ten percent this year. Tennessee registers a thirteen percent increase and South Carolina a jump of twenty-three percent. The North Carolina Council shows a 57% increase. And Georgia deserves special commendation of raising its membership enrollment by 53%, although starting from a relatively large base of more than a thousand members.

At the height of their strength the state councils had this year 26 full-time professional employees, an increase of 18% over last year. Part-time and clerical staffs have increased proportionately.

The councils have raised about $120,000 from their members and friends--an increase of 20%. At the same time the total of their operating budgets has passed $400,000--a leap of more than 25%.

All of these facts are encouraging.

But we cannot be satisfied with arithmetic progress when the sustained crisis of this region grows by geometric progression. The beleaguered people of the human relations councils have been these dozen years--to a greater degree than is generally understood--the salt of the South. But the conditions have been altered radically since their founding, and there are those both within and without the state councils who question the need or the possibility--or both--of their continuing. I for one am convinced that their proper role is more vital than it was in 1954 and 1955, although it needs, perhaps, to be differently conceived.

All of us are keenly aware of the radical challenge which has been thrown down by the "black power" movement and of the lightning speed of the "white backlash." Intriguing to me are the assumptions of "black power" advocates as articulated by one of their able interpreters, Mr. Julian Bond:

> ...the social system, as organized is no longer capable of solving, through normal channels, the urgent problems presented to it by history.
>
> ...white Americans, generally speaking, lack the will, the courage and the intelligence to voluntarily grant Negroes their civil rights and...must be forced to it by pressure.
>
> ...people do not discriminate for the fun of it;... the function of prejudice is to defend social, economic, political and psychological interests, and...appeals to the fair play of prejudiced people are prayers said to the wind.
>
> ...communities will change discriminatory patterns if they are faced with a clear-cut choice between bias and another highly developed value--economic gain, education or civic peace.

We have to ponder seriously these assumptions. We may lament the actions and strategy of those who make them. We may be grateful that no large portion of Negro Americans has been won to them. But neither the actions nor the number of those who thus believe disproves the validity of these beliefs.

Indeed, the reaction of the nation to date, far from disproving these assumptions, seems almost calculated to do the reverse. Much of the evidence brought forth in this decade of struggle for equal rights tends to confirm their suspicions. Certainly those of us who continue to discern the promise of the South's nobler customs and to dream the American dream must discern and dream by faith, for the reality is not yet.

As biracial associations of citizens committed to social change through the "normal channels" of fact-finding, education, negotiation, and enfranchisement, the human relations councils, are uniquely situated to disprove the "black power" assumptions--if indeed they can be disproven. If the human relations

council idea has any genius and destiny, it lies not in leadership of the oppressed but in its potential for education of the oppressing majority. There is a movement among the oppressed. To be sure it needs and deserves all possible aid, and those who are not themselves victims can provide technical assistance as needed and called for. But the movement is there; whereas there is as yet no significant movement among the oppressing or acquiescing majority. The dissatisfaction of the minorities is or will be aroused. What is needed is an answering dissatisfaction from those who sleep in the presence of moral--and possibly mortal--peril.

One member of your SRC staff tells of trying to secure help for people who were living in unheated slum housing in the midst of a cold snap in Atlanta last winter. "We had some middle class folks down there," he said, "but the emotion they felt was pity for these poor persons. As long as that is what they feel, they can't help much--because the appropriate reaction is anger." That is true. And what we need in the human relations councils is more people--a lot more people--who have the large capacity to hold in constant, creative tension anger over the misery of the minority and pity for the insensible soul-misery of the majority.

If we are to "make democracy work" in the South we shall not do so with ten or twelve thousand people, scattered through eleven states, backing the effort with an average ten dollars each. We have to be more serious and more intense than that!

Our antagonists are more serious and more intense than that. One well-known right-wing organization which, in the judgment of some of us, is doing the most effective job of indoctrinating the white people of the South claimed, about a year ago, more than 100 "chapters" in metropolitan Birmingham alone. By conservative estimate that would mean about 1,500 members in that small area. Only yesterday the Atlanta Constitution carried the boast of one of their "staff coordinators" that an estimated

150 chapters have been organized in Georgia. They have organized over the nation "committees" to counteract the civil rights movement. In Arkansas, for example, they claim such a committee in every town of over 3,000 population. And in May they lamented in print that their contributions fell a million dollars short of their mark in 1965. They spent $5 million while contributions came to only $4,089,000--up only $889,000 from the $3,200,000 contributed in 1964!

There are many variables which must be weighed into this, of course. But the conclusion is incontrovertible that those folks mean business. And so must we!

I have always thought (to paraphrase Abraham Lincoln) that all men should be free; but if any should be slaves, it should be first those who permit it for themselves, and secondly those who permit it for others. I venture the opinion that we need not be anxious, in these days, about the former. I think it evident that the non-white citizens of this nation will never again resign themselves to oppression. But I am anxious indeed that white America, and the white South in particular, may continue to be permissive of oppression for others--thus to deserve it themselves.

We have therefore a message of great urgency to get across to the comfortable majority in the South. To this task I believe the human relations councils uniquely suited. It is no new idea, but an old one. It is no radical idea, but a truly conservative one. Lincoln said it:

> This is a world of compensation; and he who would be no slave must consent to have no slave. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God, cannot long retain it.

1966

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

COUNCIL	MEMBERS PAID 1966	AFFILIATES	EST. IN-STATE FUNDS RAISED -- 1966	NUMBER PAID STAFF	PART-TIME PAID
Alabama	1,128	8	13,665.35	4	1
Arkansas	1,028	6	13,140.50	3	1
Florida	1,300 (est.)	18	c.9,000.00	3	—
Georgia	1,637	16	14,474.00	5	2
Houston	610	—	c.25,000.00	2	2
Louisiana	211	3	787.00*	2	—
Mississippi	400 (est.)	3	1,369.00	3	—
N. C.	612	5	8,589.00	2	—
S. C.	1,345	12	9,283.00	4	1
Tennessee	1,195	9	9.323.81	5	2
Virginia	2,167	28	13,064.24	4	2

*Seven months

37

Program Development	3
Special Student Intern	1
TOTAL	70

The amount of money allotted for projects thus far this year totals $141,480.15. A breakdown by states follows (it should be noted that the Georgia figure includes the YWCA project described above.):

Alabama	6,981.00
Arkansas	10,940.00
Florida	4,320.00
Georgia	14,020.30
Louisiana	11,360.00
Mississippi	42,691.85
North Carolina	21,650.00
South Carolina	13,500.00
Tennessee	2,592.00
Virginia	13,425.00
TOTAL	141,480.15

State	Members 1966	Members 1967	1968	Affiliates ( ) = 1966	Est. Local Funding 1966	Est. Local Funding 1967 (est)	Professional Staff (Peak)	Clerical Staff (Peak)	Part-time
Ala.	1,128	913		8 (8)	$13,665	$15,000	3	1	1
Ark.	1,028	1,212		11 (6)	$13,140	10,000	3	1	1
Fla	1,300 (est)	2,114	2,140 (63%)	19 (18)	c. 9,000	c. 9,600	3	1	
Ga	1,637	1,298		18 (16)	14,474	19,264	4	2	
La.	211	552 (161%)		5 (3)	787	c 3,250	1	1	
Miss	400 (est.)	200 (est)		4 (3)	1,369	1,200	2	1	
N.C.	612	c. 834		5 (5)	8,589	c. 8,000	1	1	
S.C.	1,345	1,335		12 (12)	11,976	c. 9,000	3	1	1
Tenn.	1,195	1,533		12 (9)	9,324	c. 16,674	4	1	1
Va	2,167	2,031		28 (28)	13,064	c. 10,932	2	2	
Houston	610*	1,400		1 (1)	c. 25,000	c. 32,000 #	2	2	
TOTALS	11,633	13,422 (15.4%)		23 (109)	$120,388	$134,920 (12%)	28	14	

* Counted husband-wife memberships as one.

$7,000 grant from Houston Foundation not included.

as of - 9/30/67

News file (Administration)

"MITCHELL AWARD"

The

GEORGE S. MITCHELL AWARD

Presented by the

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

To the

For Outstanding Membership Growth

1966

President | *Executive Director*

GEO. MITCHELL AWARD

STATE COUNCIL STATISTICS, 1967

(Figures are for calendar 1967, through July 31, unless otherwise noted.)

COUNCIL	CURRENT MEMBERSHIP	IN-STATE FUNDING
Alabama	838	$ 8,552.90
Arkansas	1,145 *	7,206.70
Florida	NA	4,174.50
Georgia	1,132	15,886.46 **
Louisiana	490	---- ***
Mississippi	83	1,099.51
North Carolina	434 ****	5,042.75
South Carolina	1,335	4,498.25
Tennessee	1,456 *	5,573.75
Virginia	1,983	5,799.70

* There is some doubt that all of these are current, dues-paid members

** Georgia's fiscal and membership year is Oct. 1--Sept.30; these figures are for nine months.

*** Louisiana has raised some money, but the figure is not readily available; in the neighborhood of $1,500.

**** This membership figure is for Jan.-March only.

Program Development	3
Special Student Intern	1
TOTAL	70

The amount of money allotted for projects thus far this year totals $141,480.15. A breakdown by states follows (it should be noted that the Georgia figure includes the YWCA project described above.):

Alabama	6,981.00
Arkansas	10,940.00
Florida	4,320.00
Georgia	14,020.30
Louisiana	11,360.00
Mississippi	42,691.85
North Carolina	21,650.00
South Carolina	13,500.00
Tennessee	2,592.00
Virginia	13,425.00
TOTAL	141,480.15

GEORGE MITCHELL'S SPEECH ON

CIVIL RIGHTS

AUGUST, 1955, to Methodist Women

This is a queer thing that I do. It really shouldn't be a speech. I have had a lot of jobs in the last ten or fifteen years that put me at home or downtown at a desk. Some man comes into town with a tale like this:

"Mr. Mitchell, I am a Norwegian newspaper man. My paper has sent me to this country to do a series of twelve articles on the Southern States. I have never been on this side of the water before; just landed at your airport a few minutes ago; going on to Birmingham later this afternoon; have a taxi-cab ticking at the door; can you explain the whole South to me in twelve minutes?"

Well, I am crazy enought to try. And what you do is get a big sheet of wrapping paper and borrow some of the children's wax crayons and draw off for the man what happened. I discovered a few years ago that a great many people bred and born in the South don't know what happened.

So I will treat you like Norwegian newspaper men and put you through the map.

You can see that that is the outline of the ~~North-~~ South-eastern States. And there's the Mississippi. The green patches are roughly the areas of the Appalachians and the Ozark and the Ouachita mountains.

We began the settlement of that map in two main places. Here in the area of Chesapeake Bay and there within reach of Charleston harbor. In both those places you could get little sailing ships deep into plantation wharves and take off the crops. In both places, though nobody intended it, it wasn't long before the land came to be held in big chunks -- two, five, ten, twenty thousand acres.

That gave you English people owning big pieces of good land, reasonable transportation, rich markets, no labor. So they sent home to the British Isles for labor to work their places. White labor that came in under a seven-year contract of service to pay for its passage. You can go down to those old tidewater counties and read those mortgages on people spread on the books still. They all end with the same clause, "And when the said William Jackson shall have served his seven years, he shall be set free with an axe and a pair of blue britches and twenty shillings." Well, you came to this country for land and fortune; you've worked seven years on some man's tobacco or rice plantation, and that's what you've got. Obviously you are going to leave the plantation country and take your axe, go out into the empty woods and cut a clearing and build a cabin and make a farm for yourself. And because all the white labor that they brought in did that, is the real reason why plantation owners

here and there seized on Negro slave labor which they could hold and control. As long as we were attached to the British crown, freedom grew much more rapidly than slavery. Other people pushing off the plantations, many more free people coming down the Shenandoah, and opening all of this, some maybe pushing to the other side of the mountain. And slavery grew hardly at all. Pushed down here, spread here -- Mobile, New Orleans, Natchez.

People who framed the Constitution of the United States weren't worried about slavery; thought it would die an early and an easy death. Indeed, in 1787, Thomas Jefferson introduced a measure into the Virginia legislature to abolish slavery and it failed of passage by only one vote; they were that close to it. Yet so soon after that ~~in~~ as 1800 you couldn't have pulled slavery loose with wild horses. Now what made the difference? 1787 ready to drop it -- 1800 wouldn't think of losing it.

It happened in Georgia. What was it? Cotton gin. Somebody figured out how to get the seeds out easily. See what that did. It opened the whole of that rich coastal plain to the slave crop, and cotton and slavery spread in sixty years to include all of this.

All of this, up the river, over the Delta, up the Red, even into Oklahoma, Pennyrile, Middle Basin, Bluegrass, a patch up in here, and it started all over

again in the Black Waxy and then the Coastal Plain of Texas. ~~In sixty years slavery conquered all that.~~ And wherever ~~it~~ slavery went it took two fundamental institutions: the land owned in big chunks, and worked by slave labor. Also wherever it went most of these little people got out ahead of it -- bought ~~it~~ out, or left out. Many down into the sandy country, others into the red hills, more into the green hills -- Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Texas, Oklahoma.

This business with the red lines around it is the whole of the storybook Old South. All of the white-columned mansions with the magnolia trees out in front, beautiful girls in golden curls and hoop skirts, mammy songs, mint-juleps, sword and roses, chests of silver, family portraits. Worse, all the Governors, all the Senators, all the colleges, all the schools, all the newspapers, all the banks, all the power. Before 1865 if it wasn't inside those red lines, almost certain it was poor, unimportant, pushed aside.

But there were a great many people outside those red lines, multiplying fast; and they complained, but there wasn't much they could do about their situation. There was one man in their number who wrote a book. He was a plain white man who was from near Salem, North Carolina. He published his book in an ominous year, 1858; and he gave it an ominous title, "The Impending Crisis at the South." He said in his

book that the South in his day was a pyramid with six million poor white people on one side, four million poor black people on the other, and 350,000 members of the larger slave-holding families sitting on top. "Now," he said, "that's not going to last. It'll blow up." Well, if you were white and lived down here it was worth your social position to admit that you had read the man's book. These people couldn't read but they heard about it and they said, "We think that guy is right." Funny thing is that in only seven years it had blown up; war, defeat, famine, fire; a complete inflation that took every form of property value except title deeds to land.

With the top blown off and the United States government sitting where the top had been, this and this put their hands together and tried to run it. They failed. All of the books say they failed because they were dishonest. I think they failed because they were poor, inexperienced, uneducated. Certainly they failed.

In all that time we had in the South a precious natural resource. ~~No one knew it was there, no one was using it.~~ In from ~~the Atlantic and up from the Gulf~~ two seas come a pair of warm, wet winds. And when a warm, wet wind hits a wall of mountains, it turns into ~~rain and the rain into~~ rivers, and the rivers run to the sea. And those rivers give you in that middle ground, between the mountains and the plantations, the third of three precious things to have. You had already labor multi-

plying in abundance on hill farms. There was cotton all around you; and the rivers were power. Beginning about 1880 and working hard at it ever since, we have been fitting together in that middle ground a whole new piece of the South, which the books call the Piedmont South. And the strange thing is that with few exceptions, and the exceptions are port cities, most of the thriving cities of the Southeastern States today are somewhere inside that yellow calabash. Knoxville, Nashville, Chattanooga, Birmingham, Atlanta, Greenville, Anderson, Spartanburg, Rock Hill, Charlotte, Durham, Winston-Salem, Greensboro, Danville, Lynchburg, Roanoke, Richmond -- on up.

If you look at the map closely, you will see that it divides the South not only into three main pieces, but really into four, because here around the outside is still another piece ~~which the geography books~~ called the coastal flatwoods or Piney Woods. That gives you four different Souths. The mountains in the middle, the Piedmont next, the plantations next, and the Piney Woods at the outside. Each is different, each has a different history, a different set of people, a different set of problems. If ~~you~~ we would make an equal and a democratic South there are different things to be done in each of those areas. Well, it's ~~tedious but you have to~~ a little slow but let's take it to pieces and see what to do.

Start with the mountains.

I never understood about the Mountains until a man from eastern Kentucky laid it out for me pretty plain. He drew himself a map of a mountain valley, about two miles long, with a stream down the middle. Put in Hogback Mountain on one side and Old Screamer on the other.

"Seventeen and ninety-one," he said, "an old man name of Will Driggers came up in here from North Carolina. Took him a nice farm down at the mouth of the valley. Built him a cabin right by the creek. Old man Will had been married four times before ever he left North Carolina, and he brought sixteen head of boys up in here with him. And he was married two more times in Kentucky. So when they buried the old man it made twenty-four farms that they had to cut back up in the valley for the Driggerses. By eighteen-fifty they'd turned the spring-bottom into a farm, and there wasn't any more flat land for anybody."

"But the young folks were still coming on, and one fellow went to his daddy and said, 'Pop, me and Janie Belle is going to pair off, but it ain't no flat land for us. And we thought if we'd go up the side of Hogback and skin off the trees and put us a cabin up on the spur we could make a living off of burley tobacco and corn.' 'Well,' his daddy said, 'nobody around here ever farmed the side of a mountain before, but

X 3

X3

if you and Janie Belle want to try it, there's nothing to stop you.' So, of course, by eighteen-ninety the folks had gone clean to the top of both mountains.

"After they skinned off all the trees people on the bottom farms noticed every time it rained the water seemed to come scooting through the creek harder than it had before. But nobody paid it much mind till eighteen and ninety-five, my daddy told me, along about the second week in June, corn standing four and five inches high all through the bottoms, there came the terriblest rain storm that ever had hit Kentucky. First thing, the wind blew down the willow tree Old Man Will had planted, and it fell right across the creek, and kind of dammed it up. And that rain pouring down off of the naked hills, and carrying roots and stumps and stones, backed up behind that willow tree, and the water stood for four days mighty nearly the whole length of the valley. And of course, that killed all the corn, and nobody didn't get any corn crop that year. And just to tell you the truth, nobody's ever got any real good corn crop out of those bottoms ever since, because it floods every year.

"Well, if you've washed the dirt off the sides of the hills, and the bottom floods every year, although you live in the country and are called a farmer, you'll be hungry, and those people are."

I asked my friend what you can do about that.

[Survives]

"Tisn't so tough," he said. "Send somebody in there who really knows agriculture. Let him stay at least a year and get to know the people. As far as he can, persuade them to swap land, so each man's farm will be a long strip of hill land and a nice piece of bottom. Of course some of them won't swap; but then most of them will. In return for swapping, you take in a work crew and dynamite out the snags in the streambed and straighten out the flow. Then get each fellow to work his place on what they call a farm plan. On the plans, the top of each farm goes back into trees, and the long slope goes into grass that you aren't going to plow, and the low slope into terraces and strip crops. Then the roots of the trees and the grass will hold the most of the water on the sides of the hills, and what does get down can get out. And each fellow can put cows on his grass, and corn on the bottom-land, and feed him some hogs, and that'll give him meat and meal and milk, and with those three he ought to be able to eat.

X4

"But, " said my friend, "even after you do that there's still one more thing you've yet got to do. You want to get the State of Kentucky to come down there where Old Man Will's house was -- of course it's burned -- and build the biggest one of these vocational trade schools you can get. Because all those people up in there are still having children, and if those children will come through that school, then when they get to Deetroit they can light on their feet."

Slow business; valley by valley: begins to be done. Other things to be done in the mountains. Let the mills climb the mountains and make more factory jobs; more forest care, more tourist trade. If you do all those things you'll have a prosperous and a democratic mountain society.

Come down from the mountains and take the Piedmont piece. Remember these smaller squares? Still there. The basic pattern of land ownership in all this Piedmont country is the family-operated farm. A man may have a tenant, but it's his nephew. And nobody has seventeen tenants. And wonder of wonders, none of those medium-sized family-owned farms today is more than twelve or fifteen miles away from a factory. That's pretty good; that's a balance between industry and agriculture. Further, the people in that area have two mighty nice things to have: a firm grasp of political democracy, so strong that in the last fifteen years it has flowed over to include the Negro population in all those Piedmont cities; and secondly, a beginning grasp of economic democracy -- through trade unions, and not just through ordinary unions but through a special kind of union they've worked out for themselves which they called mixed unions, with white people and colored people both in them.

I could tell you many tales about those unions. I usually get at them with two. One is all right; the other no self-respecting trade union guy should tell. I'll tell you the wrong one first.

They had a strike at the Republic Steel Mill in Birmingham about twenty years ago. Put a mixed picket line around the plant -- white man, colored man, white man, colored man -- all away around the block. Somebody on the picket line turned loose a stick of dynamite, and it went off with a big noise and didn't hurt anybody. Tha law car came screaming up and the law gets out and grabs one of the colored pickets, and says, "Boy, did you throw that dynamite?" "No sir, I'm not on that committee."

I looked at one of those unions when it was brand new. They were castiron pipeworkers; an AFL Federal Labor Union; 500 colored, 500 white. The Secretary-Treasurer of the local took me to his home back up behind one of the suburbs. Neat house, up on a hill, twenty other white workingmen's houses like it up there on the hill. We stood on his porch and looked down in the bottom and there was a huddle of tar-paper black shacks. I said, "Who lives in the bottom?"

"They're colored."

"They work in the shop?"

"Yes, they work in the shop."

"Belong to this union?"

"Yes, they belong to the union." Then he said, "Mr. Mitchell, can you see a little path running back and forth between up here where we live and down there where they live?" If you looked hard you could see it.

I said, "Yes, kind of faint."

He said, " Before this union came it wasn't no path at all."

Well, I submit then that a population which has a basically democratic pattern of land ownership, interspersed with a modern heavily capitalized and prosperous industrial economy, a firm grasp of political democracy, a beginning grasp of economic democracy, and in both fields, is learning to overlap the barriers of race, is in pretty fair shape.

Jump the red one and take the blue one at the outside. Except for its rich port cities, except for an occasional patch of land in some specialty crop; in the whole of that blue piece of country there are only four things -- sand, swamps, pine trees, and poor folks. Two things to do: save the pine trees, spread the money from the pine trees to the porr folks. Well, saving the pine trees we know how to do: plant three when you cut one; State, Federal, private forest conservation. We're doing it pretty well. Spreading the money I didn't know what you did. Trade unions, co-ops, minimum wage, how would you? You're lucky. It's been looked after for you in the last ten years. They used to get 15¢ and 20¢ an hour, had no minimum wage, had no wisp of a union. Now a man wouldn't think of working for less than what -- $1.17½? -- and the minimum wage is $1.00 an hour, and they are fast joining the Chemical Workers and the Oil Workers and the Paper Workers and the Wood Workers. So I guess they come through.

That shuts up the old plantation belt. That's always the toughest one. Go anywhere down in there you want. Draw yourself a country road about three miles

long, put in the old Judge Atkinson place on this side of the road. The Judge put together 3,700 acres before he died. This is a big place over on this side of the road. You can see where the big house was, but the big house was burned.

This is another big place here. The fellow on this side of the road had him a lot of land but he got broke ten years ago and sold the land on the front of the road and made five smaller farms. There were three colored took up there and two white.

And this is a big place here and this is another big place here. Behind each one of those big houses there is, or there was (now let's be honest, this is the way it was fifteen or eighteen years ago, but that's recent enough for the shadow of it to be still with us), either a double row of little black sharecrop shacks and the boss' big mule barn here, or else the man had the land split up into little twenty-five or thirty acre tenant farms and a little old house and a piece of barn on each one. It doesn't make much difference which way it was. People that ought to be living in these big houses don't live in them anymore. They live in town, sell Chevrolet automobiles, belong to the Rotary Club, but they've got some white fellow out there, probably the wife's brother (you know, he drinks a good deal) in charge of the place.

People in the big houses have money or can get it if they need it. The people in the little houses most years have been poor.

People in the big houses, all of 'em white. People in the little houses; most of them what the census calls non-white.

People in the big houses get their sons and daughters through the State University. People in the little houses get their sons and daughters through the third, maybe the fourth grade, they get unpromoted two times, and they quit.

People in the little houses depend on the people in the big houses for some mighty important things: piece of land, roof over their heads, something to eat, job of work, bossing, safety, reputation, justice.

Suppose I go down to the county and call a meeting of the people out of the big houses; meet with the Kiwanis Club at the county seat town. "Gentlemen, my name is George Mitchell. I live in Atlanta. I work for a thing called the Southern Regional Council. You never heard of it. It's an old-established race-relations organization spread back and forth across the South: preachers, doctors, teachers, lawyers, professors, labor guys, many Church people. About half of our members are white, about half of them are Negroes. We believe in what they call Civil Rights. Do you remember when Mr. Truman was the President, he had a committee make a report to him about that? And when Mr. Eisenhower was running and Senator Russell was talking about running, there was a lot of talk about Civil Rights. The Supreme Court has been saying things about Civil Rights. Very important subject; and I want to explain to you what it means.

"In the first place, it means you're going to have to allow these colored people to vote. Now, all of them. And if you've got a fellow at the Court House who on voting day likes to stand right by the ballot box and pick up all the colored votes before they go in and put an X mark on them, you just tell him to come away from there, that's against the law.

"And if there's another man on the Board of Registrars that asks the colored people monkey questions when they come in to register, you just tell him to ask the colored and the white the same questions. This just means that when voting day comes the colored and the white line up and vote together.

"Second place, it means that they serve on the jury: grand jury and petty jury. And I don't mean every now and then when the judge thinks the Supreme Court is blowin' down the back of his neck to squeeze one colored fellow up in the jury box; but right along, when the court meets, maybe four, five, six, even seven colored people will be on the jury.

"In the third place, it did mean you were going to have to tax yourselves and bond yourselves and build a set of colored schools in this county just as nice as your white schools. Some of them will be nicer, because they will be newer. Of course, you can comply with the Court's new decision and put some more rooms on the white schools you've got and bring the Negro children into here.

X5

And part of that school thing; you're going to have to get in behind the County Superintendent of Schools and get him to buy seventeen new yellow school busses, and start hauling all of them colored children in to school. X 5

"And the last thing in it is, if a colored man in the county buys a railroad ticket and wants to ride across the State line, the conductor on the train has to let him sit in any one of the day coaches he happens to want to sit in.

"Now that's what they call Civil Rights, and I'm in favor of that, and I came to ask you gentlemen to help us get that rolling in the county. Now what do you say?"

"Well," they say, "Mr. Mitchell, we've been happy to have had you at luncheon with us. We have heard about that Civil Rights and we don't think much of it. Now you've been frank with us and we're going to be frank with you. The first thing we're going to tell you is that you don't understand the situation in this county. You see, Mr. Mitchell, the colored people here have had about third, maybe fourth grade education. Now we're not saying it's their fault. They went to the schools we put there for them. But we are saying that if that's all they know we don't think it's time yet to allow them to vote.

"As far as serving on the jury goes, well the judge is here in the room. He can't speak of it but I know him pretty well and all I'm going to say is that what you're talking about doesn't seem to me likely to happen in his court soon.

"Now, about the schools, Mr. Mitchell, you weren't here, but summer before last in the county we had before the people a bond vote on whether they would put more money on the white schools, but it only passed by 44 votes. So you can see, if we're to go back to the people in the county for an even larger sum to bring up the colored schools, you can see what would probably happen to that.

X6

"Now, about the school buses, it is true that my sister works in the office of the county superintendent of schools and she told me the other day that the superintendent was talking about holding back two of the old second-hand school busses and start hauling some of the colored high school children in to school.

"And about the railroad train. Mr. Mitchell, we don't have the railroad in the county so that question doesn't come up. But while we won't have the railroad train, we are served by the Greyhound bus line and there's a bus coming through here about half-past two. I have my car here. Be glad to take you down to the bus station, we want to be sure you get safe home where you came from!"

So what can you do about that? Well, that's tough.

I showed you these five farms up here. Nobody helped these folks. They didn't get any government loans. They just worked hard, had luck with their crops, saved money and bought land. Free American private enterprise. Self-respecting local farmers, some of them colored, some of them white, and good neighbors. There was something called veterans' on-the-farm training program. ~~Man got~~

X7

through World War II; got home; got him a wife and child; he drew $97.50 a month for several years, for farming a piece of land (that didn't have to be his) and going to vocational classes two night a week. Some of them put that money into buying land. There's something left of a Federal agency called the Farmers Home Administration. In a heavy tenancy county like this it is supposed to lend out enough money every year for ~~9 or 10~~ 5 or 6 carefully chosen tenants to buy farms and fix them up for themselves. Forty years at 4%. They often pick young men so their children will be raised as owners' children and break the cycle. It sometimes happens that ~~ten~~ 5 of those tenants get loans, hunt around the county for farms to buy, and can't find them. They come back and say to the Government man, "How would it be if we were to put our money in a pot and try to buy one of the big places?"

"Now," they say, " the Atkinson place there. Of course, the Judge is dead. He never had but just the two boys. That oldest boy that went to Harvard Law School, he's practicing up in New York. We hear he's doing very well but he never comes down here. The younger brother, Mr. Mitchell, I don't want to say too much but he was drinking a good deal when he was in his last year in high school here in the town. They sent him off to College but he only stayed there just the two terms and when he came back the law came and picked him up, and he's locked up somewhere, we

don't know just where. But we're satisfied that if you would write to the brother in New York and offer him $90,000 for the Judge's place, he would sell. Well, he would. So buy it and split it up into ten nice farms.

These are not little ones, now; these are big farms; 180 to 220 acres; neat, white-painted, three bedroom house on each one. Good barns, good stock, good fences, good folks. Colored on some, white on some.

Run on that way three, four, five years. A white man guy will come down the road from up around the courthouse and call a meeting of the white farmers." Fellows, you all know me. Some of us at the courthouse were sitting around talking about the primary that'll be in a little more than six months, and still time to register. We counted up. If we could get up about four-hundred and thirty-one more votes we could throw out the fellow we've got in the legislature from this county. Now he's no 'count; and what time he's sober up there he's a'votin' against us little fellows. So I came down here to see how many votes you've got toward throwing him out. How many have you got?

"Well," they say, "on this place there's not but just the four white families. That's seventeen votes, and you'll get them all. Is that enough?"

"Nnno," he'll say, "I was a'hopin' I could get some more."

"Well, we have told you all the white people we have got."

Somebody on the back row will get his hand up kind of timid-like and say: "What about the colored people? Will you take them?"

And somebody else will sing out: "Hold on, now. Colored never been allowed to vote in this county."

The man on the back row will say: "Of course I know that's so; they haven't. But these colored people right around here are different. They have got their own farms. They're good farmers. Now you take Will Jackson. When was it -- five weeks ago? -- he went to town and came back with that rubber-tired side-delivery hay rake; and I think most of us white people have borrowed it off him once; I know I have had it twice. And there's June Wilson; he's got fourteen hams hanging up in his smoke house. And I don't think a white man around here killed more than two hogs last year. And here Tuesday when we all had our hay fresh cut down on the ground and that thunderstorm came up, didn't those colored fellows come over here and help us get that hay in the barn? And nobody asked them to either. And I know that if they were to vote, they would vote with us. So I say, let's get them to vote. What do you say?"

And they say, "That's right, let's get them to vote."

The point being that as soon as they got basically equal, their civil rights came walking down the county dirt road.

Now its hard lines, because we've got something like that to do in the whole of that old plantation belt. Not radically; not quickly. I certainly don't say issue three billion dollars worth of government bonds, buy everybody's big place, and give it all to the poor folks in the county. That doesn't work. But I do say let's have a consistent public policy stretching over forty or fifty years of planting in that old plantation belt as many islands of independent family farming as we can. Other things to do in there: pull the high tension power lines into that country. A million more people are going to leave here in the next ten years hunting jobs. Why can't jobs come to them?

Change their schooling system some too. They're hoe hands today and will be factory hands tomorrow. Teach them what's called industrial arts. Then when they pick up a job they can take six weeks training in a factory's course and come out with semi-skilled wages and be okay.

Well, if you did that you'd have the fourth and last one fixed up, and by definition you've got an equal and a democratic South.

Now a queer business: In all that, I haven't said a word about States, and yet we live in States and States are important. Let's draw in the State lines and see what they mean. Take South Carolina. The mountains just graze the backs of two counties. The Piedmont piece is

narrow and short. The plantation piece wide and long.

Suppose you get everybody up in here to belong to a union or a vigorous farmers' organization, and press for some progressive measure to get through the Legislature. And when the Legislature meets in Columbia, they don't get it because there are so many more State senators from down here than from up here.

Georgia is the same way. A little piece of mountains, a little piece of Piedmont, a big piece of plantation; nothing wiggles. Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana. It's far worse than it looks on that map, because this old plantation belt has been drained of people these forty years; with one ~~insignificant~~ small exception, it's never been drained of a seat in a State Legislature yet. You see? So that to sheer geographical preponderance is added an artificial political hammerlock, the consequence of which is that across the States of the lower South we are all held in every public and most private acts to the attitudes and practices acceptable to that politically predominant part of the State least advanced in democratic arrangements. It's a system of the lowest common denominator.

If you want a contrast, take North Carolina: a big piece of mountains, the very biggest piece of Piedmont, and two little shrinking nubbins of plantation country; the one ~~consistently~~ usually progressive State we've ~~got~~ had

Well, then, at the end, we come back to civil rights.

A hundred years ago the rest of the country and the rest of the world looked at that map and said the time has come for a broad enlargement of human freedom. The South should abolish slavery. A few very wise people said, "Well, that could be managed. Of course, it would cost money. We would have to buy the slaves, set them free, teach them skill, let them buy land, and you'd be out. What do you say?"

"No," the country said, "we're not going to spend a penny. Change the law. We're going to emancipate them. If you don't like it you just get used to it." Well, we had a war about that and spent five hundred times on the war on what it would have cost to have done it right. And still didn't do it.

Now in the middle of this century, the rest of the country and the rest of the world take another look at that map and say, The time has come for a further broad enlargement of human freedom. The Southern States should now get rid of segregation.

The queer thing to me is this hardheaded businessman's country is still saying, "Now we're not going to spend any money. Just going to change the law."

I've been trying to show you that it's more difficult than just changing the law. It would be perfectly possible to clean up all the slums -- city and town and country -- in the South, but it would cost you about eight hundred million dollars. But do you get civil rights as long as you live in those rows of shot-gun shcaks that pass for houses in our Southern cities?

+9

Health is another. It takes more hospitals and clinics and more doctors and nurses, but it could be done. And we need several billions of dollars of additional private investment, to make still more factory jobs. And the schools. And a goodly amount to make owners out of tenant farmers.

But if you do those things you have jobs and farms and homes and schools and health; and that's just the other side of the nickel to civil rights.

Now mind you, I'm not saying don't hold back civil rights legislation, or court decisions until these fundamental things have been done. Neither am I saying don't do the fundamental things until the law has been tightened. I am saying, for two centuries of neglect the South is at a point where it has got to do ~~do~~ two jobs at once. It's a little tough; but if we'll all work I think we can get it done.

X9

Paul Calvin Payne, *General Secretary*
G. W. Renneisen, *Treasurer*

Mr. Mitchell

THE BOARD *of* CHRISTIAN EDUCATION *of the* PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH *in the* UNITED STATES *of* AMERICA

Department of Social Education and Action

830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa. • PEnnypacker 5-6722

WASHINGTON OFFICE
104 C. STREET, N. E.
WASHINGTON 2, D. C.
LINCOLN 3-7176
"On Capitol Hill"

May 15, 1956

Mr. Frank Willard
3223-b Cain's Hill Place, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED MAY 18 1956

Dear Mr. Willard:

Mr. Scanland is out of town this week and I have been unable to meet with him on the contract. I tell you this simply so that you will understand that the delay in unavoidable.

You asked for a recapitulation of the production schedule we worked out; and, according to my notes it is as follows:

(1) Production outline or synopsis -- May 31

(2) "Semi-final" script -- May 31

(3) Picture treatment -- May 31

(4) Begin production sometime between June 15 and June 30

(5) Interlock -- July 22

(6) Test or answer print -- July 22

(7) Release prints -- July 31

You will hear from me immediately after I have word for you.

Sincerely yours,

H. B. Sissel
Associate Secretary

HBS:ab

CC: Rev. Robert Scanland

Paul Calvin Payne, *General Secretary*
G. W. Renneisen, *Treasurer*

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WASHINGTON OFFICE
104 C. STREET, N.E.
WASHINGTON 2, D.C.
LINCOLN 3-7176
"On Capitol Hill"

May 15, 1956

Dr. Malcolm Calhoun
Presbyterian Church, U.S.
Division of Christian Relations
341-B Ponce de Leon Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Malcolm:

Arrangements have been concluded for the production of a 26½ minute color sound film by Frank Willard Productions, Atlanta. This film will be built around George Mitchell's famous speech on the development of the South, with appropriate documentary illustrative fade-outs. I have left the actual production of the film pretty much in the hands of Mr. Mitchell (who knows the South) and Mr. Willard (who knows scripting and technically creative approaches).

However, I have also suggested both to Mr. Willard and Mr. Mitchell that you, because of your knowledge of the Church in the South, would ve valuable as a sort of "technical advisor." I am hoping that you will be willing to make your counsel available, particularly to Mr. Willard when he seeks it. All of us are concerned that this film be useful to as many groups as possible, both church and secular, in the South.

Sincerely yours,

H. B. Sissel
Associate Secretary

HBS:ab

CC: Dr. George S. Mitchell
Mr. Frank Willard

May 22, 1956

Dictated May 21

Mr. H. B. Sissel
Associate Secretary
Board of Christian Education
of the Presbyterian Church
in the U.S.A.
830 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Sissel:

I had a good time in Charleston and I appreciate all you did.

Spent an hour or so this morning with Willard, and we are moving along toward your schedule.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Paul Calvin Payne, *General Secretary*
G. W. Renneisen, *Treasurer*

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WASHINGTON OFFICE
104 C. STREET, N.E.
WASHINGTON 2, D.C.
LINCOLN 3-7176
"On Capitol Hill"

May 15, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED MAY 17 1956

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thanks again for your help at Charleston. Without your presence and the knowledge and experience it represented I am sure we could not have brought the thing off.

I had a three or four hour conference with Frank Willard in Atlanta last Friday and it looks as though all the necessary arrangements have been made for the production of the film. I trust you and Mr. Willard to combine your knowledge of the South and his technical competence to do most of the creative work necessary. My job is, as I see it, simply to act as a sort of catalyst in the operation. I am suggesting also that Malcolm Calhoun be regarded as a sort of "technical advisor" because of his knowledge of the middle class church in the South.

Thanks again, not only for the job you did for the Presbyterians, but for the continuing work you are doing for our sick country.

Sincerely yours,

Ben Sissel

H. B. Sissel
Associate Secretary

HBS:ab

CC: Rev. Charles W. Talley, Field Director

P. S. I spent several hours in Montgomery with Mr. King and Mr. Abernethy, as well as in a conference at Moorehouse with leaders from Orangeburg, Mississippi U., Montgomery, Nashville, etc. and I am now convinced that there are few things in either United States domestic or foreign policy comparable in urgency to our internal race relations.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . . EAB . . . . . .

5/25/56

Dr. Mitchell:

Did give Mr. Willard an original and a green copy of this today.

Roughly estimated: total number of words on original version is 6048; revised version is 5145.

Paul Calvin Payne, *General Secretary*
G. W. Renneisen, *Treasurer*

THE BOARD *of* CHRISTIAN EDUCATION *of the* PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH *in the* UNITED STATES *of* AMERICA

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WASHINGTON OFFICE
104 C. STREET, N.E.
WASHINGTON 2, D.C.
LINCOLN 3-7176
"On Capitol Hill"

June 7, 1956

RECEIVED JUN 11 1956

Mr. Frank H. Willard, Jr.
Frand Willard Productions
3223-b Cain's Hill Place, N. W.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Frank:

It's good to receive word of the progress you're making and of the tentative completion of the script. I am sure that you and George Mitchell will be able to work out your problems satisfactorily.

I am rather disturbed at the prospect of the film's running over 26½ minutes as this will in effect kill its use on TV, according to my understanding. I know how the author of a speech or article feels about having parts of his creation cut, as I have gone through this agony myself. At the same time, many of us feel that TV will be one of the important outlets for this film and will probably multiply its potential utilization several times what it would be without this outlet. Let me urge you therefore to use every possible effort short of mayhem to bring the final film out at between 26 and 26½ minutes.

All of us here await eagerly the revised script. Let's give some more thought to the title.

Sincerely yours,

H. B. Sissel
Associate Secretary

HBS:ab

CC: Dr. George S. Mitchell
Dr. Malcolm Calhoun
Rev. Robert Scanland

Paul Calvin Payne, *General Secretary*
G. W. Renneisen, *Treasurer*

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WASHINGTON OFFICE
104 C. STREET, N.E.
WASHINGTON 2, D.C.
LINCOLN 3-7176
"On Capitol Hill"

June 20, 1956

Mr. Frank H. Willard, Jr.
3223-B Cain's Hill Place, N. W.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

RECEIVED JUN 22 1956

Dear Frank:

I have only today returned to the office and have my hands on your script, which I shall read forthwith and comment upon immediately, if not sooner. At this point I am only prepared to reiterate my concern about the length of the film which should not go beyond 26½ minutes, in my strong opinion.

Will write soon with comments about the script which Scanland will also be very anxious to see.

Sincerely yours,

H. B. Sissel
Associate Secretary

HBS:ab

CC: Dr. George S. Mitchell
Rev. Malcolm Calhoun
Rev. Robert Scanland

June 29, 1956

Mr. Joseph Haas
1116 First National Bank Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Haas:

Leonard will tell you of the map speech which I, Mitchell, have from time to time put together. There has long been a hope that it could be mechanically reproduced in some way.

A few months ago the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church in the USA (which is the Northern Presbyterian Church) requested and received a grant of about $15,000 from the Fund for the Republic for its general program. Not long after the Presbyterians received the grant, they let me know that they were hopeful that with some small portion of the proceeds of the grant they could make a movie of the map speech.

As the matter shook around, the Presbyterians contracted with an Atlanta concern, Frank Willard Productions, to make the movie. Color film. In order to adapt it for television, which has a maximum of half an hour for customary programs, Willard and the Presbyterians required me to reduce a thirty-eight minute speech to twenty-six -- but never mind.

Willard now hands me this proposed agreement between his firm and myself on behalf of the Southern Regional Council. Willard is no lawyer and it's his own wording.

The purpose he sets out to accomplish with the proposed agreement seems to me proper, and I would be disposed to execute the agreement. But I would not do so without your kindness in advising me whether the agreement seems in proper form. And if objections to it as a policy matter occur to you, please let me know.

If the matter needs further explanation from me, let me know and I will come over, to suit your convenience.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. - two copies of above-mentioned contract.

Dictated by Mr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

July 9, 1956

MEMORANDUM

TO: Frank S. Willard

From: George S. Mitchell

Our lawyer says that the form of agreement between your show and this show is O.K. as is, except that the last paragraph should be amended to read: "Provided that the motion picture produced is satisfactory to the Council, the Council will lend its name and endorsement to the film, and will permit release of the film, etc."

If you are willing for this amendment (which seems to me in order) to be made, and will prepare a draft revised accordingly, I will be glad to sign.

Our lawyer states: "This proviso will avoid the embarrassment that might ensue if the film should prove unsatisfactory, and if Mr. Willard should release any unsatisfactory film with your endorsement. You should be able to refuse the use of the Council's name upon an unsatisfactory film."

eab/

July 9, 1956

Mr. Joseph Haas
1116 First National Bank Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Haas:

Most kind of you to review the form of agreement with the movie maker. I have told him that we would sign the agreement as amended, and I assume that he will promptly amend it.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Mr. Mitchell/signed in his absence

HAAS, HOLLAND & BLACKSHEAR

HERBERT J. HAAS (1905-1953)

JOSEPH F. HAAS
J. KURT HOLLAND
M. HARDEMAN BLACKSHEAR
JACK H. ZINKOW

ROSE M. SCHREIBER
RICHARD C. FREEMAN
S. JARVIN LEVISON

LAW OFFICES
FIRST NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

July 5, 1956.

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

RECEIVED JUL 7 1956

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

It appears to me that the proposed contract with Mr. Willard in general is satisfactory, except that it provides "The Council shall lend its name and endorsement to the film, and agrees to permit release of the film."

It appears to me that, before the Council should undertake this firm obligation, it ought to be satisfied with the film. Therefore, I suggest that a proviso be inserted in the last paragraph to the effect "provided that the motion picture produced is satisfactory to the Council, the Council will lend its name and endorsement to the film, and will permit release of the film, etc."

This proviso will avoid the embarrassment that might ensue if the film should prove unsatisfactory, and if Mr. Willard should release any unsatisfactory film with your endorsement. You should be able to refuse the use of the Council's name upon an unsatisfactory film.

With kindest regards, I am

Cordially yours,

Joseph F. Haas

For Haas, Holland & Blackshear

JFH:RS

July 10, 1956

Mr. Frank Willard
3223-b Cain's Hill Place, N.W.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Mr. Willard:

The following is an itemized statement of expenses in connection with the typing and mimeographing of the map speech manuscript:

Stencils (22 @ $.12)	$ 2.64
Mimeo Paper ($1.19 ream)	1.19
Mimeographing Time (collating, stapling)	5.00
	$ 8.83
Typing (22 pgs. @ $.50)	11.00
Total	$19.83

I would appreciate it if you would make the check in the amount of $8.83 (materials and mimeographing time) payable to the Southern Regional Council; and the $11.00 payable to me as signed below.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth A. Brantley

Paul Calvin Payne, *General Secretary*
G. W. Renneisen, *Treasurer*

THE BOARD *of* CHRISTIAN EDUCATION *of the* PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH *in the* UNITED STATES *of* AMERICA

Department of Social Education and Action

830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania • PEnnypacker 5-6722

WASHINGTON OFFICE
104 C. STREET, N.E.
WASHINGTON 2, D.C.
LINCOLN 3-7176
"On Capitol Hill"

September 27, 1956

RECEIVED SEP 29 1956

Dr. Morris R. Mitchell
Graduate School of Teacher Education
Putney, Vermont

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thanks for the assurance of your order for one copy of your brother's film. I will notify you as soon as one is available and tell you where to order and to whom to remit. This office is not equipped to act as a distributing agent.

Please don't hold me hard and fast to the price estimate of $105.00 that I made. This was the figure given by the photographer. Prints of the film will be made in the Eastman laboratories and they will set their own price, which might vary from the one quoted. My guess is that the price may exceed that, but not substantially. I hope I am not wrong.

Several of us previewed a work print of the film today and the reaction was unanimously enthusiastic.

Cordially yours,

H B Sissel

H. B. Sissel
Associate Secretary

HBS:ab

October 19, 1956

AIR MAIL

Mr. H. B. Sissel
Associate Secretary
Board of Christian Education of the
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
830 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Ben:

After some weeks of dawdle over this matter, Frank Willard now is frantically eager to get the legal agreement effected.

I don't know why. Our lawyer said this language is O.K.

You do what you want; the bee is on you.

When and if executed by you, you should send it back to Willard.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

Wrong file

October 19, 1956

Mr. Frank Willard
3223-b Cain's Hill Place, N.W.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Frank:

I signed the agreement with Seal, and sent it in frantic haste forward to Sissel and told him to do his best on it -- or his worst -- and send it back to you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

For incoming page
"Studies File - Va"

November 5, 1956

Mrs. Morris Brown
201 Sunset Avenue
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Brown:

This isn't exactly like it but it is close enough.

The people officially in charge of the movie are the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania. It ought to be out now in color and sound in a matter of days. I am sure the Presbies will rent it out for a reasonable figure.

They squshed it up into twenty-six and one-half minutes hoping to get it into television half-hours.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. Script Mitchell Map Film

Mitchell - Mrs Speech

April 24, 1957

Mr. H. B. Sissel
Associate Secretary
The Board of Christian Education of the
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
830 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Ben:

We are getting a good many queries about the availability of the George Mitchell film. I gather from Frank Willard that the second version is completed and in your hands.

Are you in position to give us any idea of the availability date?

While I am writing: I take it you haven't yet gotten any final word on the matter we discussed by telephone some weeks ago. When and if you do, I will be most eager to hear.

I caught a glimpse of you and Jean Russell in Washington. Sorry we had no opportunity to talk.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

Mitchell - rapid panel

April 24, 1957

Mr. George K. Hunton
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear George:

The Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. undertook to do a twenty minute film version of George Mitchell's talk. Unfortunately it had to be reshot, and the processing of the second version was completed only about a week ago. The Presbyterians will be making it available -- soon, I hope, for rental or purchase by interested groups. We plan to have one or more copies on hand for showing on a loan basis.

As it happens, I received a letter in the same mail as yours from Bishop Waters inquiring about the availability of the film. I have written today to Ben Sissel of the Presbyterians to find out how soon a copy will be ready. As soon as I hear from him, I will write you again.

Thanks for your thoughtfulness in arranging for me to receive a copy of the April issue of Ave Marie containing the Catholic version of the St. Louis Story. I am looking forward to seeing it.

With warm good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

have placed a frightful premium on working time here in the office.

My schedule for the next few weeks is as follows:

April 25 through 27 - New York.
May 2 and 3 - Little Rock for conferences with Harry Ashmore and the Arkansas Council.
May 6 and 7 - Appointment with a San Francisco Foundation executive, here in Atlanta.
May 10 and 11 - Two-day conference of our regional consultants is Atlanta.
May 21 and 22 - A conference of state staff people here in Atlanta.

There are several contingencies, most important of which is the possibility that Josephine Wilkins will want me to make a flying visit to New York sometime in May to meet with prospective contributors that she has cultivated. (She was at the Executive Committee meeting and announced that she was, after some delay, about to be off on her mission for SRC.)

As you see, the week of the 13th is clear of conferences and travel, as are a few scattered days before then. If you could conveniently visit us here in Atlanta, you would be eagerly welcome. That would have the advantage of exposing you to the rest of the staff in their working situation.

I shall look forward to hearing from you. Meanwhile, all best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encls.

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

April 15, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Conference
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Paul Williams tells me that you have a film of George Mitchell talk in which he describes the different areas of racial patterns to be found in the South. I understand from Paul that this film runs approximately one half hour. Paul thinks we could put on the film at one of our regular Thursday forums.

Consequently, I write to ask whether we might be able to borrow this film for a showing here sometime in the near future. Possibly you might have had a number of copies of this film made up and offered for sale to interested organizations. If so it is quite possibly that some of the Councils might get together and undertake to purchase a copy.

I am sure that you will be glad to know that the April issue of the AVE MARIA published in Notre Dame, Ind., carries the Catholic version of the St. Louis Story. I have asked him to send you a marked copy.

Trusting you are well and with best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

George

George K. Hunton

GKH:RD

Mitchell - Map Vision

tickle

April 24, 1957

The Most Reverend Vincent S. Waters
Bishop of Raleigh
15 North McDowell Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

My dear Bishop Waters:

It is pleasant to hear from you.

The film version of Dr. Mitchell's speech on Southern regionalism was somewhat delayed by a need for a complete reshooting. The second version is now completely processed and is in the hands of the sponsors, namely the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. It was this group rather than the Southern Regional Council which undertook the sponsorship and financing of the film and will be making it available for rental or purchase.

I am writing today to ask how soon copies of the film will be ready for distribution. As soon as I receive a reply, you will hear from me again.

We greatly appreciate your kind words about the work of the Council and value your continuing friendship.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

BISHOP'S RESIDENCE
15 NORTH McDOWELL STREET
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

April 17, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I wonder if you could tell me where I might obtain, either by renting or buying, a copy of the lecture on the South, "The Regionalism of the South," that was put on film by Mr. George Mitchell during the last couple of years.

I would like either to own or be able to rent this for the summer.

With congratulations to you for the good work you are doing through the Southern Regional Council, and hoping that you may be able to supply me with this information, I remain

Sincerely yours in Christ,

+Vincent S. Waters
Vincent S. Waters
Bishop of Raleigh

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=International Letter Telegram

1957 MAY 24 PM 5 52

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A LLR379 PD=PHILADELPHIA PENN 24 247 PME=

=DR HAROLD FLEMING

=SOU REGNL COUNCIL 63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST RN ATLA=

=BRINGING NEW VERSION MITCHELL FILM WITH ME TUESDAY CAN VIEWING OPPORTUNITY BE ARRANGED AT MEETING?=

BEN SISSEL=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

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	PAID		SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.	5/24/57

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

MR. H. B. SISSEL
BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION OF
THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U.S.A.
830 WITHERSPOON BUILDING
PHILADELPHIA 7, PENNSYLVANIA

GLAD YOU ARE BRINGING FILM. CAN ARRANGE VIEWING.

HAROLD C. FLEMING

February 21, 1955

Mr. Lewis W. Jones
Director of Research
Rural Life Council
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Lewis:

Many thanks for the manuscript. It is miles nearer to what it ought to be than ever the Cotton manuscript achieved. I have read it through once. But I still do not think it is the kind of document which would start a wide-spread movement in the South to do something about farm leases.

I need more time to read it some more and think about it in detail before I can say what needs changing. But you are on the way. Generally speaking, it seems to me that the first half of the manuscript is a more careful job than the second half, but the second half has more bite than the first half. From which I draw the conclusion that a final draft could skimp on history and go heavy on present need.

Anyway, we are very grateful to you for working hard in a time of pressure.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.
cc: HCF

+ Mrs Hinckley ltr.

Tenancy Project

March 25, 1955

Mr. Lewis Jones
Rural Life Council
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Lewis:

Could you come over here for one day next week at our expense, between March 28th and April 1st? I will be in all week and we could take some time to talk about this tenancy business.

If next week won't suit you on such short notice, I am to be around also the week of April 4,5, 6, and 7.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: HCF
KS

MAR 11 1955

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR
RURAL LIFE COUNCIL

March 10, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I received your letter giving me your opinion of the draft of the tenancy bulletin. On my return from New York I stopped in Atlanta hoping to discuss it more fully with you. However, a call to your office informed me that you were out of town.

I am not sure that I can deliver a bulletin having usefulness in a crusade. I should like very much to do so for its service value and right through here for the suggested remuneration; however, I will be guided by your further suggestions regarding what I should try to do with it.

My exams were satisfactorily completed and my dissertation deposited in the library. At my age I can't say that I am thrilled but I am very much relieved by no longer having to explain why I don't have the degree.

Let me hear from you at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Lewis W. Jones

Lewis W. Jones
Acting Director

March 30, 1955

Mr. Lewis W. Jones
Rural Life Council
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Lewis:

Fine. I will look for you April 6th.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Farm Tenancy Project

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR
RURAL LIFE COUNCIL

March 28, 1955

MAR 30 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thanks for your letter of the 25th. Since I am going to Nashville this week to attend the sessions of the Southern Sociological Society I cannot come to Atlanta. From the other dates suggested, I am choosing Wednesday, the 6th of April, to come for our discussion. We can do much more by way of pointing up the discussion in discussion than by correspondence.

Sincerely yours,

Lewis

Lewis W. Jones
Acting Director

ns

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JOANNES EST NOMEN EJUS

How to hire **agricultural workers**

from Puerto Rico

1955

Prepared by the **Migration Division**
Department of Labor
Commonwealth of Puerto Rico

In Cooperation with

Farm Placement Service
United States Employment Service
Bureau of Employment Security
U.S. Department of Labor

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Introducing your fellow citizens from Puerto Rico

The people of Puerto Rico are citizens of the United States. Although the language of the island is Spanish, many can speak and understand some English. In any sizable group, you are sure to find at least one who speaks English well.

Puerto Rican workers are part of the domestic labor force. Seasonal demand for agricultural workers is low on the island just at the time when the demand is high in most parts of the mainland. Mainland employers have available around 100,000 experienced workers from Puerto Rico, most of whom have been working during the winter season at sugar cane cutting, a tough job compared with most farm labor operations on the mainland. Most have jobs and families awaiting their return to Puerto Rico when mainland harvests are through and they go back then.

About 5,000 Puerto Ricans came to the mainland for agricultural work under the agreement on minimum standards in 1949 and the number rose steadily to a high of 14,930. A much larger number is expected for 1955.

Simplified procedures for hiring agricultural workers from Puerto Rico have been developed by the United States Employment Service and the Puerto Rican Department of Labor. This booklet explains these procedures step by step. The staff of your nearest State Employment Service local office will be glad to answer any further questions you may have.

Experience of other farmers with Puerto Ricans

The Puerto Ricans who have come to the mainland under agricultural work agreements have been employed in New Jersey, New York, Michigan, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, Maryland, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Wisconsin, Indiana, Washington, and Minnesota.

They worked the following crops:

Asparagus, tomatoes, peaches, apples, beans, peas, strawberries, potatoes, cherries, sweet corn, mushrooms, sugar beets, pickles, cranberries, tobacco, nursery plants and many others. The work consisted of cultivation and harvesting, processing and canning.

Characteristic comments from letters of farmers who employed Puerto Ricans were ". . . very satisfactory" . . . "they sold themselves to our growers because they did a good job" . . . "the quality of their harvesting on piece rate work was very good" . . . "very efficient and dependable" . . . "thrifty" . . . "steady, reliable, safe, and efficient workers" . . . "very quick to learn" . . . "good farm workers because they come from agricultural country" . . . "learned their respective assignments in short time and performed them with industry and good spirit" . . . "their conduct was exceptionally good—no instance of any difficulty arising from friction between members of this group and the local community or other laborers" . . . "had no trouble getting them to give me an honest day's work" . . . "my most vivid impression of them was their desire for work and their willingness to get the job done, even if it necessitated long hours" . . . "I am planning to use Puerto Ricans again, and that is the acid test."

How you can get agricultural workers from Puerto Rico

All recruitment of Puerto Rican agricultural labor begins with the placement of an order in the local office of your State Employment Service. If workers cannot be found locally, then the search extends first to State boundaries, then to areas farther away.

Your State Employment Service, through its affiliation with the United States Employment Service, has access to the facilities of 1,800 local public employment offices throughout the Nation. Your order is quickly cleared, based on the knowledge of the employment situation by local, state and regional offices. If nearby offices are unable to fill your order, it is sent to the Puerto Rican Employment Service which is also affiliated with the United States Employment Service. The Puerto Rican Employment Service will render every assistance in helping fill your order with workers qualified to meet the performance specifications called for by the order.

Since Puerto Ricans will have to travel a considerable distance and will be working far from their homes and families, it has been established that they will come only under the conditions of a standard work agreement which sets forth certain minimum standards, (see p. 8).

If your order is to be filled with Puerto Rican workers you will be asked by your local employment office whether you agree to the terms of the work agreement, for no worker will leave Puerto Rico legally until the work agreement has been signed both by the employer and himself. In the interest of saving time you should sign the work agreement at the time that you place your order. The Puerto Rican Employment Service, upon receiving your order, will pre-select and screen sufficient candidates to permit final selection from a group of the best qualified for the type of work you need. The actual selection of the workers can be done either by the employer going to Puerto Rico or, if this is neither practical nor desired, the Puerto Rican Employment Service will make the final selection. All men selected are required to pass a rigorous health examination and must have certificates

of good conduct from the police authorities in Puerto Rico as well as Social Security numbers.

If the employer is going to make the final selection of his men in Puerto Rico, he will sign the work agreement there at the time the men are recruited. Otherwise he may sign a copy of the agreement at his local employment service office, which will send it to Puerto Rico. There it will be signed by the workers selected and a copy will be sent back to the employer.

The laws of Puerto Rico prohibit discrimination on the basis of color or race. For this reason, the Puerto Rican Secretary of Labor has stated that "It has been the policy of the Department . . . not to approve contracts for work . . . on the basis of racial discrimination or segregation, that is, selection exclusively of white workers or colored workers only."

Insurance Program

The Puerto Rico Employment Service now has in effect a plan of group insurance for the workers coming to the mainland under work agreements.

The program provides for payment for hospitalization, surgical benefits, out-patient benefits, doctors calls, a weekly income for the worker who is unable to work because of accident or illness, and death benefits.

The plan assures medical care for the workers at no cost to the employer. It makes certain that workers will not become a burden to public facilities and assures payment of fees to physicians and hospitals.

The worker will be covered from the moment he leaves Puerto Rico, and the employer's obligation is only to deduct $.74 per week from the worker's earnings and remit these deductions to the insurance carrier at the end of each calendar month during the worker's employment.

Transportation

The employer arranges transportation for the workers who have been selected. The fastest and most practical way to transport the workers is by air carrier. You may select any one of the approved carriers. Any other carrier you select must get approval from the Transpor-

tation Authority of Puerto Rico. The approved scheduled carriers (February 1955) are:

Delta-Chicago & Southern Air Lines, Eastern Air Lines, and Pan American World Airways. The approved non-scheduled carrier is Trans-Caribbean Airways.

Since most workers are unable to pay the fare themselves, employers generally advance the fare. The workers repay through systematic deductions from their earnings in accordance with the work agreement.

You should arrange for the selection of the workers and make necessary arrangements for their transportation with a certified carrier sufficiently in advance of the time you wish the workers to arrive. Except for large orders, 10 days' advance notice of departure date to the Puerto Rico Employment Service is generally adequate, but it is best to confirm this with the carrier of your choice.

When the employer advances part or all the transportation expense to the worker as a loan, he should make the funds available to the worker through a bank in San Juan, Puerto Rico.

To safeguard the funds advanced by the employer the remittance to the bank should be accompanied by a covering letter along the lines suggested below:

Name of Bank.....
(Your local bank has a correspondent bank in San Juan)
San Juan, Puerto Rico

Enclosed please find cashier's check No.....
issued by the ....., ...
(name of issuing bank) (address)

as a loan to ..... agricultural workers to
(number)
cover their transportation or any part thereof from San Juan to the mainland. These workers are to be selected and referred to.....,
(name of employer)
....., by the Puerto Rico
(address)
Employment Service on or about .....
(date of departure)

Yours very truly,

.....
(name of employer or his authorized representative)

(Please turn to page 13)

Agreement Between Employers and Puerto Rican Agricultural Workers — 1955

ARTICLE I

Duration of agreement

A. This Work Agreement is entered into by and between the undersigned Employer and the Workers whose names are annexed hereto. The Agreement shall be in effect from the date of its approval by the Secretary of Labor of Puerto Rico up to and including.....

.....

The original contract shall be held by the Director of the Puerto Rico Employment Service and copies of the Agreement shall be given to both the Employer and the Worker.

B. The Employer may terminate this Agreement if the Worker fails to comply with its terms. Such termination shall be effected only by:

1. Serving written notice thereof upon the Worker, if his whereabouts are known, setting forth the reasons for such termination, and

2. Serving a copy of such termination notice upon the Department of Labor of Puerto Rico at 21 West 60th St., New York 23, N. Y.

ARTICLE II

Guarantee

A. The Employer guarantees to provide to the Worker 160 hours of agricultural or related work in each 4 week period during his agreement, the first of such periods commencing on the day after the worker arrives at the place of employment.

B. If, on any day, the worker refuses or is unable to perform work offered, the Employer shall be credited against the guarantee with 8 hours for each such day, less actual time worked by the Worker.

ARTICLE III

Compensation and records

A. Work customarily performed on a piece work basis shall be performed on a piece work basis during this Agreement. All work performed, whether on a piece or hourly basis shall be paid for at the rate prevailing for similar work in the area at the time the work is performed or .....¢ per hour (as specified in the job order), whichever is greater.

B. The Employer shall maintain records of the earnings of the Worker, of the number of hours worked each day, and of all deductions and withholdings from such earnings. Copies of such records of earnings and deductions shall be filed with the Department of Labor of Puerto Rico at 21 West 60th St., New York 23, N. Y., at least once every four weeks.

C. The Employer shall pay the Worker his wages at least once every two weeks and shall at the same time furnish the Worker with a statement of earnings, hours worked, deductions and withholdings, PROVIDED, however, the Employer may, as long as the Worker owes the Employer any monies, withhold one week's earnings from the Worker.

ARTICLE IV

Terms and conditions of work

A. The Worker agrees to perform all work in a good and workmanlike manner and further agrees to work for the Employer only.

B. The Worker agrees to work not less than 8 hours in any one day and not less than 6 days in any one calendar week unless prevented from so doing because of illness or other justifiable cause.

C. The Employer shall, at his expense, bring and maintain the Worker within the jurisdiction of the Workmen's Compensation Board or Commission of the State in which the Worker shall be employed. If this shall not

be possible, the Employer shall assume responsibility to the Worker for the same Workmen's Compensation risks and in the same amounts as is afforded to industrial workers in the State where the Worker shall be employed. The Employer shall, at his expense, procure and maintain a policy of insurance covering such risk.

ARTICLE V

Housing and food

A. The Employer shall provide to the Worker adequate and hygienic housing at no cost to the Worker. Housing shall include a place of abode, clean blankets, individual bed or cot, mattress, water, light and fuel.

B. The Employer shall provide to the Worker three (3) adequate meals per day at a cost to the Worker not to exceed $..... per day.

B. (ALTERNATIVE) The Employer shall provide to the Worker adequate and hygienic cooking and eating facilities, at no cost to the Worker. These shall include water, fuel, stove, dishes, cooking and eating utensils.

ARTICLE VI

Transportation

A. The Employer shall arrange for and procure transportation for the Worker from the point of departure from Puerto Rico to the work location. The Worker shall bear the actual cost of transportation but not in excess of $..... for one way fare. Transportation arrangements shall include, over and above the public liability and property damage insurance of the carrier, an accidental death insurance policy for $12,500, to cover the Worker while in flight from the point of departure from Puerto Rico to the work location, the cost of which shall be borne by the Worker.

B. The Employer may advance any part or all of such transportation cost. In such event

or in the event of any other advance made by the Employer to the Worker, the Worker authorizes the Employer to make deductions from his future earnings and credit the same against any such advance in the following manner:

The Employer may deduct $5.00 from the first $25.00 earned by the Worker each week, and two (2) additional dollars from each additional five (5) dollars of weekly earnings.

ARTICLE VII

Miscellaneous

A. The Worker shall not be subject to discrimination in employment, housing or any other regard because of race, color, creed, membership in or activity in behalf of any labor organization.

B. The Worker shall be responsible for willful destruction or damage of the Employer's property.

C. The Employer shall render to the Worker, during the term of this Agreement, the following service, at no cost to the Worker:

1. Three adequate meals a day, and lodging from the date the Worker reports at the Employer's request at the point of departure in Puerto Rico until the Worker commences work hereunder.

2. All transportation to and from work other than that referred to in Article VI.

D. 1. The Worker hereby consents and the Employer hereby agrees to make a weekly deduction from the Worker's wages of $..... for non-occupational group insurance premiums and to forward such premiums once each month to Group Insurance Plan Administrators, Inc., 271 Madison Avenue, New York 16, New York. If at any time the Employer fails to make the said deductions from the Worker's wages, the Employer agrees that he shall be liable in full for said premium payments.

2. Any benefits payable under the group insurance coverage in the event of death of the Worker shall be payable to the beneficiary, if any, designated by the Worker.

E. The Secretary of Labor of Puerto Rico or his designee may represent the Worker for all purposes arising out of or in connection with this Agreement.

F. The Employer will procure and maintain in effect a performance bond, in form and amount satisfactory to the Secretary of Labor of Puerto Rico, to guarantee performance of this Agreement. Such bond shall be filed with the Secretary of Labor in Puerto Rico. [This clause does not apply to "independent employers" who hire 20 workers or less. An independent employer is one who hires his workers directly and not through an employers association.]

G. The failure of the Employer to comply with any of the provisions of this Agreement shall constitute a material breach thereof and the Secretary of Labor of Puerto Rico or his designee may cancel the Agreement. In such event, the Employer shall be liable for the full guarantee provided for herein, beginning with the date of approval of this Agreement and terminating on the expiration date specified herein.

H. The parties hereto hereby submit to the jurisdiction of the Courts of Puerto Rico for all purposes of enforcement of this Agreement, except Workmen's Compensation cases. The Employer hereby designates and appoints the Superintendent of Insurance of Puerto Rico as and for his agent for the purpose of receiving legal process in connection with any suit arising out of or in connection with the terms of this agreement, provided however that the Superintendent of Insurance shall forward to the Employer any notice or process served upon him pursuant to the terms hereof.

Bond

Unless the employer is an independent farmer, hiring 20 or fewer workers, he is required to post a performance bond or certified check with the Secretary of Labor of Puerto Rico, in accordance with the following table:

Number of Workers	Bond
1-20	$100 per worker
21-300	$3,000
301 up	$3,000 plus $5.00 for each worker above 300

On page 14 there is a list of bonding companies with branch offices in Puerto Rico which write such bonds. The bonds cost about $15.00 for each $1,000 of coverage. Your local insurance broker can arrange to procure the bond for you through any of these companies.

(Continued from page 7)

The present cost of a one-way fare on scheduled airlines from San Juan, Puerto Rico, to New York is $64.50, which includes a 50¢ premium on $12,500 trip accident insurance (required by the Puerto Rico Department of Labor). The airplane carriers will be glad to quote a figure for transportation cost to the nearest available airport in your vicinity.

The following bonding companies which maintain branch offices in Puerto Rico write acceptable bonds:

American Surety Company of New York
100 Broadway
New York, New York

Fidelity and Deposit Company of Maryland
Northwest corner Charles and Lexington Streets
Baltimore, Maryland

Firemen's Fund Indemnity Company
401 California Street
San Francisco, California

Great American Indemnity Company
1 Liberty Street
New York, New York

Indemnity Insurance Company of North America
1600 Arch Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Maryland Casualty Company
701 West Fortieth Street
Baltimore, Maryland

Porto Rican and American Insurance Co., Inc.
The Ochoa Building
San Juan, Puerto Rico

Royal Indemnity Company
150 William Street
New York, New York

Seaboard Surety Company
75 Maiden Lane
New York, New York

Travelers Indemnity Company
700 Main Street
Hartford, Connecticut

United States Casualty Company
60 John Street
New York, New York

United States Fidelity and Guaranty Company
26 South Calvert Street
Baltimore, Maryland

Puerto Rico Labor Department Offices on the Mainland

21 West 60th Street,
New York 23, N. Y.
PLaza 7-1150

750 South Wabash Ave.
Chicago 5, Illinois
WEbster 9-5837

The Puerto Rico Department of Labor maintains these offices on the mainland so that employers and Puerto Rican workers can contact them for information, for help in clearing up misunderstandings about work agreements, or for assistance in solving other problems.

Questions that employers may have about work agreements should first be taken up with the nearest local Employment Service office.

Notices by the employer required under the work agreement must be addressed as set out in the agreement.

287
25-65-355

RECEIVED MAR 6 1956

UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY

COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE AND HOME ECONOMICS

AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION

DEPARTMENT OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY

LEXINGTON 29, KY.

March 3, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

We are still "batting around" the idea of a tenure study per your suggestion. The many out of town assignments being done by persons involved, have kept us from getting down to a discision on the matter. I hope that we can come to a definate conclusion on the matter in the near future.

It was a pleasure to meet with you during the Atlanta meeting of the Southern Agricultural Workers.

Sincerely

Earl Mayhew

Earl Mayhew
Associate Rural Sociologist

EM/mb

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . FRED B. ROUTH . . . .

13 April 56

TSM -

As our expert on matters agricultural I thought you would be interested in this.

When I was in Fla. one of our great problems in the Redlands district near Homestead was migratory labor and their relationships to "locals" and also the public schools.

Fred.

P.S. Dunoff tels for a Bd meeting - Saturday. 7.

Pps - Tues & Wed in Ala for Exec Com meeting & Mayors Biracial Com. meeting in Mobile - with our group.

7.

Reprinted from The Great Silver Fleet News, September-October 1955

World's Largest Labor Air Lift puts food on consumers' shelves and makes year-round income possible for Puerto Rican Workers.

Operation Breadbasket

"BE in the plaza at 4 o'clock next Monday morning, and the publico (taxi) will pick you up." With those final instructions, Ramon Ruibal, Chief Recruiter in Puerto Rico for the Garden State Service Cooperative Association, Inc., completed filling the roster of another group of Puerto Rican agricultural workers destined for the farms of the Middle Atlantic states on the mainland.

This year, as last, nearly 10,000 contract Puerto Ricans will have worked on the mainland farms. Without their help, many farmers in the area would not have gotten their crops cultivated and harvested. Without the opportunity to work, many Puerto Rican families would be reduced to abject poverty for many months.

New Jersey and its neighboring states have long been famous for quality asparagus, tomatoes, peas, beans and other vegetables and fruits. During World War II, production of these food crops was aided by the use of prisoners of war quartered in the area, and by several hundred Jamaican nationals on temporary work permits. These are the kind of crops that require hand cultivation and harvesting. Machines have not yet been invented to do the job, and seasonal labor in the area has always been a problem.

After the war, the PW's and Jamaicans were returned to their own lands. Southern migration, long a source of seasonal labor had dropped off sharply as a result of the rapidly expanding industrialization of the south. In 1946, the situation in New Jersey farm lands was at a crucial point. An answer had to be found, and a foresighted group of Gloucester County farmers decided to act on the suggestion of a U. S. Employment Service representative. Try Puerto Rico.

The island of more than 2,500,000 people has long been a surplus area in terms of labor. The agricultural economy is unable to accommodate all its workers, and sugar cane, the basic crop is at best a five or six month proposition during what is winter in the northeastern U. S. Summer months bring unemployment and idleness to many of the island's farm workers.

In 1946, individual Gloucester County farmers got together in a cooperative effort and brought 200 Puerto Rican workers into the area as a pilot experiment. The move paid dividends, and other co-ops sprang up in New Jersey and nearby states for the same purpose. Soon confusion and competition among the groups began to sap the vitality of the movement, and finally in 1949 the Garden State Service Cooperative Association was incorporated. It serves as the master organization to handle negotiations with the Puerto Rican government, recruitment, contracts and transportation for the ten member groups representing farmers in New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania and Dela-

In Puerto Rico, a "junta", or group of neighbors pitch in to help cultivate each individual's small plot. The rough, hilly ground is not very productive.

Agricultural worker registers with the Puerto Rican Department of Labor. Physical examination and police clearance follow before man is eligible for migratory work.

Registered workers being recruited by representatives of Garden State Service Cooperative Association for work on farms in New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania and Delaware.

Department of Labor employee gives a recruited worker his copy of the work contract. Next come final instructions on transportation to the airport —and the mainland.

Recruit bids his family goodbye. They know his going will mean food and clothing in the months ahead. Between 70 and 80 percent of the workers return to the island when their work is finished.

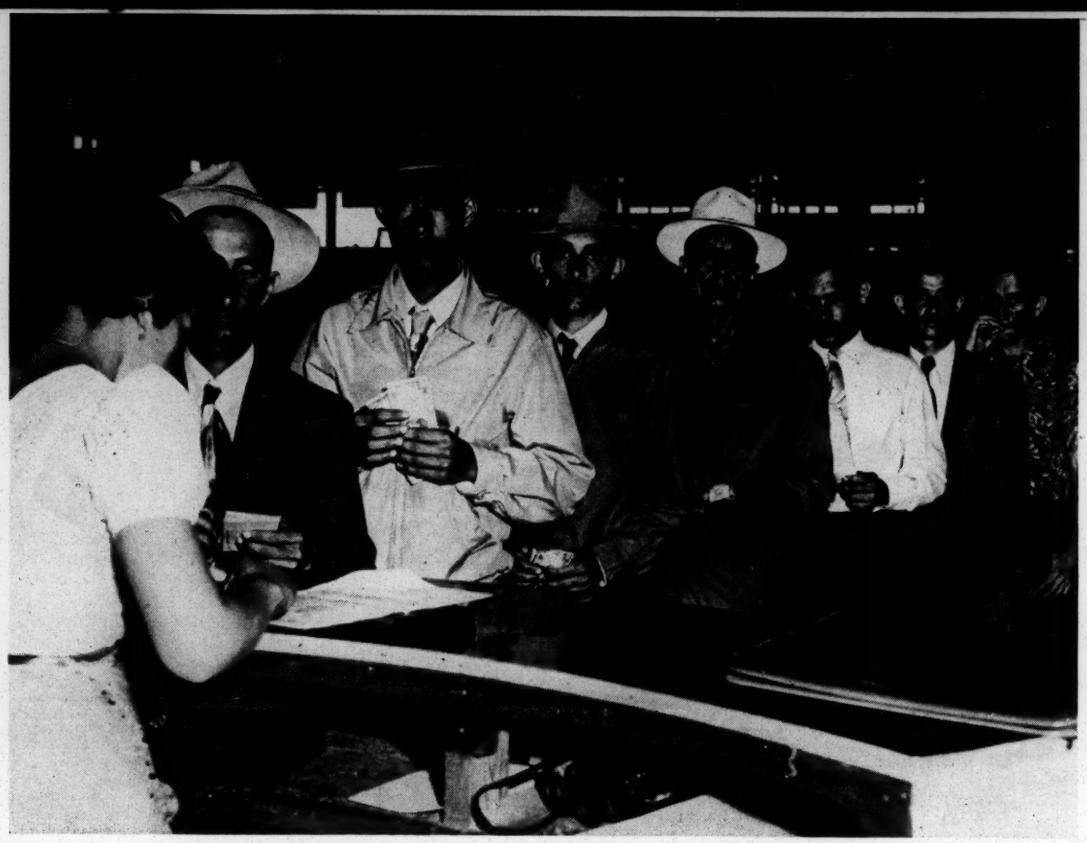
ware.

The Labor Department of the Government of Puerto Rico registers all workers and screens them by means of physical examinations, interviews, and background checks to insure good standards of health and moral standing, as well as agricultural work experience. Garden State's recruiters under Mr. Pedro Nido then make final selections from among registered and cleared workers wishing to make the trip to the mainland. The organization now has records and work ratings on nearly 30,000 workers which enable the recruiters to screen out any who have proved unsatisfactory in the past. This has been a great help in securing good workers for the mainland farmers, for Garden State's experience indicates that between 60 and 70 percent of the workers return each year.

Surveys by both the Puerto Rican Department of Labor, and Garden State indicate that between 70 and 80 percent of the seasonal workers return to Puerto Rico each year.

Since 1952, Garden State has used Eastern Air Lines almost exclusively as transporting carrier for the workers between Puerto Rico and the mainland. After the certification of Eastern for New York-San Juan service, completing the New York - Miami - San Juan triangle, the seasonal aspects of EAL traffic and equipment availability coincided neatly with the demand for worker transportation. All flights from Puerto Rico are now handled by Eastern's Constellation and Skymaster air-

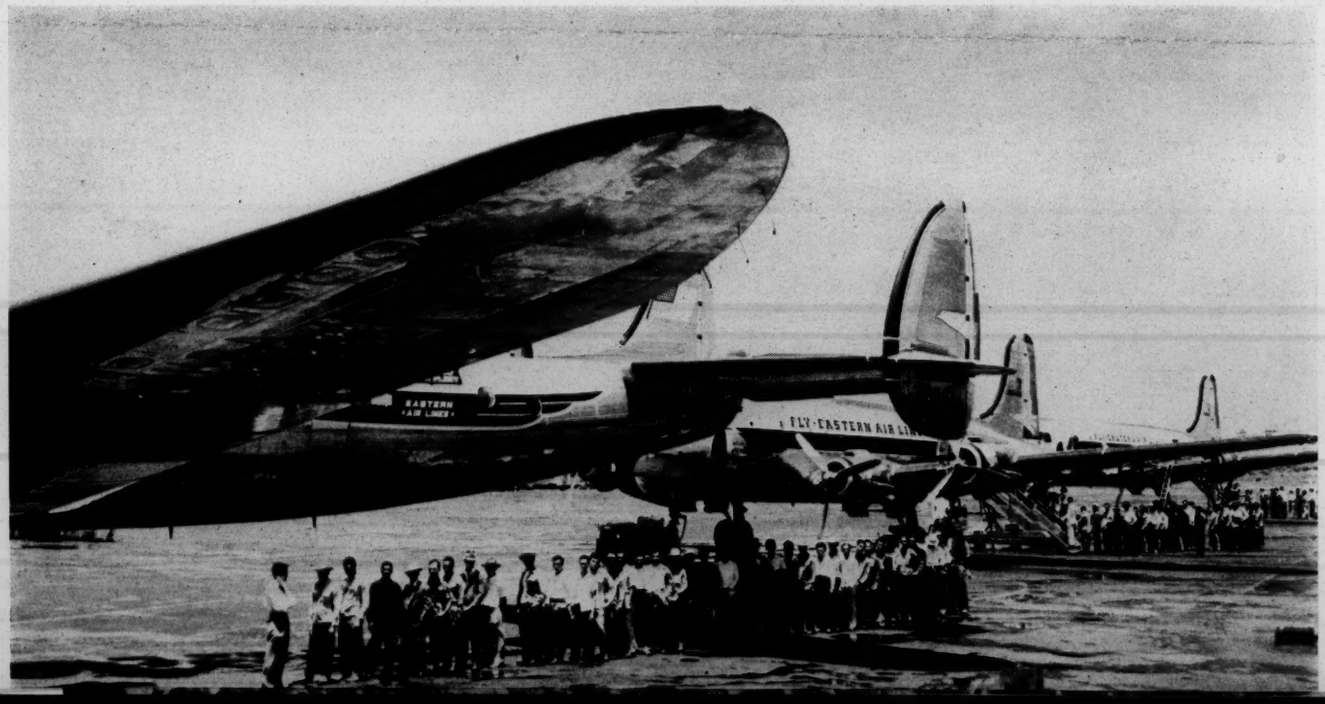
"Publicos", public taxis, bring workers from all parts of the island to the airport on the day of the flight. These recruits are arriving at the old Isla Grande Terminal.



Recruits make a down payment on their transportation. Contract permits employer to advance all or part of the costs against future deductions from the worker's pay.

While awaiting flight departure, migrants get a meal furnished by Garden State in Bird's restaurant at Isla Grande Airport.

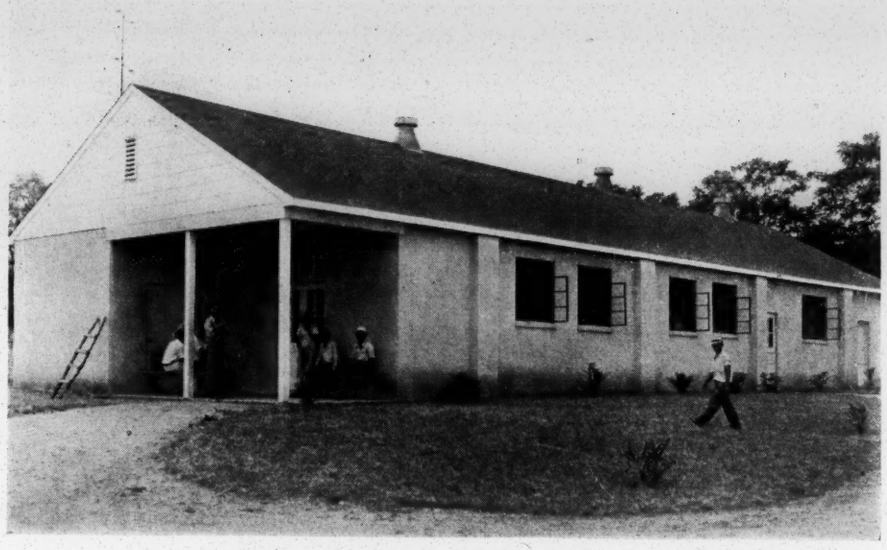
Constellation and two DC-4 Skymasters ready to receive their passengers. Next stop — mainland, U. S. A.! Planes will land at airport closest to workers' final destination.



craft on a charter basis. Garden State is an Eastern Air Travel Plan account.

With the initial certification of EAL to serve San Juan, Captain Eddie Rickenbacker and Eastern's management have taken an active interest in helping the island's government and its people to fully develop the economy so that the standard of living throughout Puerto Rico may soon be on a par with that enjoyed by fellow U. S. citizens on the mainland. With the conviction that what is good for the Puerto Rican economy is good for Eastern, every effort has been made to cooperate fully with the island government and the Garden State Association. Although it is difficult to measure the actual material benefits in dollars and cents to the economies of both the island and the mainland areas affected by the seasonal worker air lifts, the fact that real benefits accrue is inescapable.

Steady year-round income has been made available to thousands of Puerto Rican families who heretofore had been faced with months of poverty and near-destitution each year. Vegetable



Mess Hall and Recreation building in camp for workers maintained by Farmers and Gardeners Association, a Garden State member, near Keyport, N. J.

Puerto Rican migratory workers on the job picking strawberries on a farm near Keyport, New Jersey. Most live on the farms themselves, some in camps nearby.

For further Information on How to hire Agricultural Workers from Puerto Rico – Contact your Local State Employment Service Office or Migration Division Puerto Rico Department of Labor 88 Columbus Ave. New York 23, N. Y. and 750 So. Wabash Ave. Chicago 5, Ill.

and fruit growers throughout the Middle Atlantic states can be sure of an adequate labor supply to cultivate and harvest their crops. The constant battle against the uncontrollable forces of nature faces every farmer and threatens every investment of time and money he makes, and many a farmer has had cause to bless those who have helped relieve his labor problems, leaving him more free to wrestle with the tasks of production and marketing.

Each worker has a formal signed contract with his employers under which he is guaranteed 160 hours of work in each 4 week period covered by the agreement which is a minimum of 13 weeks and usually much longer. The employer must see that the worker is properly covered by Workman's Compensation Insurance, and must provide adequate, clean, housing at no cost. He must also provide either three adequate meals per day for $1.50 or less, or, complete cooking and eating facilities without cost. Workers are guaranteed the prevailing wage for the area in which they work.

The employer may advance all or part of the worker's transportation costs from Puerto Rico, against future deductions from his pay. The only expense to the worker, then, is his transportation, flight insurance, and a basic hospitalization insurance premium. The contract is assiduously guarded by the Puerto Rican Labor Department.

All housing must meet state housing codes, and good standards are maintained. Many of the workers live on the farms of their employers, while others are quartered in camps maintained by the various cooperatives which make up the membership of Garden State. All new members of the organization must be approved by the Garden State Board of Directors representing the member groups, and they must be completely satisfied that new members are able and willing to uphold the standards of the organization and have had good labor relations records in the past.

This year, 119 charter flights were operated by Eastern carrying more than 8,000 workers from Puerto Rico to the mainland, landing at Newark and Millville, New Jersey; Buffalo and Rochester, New York; Dover, Delaware and Reading, Pennsylvania. This represents almost $500,000 in EAL revenue, not counting that from the workers' return flights to San Juan, many of whom go home the way they came—by Eastern's Super Constellations. Severe drought conditions kept 1955 from being the biggest year yet, but in terms of scope of operation the EAL-Garden State project is the largest air lift of its kind ever staged.

By the willing hands of these workers, through the cooperation of Garden State, Eastern, and the Puerto Rican government, $120,000,000 worth of food gets to Mr. and Mrs. Consumer each year, and the economy of Puerto Rico gets a $6,000,000 transfusion in the form of wages to its workers.

Others Also Serve; Midwest is Fertile Field

The operations of Garden State, in cooperation with Eastern and the Department of Labor of the Government of Puerto Rico by no means represent the extent of the migratory Puerto Rican labor movement. Other organizations similarly engaged are: Shade Tobacco Growers, Hartford, Conn.; Eastern Shore Farm Cooperative, Salisbury, Md.; Knouse Bros., Peach Glenn, Pa.; Dillon Orchards, Hancock, Md.; over one hundred farmers in Massachusetts through the U.S. Employment Service, and many other individual farmers and fruit growers in the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and Delaware.

One of the most important aspects of this whole subject of migratory labor is the application of its benefits to broad areas of the country in real need of seasonal agricultural workers which as yet have been virtually untouched by the movement. The Puerto Rican Department of Labor has an office in Chicago, and plans to open another in Cleveland from which the Department is willing and anxious to serve agricultural mid-America as far west as the Rockies in the same manner in which it is cooperating in the East. Since Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens, no immigration difficulties arise, making transportation the major problem —no problem at all with Eastern Air Lines on hand to do the job.

File w. Tenancy Article Project.

Mistakes I Have Made

BURNING leaves in the yard when my husband was away was a great mistake. A sudden breeze sprang up and the fire got out of my control. While I rushed into the house to phone my neighbor, it spread even more rapidly. Before we could stop it, it burned over a large area of grass and killed four lovely trees. Fighting fire, I fell and injured my arm. I saw too late how foolish it was for me to start a fire alone. *Mrs. B. F., Virginia.*

Failing to fix all the holes in our chicken house cost me 25 baby chicks. A skunk got through a very small hole in the house and sucked the blood from them. *Mrs. D. T., Oklahoma.*

We neglected to vaccinate for blackleg even though it was prevalent among calves in our neighborhood. We were expecting two new calves. When they came we not only lost a fine calf, but failed to separate it from its mother and thus also lost a promising young dairy cow. Both died of blackleg.
Mrs. G. G. H., Louisiana.

Our five-year-old son fell to his death from the back seat of our car. If we had installed safety locks, which are inexpensive, if we had bought a two-door car instead of a four-door model, or if I had always been careful to see that the locks on the back doors were pushed down, our son would not have died. Thousands of children are needlessly killed or injured in this way every year. *Mrs. G. H., Arkansas.*

I didn't go to a doctor at once after being bitten by a dog. Three days later I developed a fever from it that put me in the hospital for two weeks and almost cost me my life. My experience taught me never to take chances with a dog bite no matter how slight.
Mrs. A. A., West Virginia.

While riding in our wagon to help load some hay, our 10-year-old daughter slipped off, and the team almost ran over her. She went down behind a mule's heels and has marks on her forehead from the fall. It almost frightened us out of our wits. Parents can't be too careful with children around teams or machinery.
Mrs. B. G. H., Kentucky.

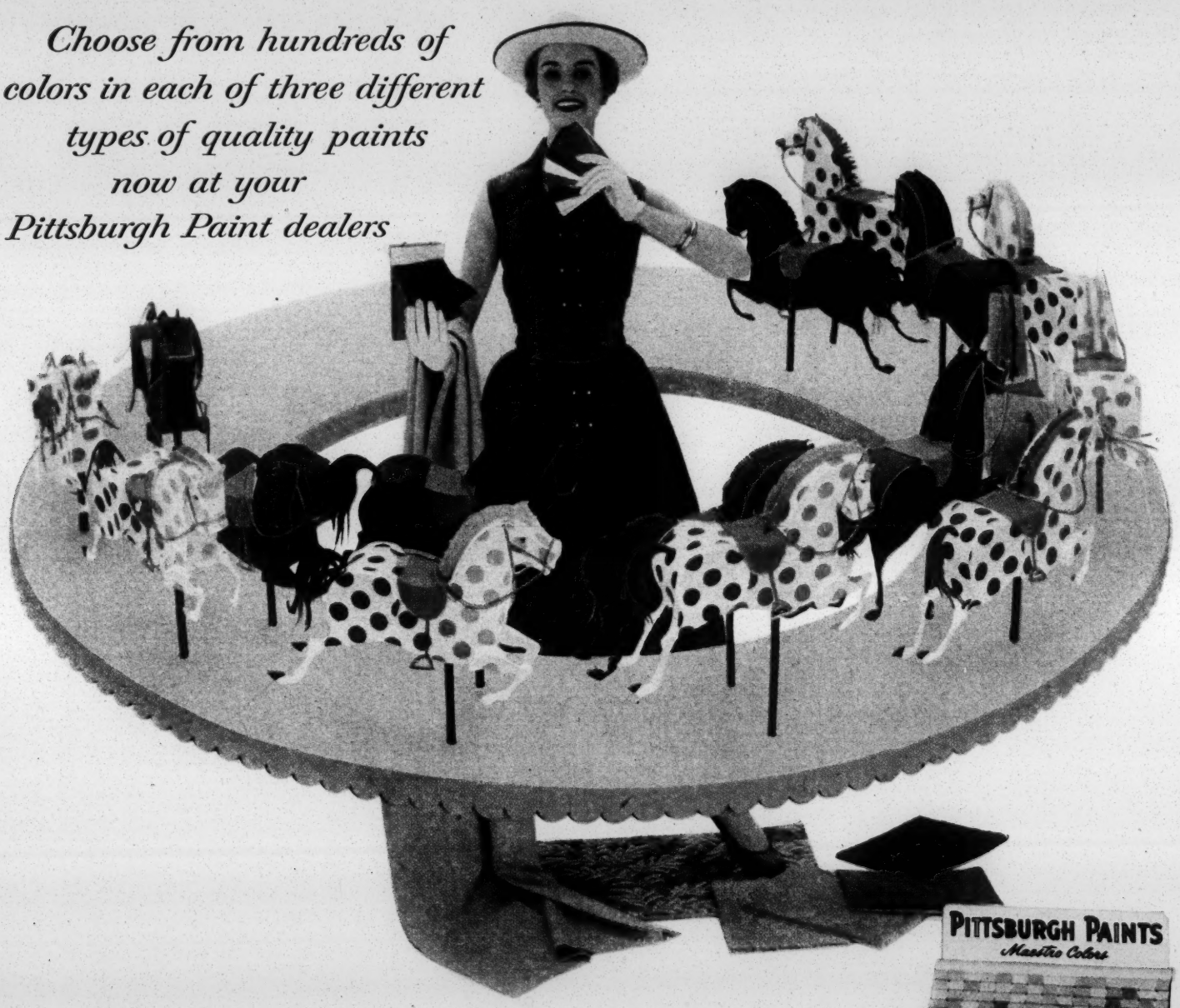
Failing to buy the fine river bottom farm which I had rented and lived on for 23 years was my worst mistake. I was a good farmer, and I knew my landlord wouldn't turn me away. That was my excuse for not buying when my wife insisted on it. But my good landlord died and the place was sold before I could raise the money needed to buy it. We moved to a strange neighborhood miles away. Our seven fine young boys and girls, dissatisfied with the new surroundings, soon scattered, married, and settled elsewhere. My wife and I are left alone in a community that after 10 years still isn't home.
R. H. O., Oklahoma.

We did not take out hospital insurance, as I thought we were not able to pay for it. I had to have an operation, and six weeks later my husband had to spend three weeks in the hospital. No money to meet these bills and worry about them have slowed our recovery.
Mrs. A. B., Alabama.

I bought more baby chicks than I had equipment and brooder space for. I didn't realize until many chicks had died that the waterer was too high for a baby chick to find easily. I'm a 4-H'er, so this incident surely won't help my record books, and my flock will not be as large as I had hoped.
Miss S. M., Georgia.

Now-Hundreds of Colors in Pittsburgh Paints

Choose from hundreds of colors in each of three different types of quality paints now at your Pittsburgh Paint dealers



NOW with Pittsburgh's glorious new MAESTRO COLORS you can have every paint color you ever *wanted*—in just the interior finish you *need*—from soft pastels to dramatic deep tones!

Here are today's most-wanted colors in America's finest paints—and each one is available at your Pittsburgh Paint dealer's in *three* famous Pittsburgh interior finishes: 1. WALLHIDE *Rubberized Satin Finish for walls;* 2. WALLHIDE *Alkyd-Type Flat for walls;* 3. SATINHIDE *Enamel for woodwork.* These three high-quality paints go on easily . . . dry to a smooth velvet-like finish without any unpleasant odor . . . *and* can be washed again and again!

So discover how exciting it is to dream up brand-new color combinations for your walls and trim—or take a cue from your carpets, draperies, furniture or even a favorite painting. Whether you "do it yourself" or hire a painter, you'll find every color this side of the rainbow in Pittsburgh's wonderful selection of beautiful new MAESTRO COLORS!

It's Easy To Plan Your Decorating With This Handy COLOR SELECTOR

● This convenient Color Selector puts all the hundreds of new MAESTRO COLORS right at your fingertips! Use it at your Pittsburgh Paint dealer's—and help yourself to some sample color chips if you'd like to study them at home.

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PITTSBURGH PLATE GLASS COMPANY
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DEPARTMENT OF LABOR • MIGRATION DIVISION

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NEW YORK
APR 11 '58
N.Y.

Mr. Frederick B. Routh, Asst. Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue - N. E. - Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

May 16, 1956

Mr. Earl Mayhew
Associate Rural Sociologist
University of Kentucky
Lexington 29, Kentucky

Dear Earl:

I still want to see that tenure study come through.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY

COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE AND HOME ECONOMICS

AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION

DEPARTMENT OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY

LEXINGTON 29, KY.

April 21, 1956

RECEIVED APR 24 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Sometime ago, I wrote to you that we were " batting around" the idea of a tenure study per your suggestion. The idea is not dead here but I found that some of the folks that need to be consulted about it are in Europe but expect to be back sometime in May or June. I am interested in this and will follow up on it.

Sincerely yours

Earl Mayhew

Earl Mayhew
Associate Rural Sociologist

EM:mb

February 12, 1954

Dr. Broadus Mitchell
313 West 20th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Broad:

This is what came back from Witte. Could you scribble some further identification on the bottom of Bridgman's letter, and return it to me and I will pursue it further.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

Enclosure

THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY

NOTICE REGARDING TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

MAR 8 AM 11 56

Pyun019 _____ 19____
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Southern Reg Council
NAME

432-63 Auth
ADDRESS

Your telegram of Mar 8 1957 to Mr & Mrs Geo S Mitchell
DATE ADDRESSEE

at New York is undelivered for the following reason:
ADDRESS AND CITY

Prof Dial at 11 AM Received too late

If you have occasion to correct the address originally supplied, please call Ga 1-2100

and ask for Ext 340

Form 101 (Rev. 2-49) THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY

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	PAID		Southern Regional Council, Inc.	3/8/57

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

MR. AND MRS. GEORGE S. MITCHELL
SAXONIA
CUNARD LINES
PIER 90 OR 91
FIFTY-FIRST STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

OUR BEST WISHES, LOVE, AND RESPECT GO WITH YOU BOTH FOR A PLEASANT AND FRUITFUL JOURNEY AND SOJOURN. ALL GOOD EGGS HERE JOIN IN THIS WISH

~~KINDEST~~
THE SRC STAFF

RECEIVED JUN 28 1956

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

LEADERS FOR A F S C INSTITUTE ON KEY RACIAL ISSUES
June 29 - July 1, 1956; Antioch College Campus

FRANK SMITH HORNE: Born 1899 in New York City. Began professional life as Doctor of Optometry in Chicago. After serving as Dean and Acting President of Fort Valley State College, Georgia, Dr. Horne came to Washington in 1936 to work with Mary McLeod Bethune in the Division of Negro Affairs of N. Y. A. In 1938 he accepted the post of specialist in racial and intergroup relations, first with U. S. Housing Authority and then with the succeeding agency, the Federal Public Housing Authority. In 1945 he was asked to establish and head a Racial Relations Service in the office of the National Housing Administrator-Expediter and until 1953 maintained that position with the Housing and Home Finance Agency. By 1953 there were 29 professional racial relations specialists under Dr. Horne's general supervision in the national headquarters and regional offices of the Federal Housing Administration, Public Housing Administration and Urban Renewal Administration. He is recognized as a national authority in racial and intergroup relations and as the top expert in minority implications of private and public housing and urban renewal.

Dr. Horne has been consultant in research projects relating to various aspects of the racially discriminated housing market; has been guest lecturer at many of our universities; consultant to President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights, the White House Conference on Citizenship, and many other national groups and organizations.

Dr. Horne is author of numerous publications in the fields of education, housing and intergroup relations. Since 1953 he has been Executive Director of New York City Commission on Intergroup Relations.

* * * * *

GEORGE SINCLAIR MITCHELL: Born 1902 in Richmond, Virginia, Graduate of University of Richmond; Ph.D. Johns Hopkins University. Post-graduate study Oxford University, England, as Rhodes Scholar.

George Mitchell was Instructor of Economics, Columbia University, 1929-35; Special Assistant, Office of the Secretary of the Interior, 1934-35; Director Labor Relations Resettlement Administration, 1935, Special Assistant to Administrator, 1936, becoming Regional Director 1936-39; Assistant Administrator Farm Security Administration, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1939-43; U. S. Foreign Economic Administration, 1943-44; Southeastern Regional Director, CIO Political Action Committee, 1944-45; Director Veterans Services, Southern Regional Council, 1945-47; Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, 1947-present.

Author: Textile Unionism and the South, 1930; The Industrial Revolution in the South (with Broadus Mitchell), 1931; Black Workers and the New Unions (with Horace Cayton), 1940.

* * * * *

JOHN G. FEILD: Born 1923, Graduate of Wayne University. Served in World War II in 14th Air Force in China and India. He served on the staff of the Mayor's Interracial Committee in Detroit; as consultant on inter-group relations to the President's Committee on Government Employment Policy; as consultant to the

Philadelphia Civil Service Commission and to the Southern Police Institute in Louisville, Kentucky; ~~President-elect, National Association of Intergroup Relations.~~ Mr. Feild came to his present position from the office of Director of the Toledo Community Relations Board. In January of this year he became Executive Director of the Michigan Fair Employment Practice Commission with headquarters in Detroit. President-elect of National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials in 1956-57.

* * * * *

BENJAMIN ELIJAH MAYS: Born in Epworth, South Carolina. Graduated with honors from Bates College, Lewiston, Maine. Ph. D. University of Chicago. Honorary Degrees of Doctor of Laws (twice), Doctor of Divinity (four times), Doctor of Letters, Doctor of Humanities, have been conferred upon Dr. Mays by various universities. Besides teaching positions he has been Executive Secretary of Tampa, Florida, Urban League; National Student Secretary of the YMCA; director of extended study of Negro Churches in the U. S., under auspices of the Institute of Social and Religious Research, New York City; dean of School of Religion, Howard University, Washington, D. C. Since July 1, 1940 Dr. Mays has been President of Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia. Morehouse is one of the top ranking Negro Colleges in the United States.

Dr. Mays is the author of a number of books, such as "The Negro's God", and "Seeking To Be Christian In Race Relations". He has contributed chapters and sections to many books, in addition to about 60 articles in national Magazines. His national and world connections identify him with a long list of important organizations.

* * * * *

B. TARTT BELL: Graduate of Tulane University; Master's Degree in Labor Economics from The University of Chicago; Master's Degree in International Administration from Columbia University. He is chairman of North Carolina Christian Rural Overseas Program; chairman of Overseas Relief Commission, North Carolina Council of Churches; president of Greensboro (N.C.) Community Council. In 1948 he was Mexico's Work Camp Director for AFSC. Since then he has been the Executive Director of the Southeastern Regional Office of the AFSC. This regional office, covers eight States of the South. It has two race relations programs with supporting staff, one operating in the field of Employment on Merit, the other in School Desegregation.

* * * * *

MARSHALL BRAGDON: Has been since August, 1945, the executive director of the Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee of Cincinnati. He is one of the pioneers who developed municipal intergroup agencies (now found in 30 cities) to improve racial and religious relations.

Before 1945 Mr. Bragdon was an editor of the "Springfield (Mass.) Republican" for 15 years. He also assisted the Springfield schools in a program to instill in children an unprejudiced appreciation of people of all faiths, races and national origins. That work brought him national recognition and the invitation to come to Cincinnati in 1945.

In 1947 he helped to found the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, which includes intergroup workers of all kinds. After heading its division of municipal agencies, he became president of NAIRO in 1956.

* * * * *

MRS. MARGUERITE I. HOFER: Born in the State of New York. Graduate of Conandaigua Academy and Rochester School of Commerce. Graduate study at a number of colleges in fields of racial, cultural, and industrial relations. Member Housing Committee, Pittsburgh Urban League; member, Executive Board, Pittsburgh N.A.A.C.P.; Chairman of Education for Allegheny County Council on Civil Rights; member Pittsburgh Council in Intergroup Education; Chairman of Housing and Relocation Committee of Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of Pittsburgh Council of Churches; Director of Industrial and Interracial Relations of Presbytery of Pittsburgh.

* * * * *

JOHN HOPE II: Born in Atlanta, Georgia, Graduated Morehouse College 1930; Master's degree in Economics, Brown University, Providence, R. I. graduate work in Economics, University of Chicago, with primary interest in economic problems of low income and minority groups; Instructor in Economics, Morehouse College 1932-33; Chairman and Lecturer, department of Economics, Atlanta University; Fair Practices Examiner, Region VII, President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices 1942-45. Since 1945 Director of Industrial Relations, Race Relations Department, Social Science Institute, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee. 1951-53 on loan to National Planning Association, Committee of the South, conducting studies of biracial employment practices in Southern Industry; Consultant on minority problems in industry (employees, unions, government agencies) for Maryland Commission on Interracial Problems and Relations; Consultant to Baltimore Commission on Human Relations; to Trenton Council on Human Relations; to United Packinghouse Workers, CIO; to Mayor's Council on Human Relations of Minneapolis; and to Allegheny County Race Relations Committee, Pennsylvania.

* * * * *

DE HART HUBBARD: Born 1903, in Cincinnati, Ohio. Graduate of University of Michigan. For 15 years Supervisor of Work Among Colored Citizens for Cincinnati Public Relations Commission. Manager Valley Homes Public Housing Project, Cincinnati. Then Racial Relations Advisor for Region 5 of Federal Public Housing Authority, Cleveland, Ohio. For the past nine years Racial Relations Advisor for Ohio, Michigan and Indiana, Federal Housing Adminstration. (Mr. Hubbard held world records in sprinting and broad jumping; won Olympic Games broad jumping championship in 1924 at Paris, France, being the first Negro athlete to win in the Olympics.)

* * * * *

IRENE OSBORNE: Born Alliance, Ohio. Graduate of Kent State University in Education; Master's degree Ohio State University in Sociology; graduate study Columbia in Intergroup Relations. Employment: Ohio State Employment Service; Teaching Assistant O.S.U.; Instructor Stephens College, Columbia, Missouri; Instructor Lake Forest College, Lake Forest, Illinois; Instructor State College

for Teachers, Albany, N. Y.; Since 1951 with the Community Relations Program, AFSC National Office. In this capacity Irene Osborne has been devoting her time and skills to work in the field of school integration. Her special assignment was to work toward integration of the public schools in the nation's capital. Her work here proved wonderfully fruitful. For this work she was named by the magazine "Madamoiselle" the outstanding American woman of the year (1954) in the field of social service. Beside a number of articles dealing with this effort she is the author of two unsigned AFSC pamphlets, "Integration of Washington Schools" and "The Right of Every Child". The former pamphlet is included in the packet of material being supplied to Institute attenders. More recently she has been on loan to the Southern Regional Council for work on school desegregation in the South.

* * * * *

JOHN Y. YOSHINO. Born in Alameda, California. Evacuted during World War II to Topaz Relocation Camp in the mass evacuation of West Coast Japanese. Served in U. S. Army Military Intelligence in the South Pacific as language specialist. Graduate of Roosevelt College, University of Chicago, and Loyola University, getting a Master's degree from the latter in Social and Industrial Relations. Became employment manager for a Chicago steel tube manufacturer. In 1954 joined the staff of the AFSC regional office in Chicago as Director of their Employment on Merit program, resulting in opening up employment opportunities for minority groups in non-traditional jobs in insurance companies, banks, department stores and law firms.

* * * * *

RECEIVED Nov 14 1956

WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA

EDITORIAL OFFICES

MARQUIS PUBLICATIONS BUILDING
CHICAGO-11 ILLINOIS U S A

1897 - The Proof of the Reference Book is in the Usage - 1956

Dear Biographee:

As a sketch of you appears in the new 1956-7 (Volume 29) WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA - and will be in international circulation in it for the next 24 months -

You are sent this letter to serve to:

1. Place in your hands the enclosed announcement of its publication, release of which automatically cancels the pre-publication preferentials extended to its biographees during its compilation.

2. Notify you that not only the special biographees' after-publication 12% ($2.80) discount is now available to you, but as well an additional discount, if remittance - eliminating billing expenses - accompanies your booking.

   These preferences combine to make the new 1956-7 WHO'S WHO available to its biographees for but $18.80, with all delivery charges prepaid - over 17% ($3.90) less than its regular retail price ($22.75). Since they are our way of saying "thank you" for cooperation in supplying and checking personal biographic data, they are extended only to those listed in WHO'S WHO.

3. Make convenient to you, securing these preferences restricted to WHO'S WHO biographees ... and to our order department, making the necessary checkings that bookings taking advantage of them are eligible under the enclosed special discount form.

* * *

It's our Editors' batting average in searching out those likely to be inquired about generally ... around three in

every 10,000,they find ... that makes WHO'S WHO one of the most consulted of reference books - it's often actually ranked as to usage along with the dictionary, even the telephone directory.

You happen to be one the Editors have selected, but it's their sound selection of the others (as well as of you, naturally) which has won for WHO'S WHO that exceptional standing as a reference tool.

Which explains why thousands of its biographees find WHO'S WHO ... just as you, too, surely will once you have it within easy reach for personal reference use ... exactly as daily-helpful and time-saving as do the thousands who always keep it ready-to-hand, but who are not listed in it.

* * *

I think you'll find both sides of the minutes-to-read single-sheet leaflet I'm enclosing interesting:

> On one side there is typical comment from 11 men and women listed - as you are - in WHO'S WHO, who use it as a tested time-saving reference tool exactly as do its thousands of owner-users who are not listed in it. On the other side, 6 who likewise know from experience - and who are also listed in WHO'S WHO - pin down in words ... which we here couldn't ... what it is WHO'S WHO does - automatically, as a matter of course - for those listed in it, which it cannot do for those not listed in it.

These men and women listed in WHO'S WHO, and using it regularly as a reference convenience, do not buy their copies because their sketches are in them. They buy them to use for the purpose WHO'S WHO is made, for they know:

> That they are listed in WHO'S WHO because its experienced Editors consider them subject to inquiry, and for no other reason.
>
> That WHO'S WHO is made and sold ... at a cost of over $545,000 an edition ... for reference usage, and not to provide them with their own sketches, which they certainly would not find of any daily reference value themselves!
>
> That listing in WHO'S WHO cannot be obtained

by subscribing to it - or for any other tangible consideration - but must be "earned" by creditable noteworthiness.

* * *

Your special booking form enclosed reduces to you, as a biographee included in it, this new 1956-7 (Volume 29) WHO'S WHO as much as $3.90 to but $18.80 (delivered): 17% less than the regular retail price.

You are naturally, on the score of our Editors being beholden to you for data checking and revision, welcome indeed to validate it - a no-postage-required cover will be enclosed.

* * *

Now I've this favor to ask of you: In that two-sided leaflet I'm enclosing, 17 whose careers are sketched in WHO'S WHO - as is yours - tell ... and tell exceedingly effectively, I think you'll agree ... what it is WHO'S WHO does for its biographees that it cannot do for thousands purchasing it regularly for reference usage, but who are NOT listed in it. Would you read - minutes-only required - what they've written to our Editors?

I ask this because what this is that WHO'S WHO does for its biographees that it can't do for others, is in some ways so close to being unique that we've never ourselves hit on words that completely satisfied us for putting it down in black and white ... but you'll find these biographees do just that!

We, of course, know WHO'S WHO does it ... does it - for you and for its other biographees - automatically, as a matter of course, once the Editors select for listing

- now and again biographees even send us examples of its effectiveness too intimate to be published, and members of boards have passed on how biographees ... who probably may never know ... have been tellingly served by it when important incumbencies were being filled -

but in putting it into words, these biographees, whose letters in the leaflet I ask you to read, have done what we couldn't.

Why have I turned to 17 WHO'S WHO biographees to prove up these two facts -

1: That WHO'S WHO can be used as a tested reference time-

See back page of this leaflet.

saver by you - and its other biographees who have also been carefully selected for inclusion in it by our Editors - exactly as effectively as it is by its thousands of reference-owner-users NOT listed in it.

2: That WHO'S WHO automatically, and as a matter of course, does for those listed in it what it cannot do for those not listed in it.

which I must know are facts - and why they are facts - after publishing WHO'S WHO for over a half-century?

The answer: Simply because written proof from the outside-looking-in, from the user, is always unquestionable; while proof from the inside-looking-out is always open to questioning, if only on the score of natural bias.

But I'm not standing aside for others to prove up this third fact:

The WHO'S WHO that can do for you exactly what his WHO'S WHO does for a user not sketched in it ... while every one of the tens of thousands of copies of WHO'S WHO in circulation is doing that "over and above" job for you, but not for him ... will cost you less than his cost him

- for you're listed in WHO'S WHO, and therefore receive the enclosed special preference form that will only be honored if used by a man or woman included in the new 1956-7 WHO'S WHO.

Very truly yours,

Wheeler Sammons

Wheeler Sammons, Publisher.

BA/AN

Four Enclosures

What WHO'S WHO freely and automatically does for its biographees that it cannot do for the thousands owning it throughout the world for reference use, but who are not listed in it.

6 WHO'S WHO BIOGRAPHEES SUCCEED IN PINNING DOWN IN WORDS WHAT IT IS.

". . . could not obtain for any amount of money . . ."

The editorial integrity of "Who's Who in America" has made it a vital force in American life. It is a public relations representative working three-hundred-and-sixty-five days a year for each person listed. One could not obtain this public relations representation for any amount of money, but it works without cost for those deemed worthy of this honor.

A "Who's Who" biographee may take for granted this unique service—and not by any means unique only because it simply can not be bought—but the public does not, nor does the press.

"Who's Who" is not just another book. It is a national institution.

". . . exceedingly helpful . . ."

"Who's Who" has been exceedingly helpful to me, not only for my own use but also to be able to give it as a reference for [various] purposes.

". . . great as is the honor and benefit . . ."

I am deeply grateful . . . for relisting me in "Who's Who." Absence from that well-known book would be quite a loss to me. Great as is the honor and benefit of being in it, still greater is the loss that follows from not being in it . . . [while] still in the active exercise of [one's] profession . . . I return my biography with one correction . . . I am [now] associated with a periodical of . . . wide circulation, as can be seen from its . . . front cover.

". . . something priceless . . ."

. . . I feel a great gratitude to "Who's Who" for the wonderful . . . service of representation it has provided to me through many years, and that I should express this gratitude to you. To have this truly remarkable agency, that actually is a national institution the services of which are not for sale for any amount of money, acting in one's constant representation throughout the world, as "Who's Who" does only, and entirely freely, for those selected for listing in its pages, is something priceless—and of course beyond anything commercial—is something unique; and there is nothing equal to it.

". . . of material help to me . . ."

I am grateful for what my long inclusion—almost fifty years—in "Who's Who" has meant, and means, to me. It is of material help to me as an active factor in my career by providing continual, world-wide, personal representation that is both uniquely distinctive and extra-ordinarily effective because known to be absolutely unobtainable for money, or any equivalent of money.

". . . that just can't be bought with money . . ."

A man—listed in "Who's Who"—to whom I wrote enquiring about a certain authority with whom he and I had once been in contact, replied: "Why don't you look in 'Who's Who'—you're listed in it, and so is he!" That certainly underscored a mental lapse on my part that as a matter of fact had already come to mind: "Who's Who" is of course a treasure house of biographical information that should be handy to consult frequently: but it is also constantly in the service of all of us listed in it, in an invaluable, beyond-any-possible-criticism, sort of unique public relations role, representing each of us in a distinctive way that can't be bought with money, ready every day of the year to let those wanting to know—perhaps for reasons of great practical importance to us—how to reach us, and what we've been doing that's worthwhile. Had I not had that lapse—and I'm not going to have another—I would have quickly known all about Dr. . . . . .'s distinguished career since I had last been in contact with him, and where to get in touch with him quickly regarding the problem that had caused me to write our mutual friend to ask about him, entirely because I did not have "Who's Who" on my desk, which is where it will be hereafter!

OVERLEAF: What WHO'S WHO can do for both biographee and non-biographee.

These 11 WHO'S WHO biographees prove up from their own experience . . . selected as typical of many others' . . . that, in day-to-day usage as a tested reference time-saver, WHO'S WHO can do for those listed in it exactly what it has been doing over the years for hundreds of thousands NOT listed in it.

WHAT IT IS THAT WHO'S WHO *CAN DO* FOR THOSE LISTED IN IT, BUT *CAN NOT DO* FOR THOSE NOT LISTED IN IT, 6 OTHER WHO'S WHO BIOGRAPHEES PUT DOWN IN BLACK AND WHITE OVERLEAF.

". . . just indispensable"

"'Who's Who' serves very many useful purposes for me and our organization. To be specific, my staff and I frequently require the exact official position of persons to be contacted—so we reach for the quickest, most reliable answer—'Who's Who.' On other occasions, it is necessary to know more about a person than the fact, for example, that he is chairman of a well-known board of directors—so again, 'Who's Who' comes to the rescue. Often times we need to know the background of authors of well-known scientific books utilized by me or members of our organization. If it were not for 'Who's Who' these data simply could not be found without a great deal of effort. I could go on and on but, for the sake of brevity, suffice it to repeat, 'Who's Who' is just indispensable."

". . . My father taught me to use 'Who's Who'"

"My most useful tool for reference is indeed the current edition of 'Who's Who.' My father taught me to use 'Who's Who' not long after the first edition appeared."

". . . extremely valuable"

"I think I have all editions of 'Who's Who' for the past 15 or 20 years on hand. I find them extremely valuable, and always by the time the new edition is published, my old one is somewhat 'dog eared'."

". . . as evidence of practical usefulness"

"As evidence of the practical usefulness of 'Who's Who' may I say that after I turned back one Edition when you ran short of copies with which to care for important emergency-connected subscriptions, I had to make some thirty visits to a public library to consult its copy."

". . . I can not imagine a more necessary publication"

"I can not imagine a more necessary and daily useful publication in the United States than 'Who's Who' unless it is the local telephone directory. I use 'Who's Who' every day—and several times.

". . . the flagship of all"

"'Who's Who' for my money is the flagship of all daily-useful reference works, beside which all others are afterthoughts."

". . . always . . . with me everywhere"

"'Who's Who,' the Bible and the check-book always travel with me everywhere I go, and I find them more and more useful the more I use them."

". . . as necessary as the Bible in the home"

"'Who's Who' is a daily time-saver for me. You may be interested in learning that it is as necessary in the Pentagon as is the Bible in the home, and I can personally assure you that the many copies purchased for shipment there of each biennial edition are a very valued reference work throughout the military establishment."

". . . I am constantly being surprised"

"I am constantly being surprised at the number of uses to which 'Who's Who' can be put. There are what might be called unorthodox purposes the book can be made to serve. I have often verified a date for a need having nothing to do with the biographee in question, or recovered the title of a book that I had forgotten. I have many, many times checked a prospect for a new approach to an interview, some interest or hobby that would give me a line on him. Between 'Who's Who' and 'Who Was Who' I have it all within my grasp. If they are still alive, 'Who's Who,' if dead, 'Who Was Who'."

". . . is amazing"

"How often one has occasion to use 'Who's Who' is amazing. In going into a business conference with a stranger, or a strange committee, for example, I wouldn't think of going in the door without a biographical search from 'Who's Who.' The same is true in the introduction of speakers, in satisfying one's curiosity as to dinner guests at someone else's home, or in understanding the daily news by knowing a bit of the career of the individual involved."

"You'd be surprised . . ."

"I find 'Who's Who' of great assistance when I want to get a quick life summary of someone I have met, or am going to meet. You'd be surprised how knowing a man has two sons and one daughter, or held his first job with a company you are familiar with, can break the ice and stimulate a pleasant and perhaps mutually advantageous relationship."

OVERLEAF: What WHO'S WHO can do only for its biographees.

THE A. N. MARQUIS COMPANY

ANNOUNCES PUBLICATION OF

THE TWENTY-NINTH BIENNIAL VOLUME OF

WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA

NOW IN

THE SECOND HALF CENTURY OF CONTINUOUS PUBLICATION

IN THE LIBRARY FORMAT HEREIN DESCRIBED

OVERLEAF: Details of format and scope. What some users say about WHO'S WHO at work for them.

PAGE FOUR: An example of WHO'S WHO at work.

1897 - 1956

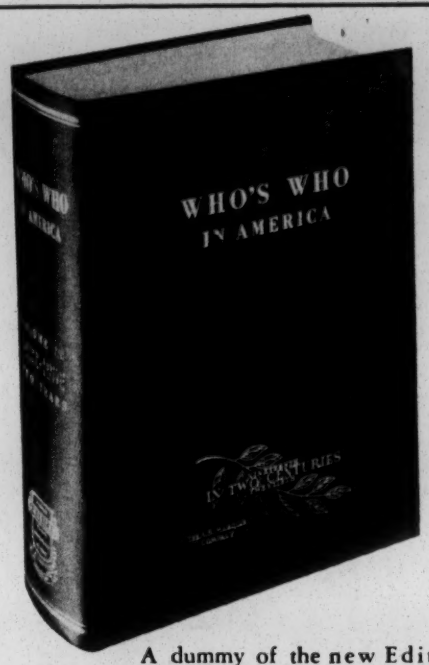
NINETEENTH
IN TWO CENTURIES
TWENTIETH

THE A N MARQUIS COMPANY

THE MOST USEFUL, THE MOST COMPREHENSIVE, THE MOST DOWN-TO-DATE — AND YET THE LEAST COSTLY.... PER LISTING, PER LINE, PER POUND, PER ANY OTHER BASIS — WORK OF ITS SCOPE EVER PUBLISHED. STRONG WORDS, BUT THE FIGURES HEREIN CITED BACK THEM UP DECISIVELY.

WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA

In the Library Format—Volume 29—Larger Type Area Page Size
Now in Compilation as the Fourth Printing in the Second Half-Century of Continuous Publication



A dummy of the new Edition of Who's Who, the twenty-ninth issuance since Volume I was published in 1899. (Weight: 8 pounds, 4 ounces).

A WHO'S WHO BIOGRAPHEE SPEAKS—

"You are the top authority, and accepted as such, on persons of accomplishment in the United States. There is only one WHO'S WHO, and it needs no court determination to establish the volume as the ranking index of American talent and enterprise."

For more than fifty years those (Americans) selected for listing in WHO'S WHO have held steadily at about three for every 10,000 of population.

REVISED: More than 50,000 concise, up-to-the-minute daily-reference-useful biographies, each diligently revised and brought down-to-date. Increased content – more "late data" –made possible by special binding arrangements. Printed by the latest processes from plastic plates on paper especially manufactured to a new weight and opacity specifications.

AUGMENTED: Over 8,000 entirely new sketches, never before appearing in WHO'S WHO, of outstanding, today's head-line news, *living Americans*—men and women—and notable foreigners so intimately connected with this country by achievement or current prominence that they are subject to national reference interest in America.

SCOPE: The "in America" in WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA is used in its established western continental meaning—the Western Hemisphere—carefully selected groupings representative of Canada and Latin America being listed.

PRONUNCIATION: Pronunciation of difficult—"hard-to-say"—names is given in the first line of sketches directly after the name. The standard diacritical symbols are used throughout.

SIZE: Over 3,000 pages—in the easier-to-use Library Format—yet handier because the larger page type area provides a "taller and thinner" WHO'S WHO (11 inches high, 8 inches wide, 3½ inches thick).

TYPE FACE: Especially selected for reference use and in a deeper measure made possible by the larger page type area.

SPECIAL INDICES: A vocational analysis of those listed in a typical volume, a geographical index to all listed in this volume, and an index to those sketched in the MONTHLY SUPPLEMENT, will be available to subscribers at a nominal charge.

THE LIBRARY FORMAT VOLUME 29

• A new format . . . printed from plastic plates to secure exceptionally clear printing . . . type-areas that bring more listings "under the eye" simultaneously . . . wider between-columns spacing that speeds reference usage . . ."taller and thinner."

TYPICAL COMMENTS FROM USERS OF "WHO'S WHO"—

James M. Cain, the author: "In the course of an ordinary writing day, one consults the 'World Almanac' at least once, the 'Britannica' three times, the Webster Unabridged Dictionary' six; but 'Who's Who in America', in my own case anyway, is thumbed every hour on the hour."

A NATIONAL PUBLICATION: "WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA lists the men and women who have made their mark of achievement in our business, professional and political life."

AN AIR FORCE OFFICER: "In the course of business in General ———'s office we have need for considerable reference to WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA."

AN INSURANCE EXECUTIVE: "It so happens, however, that I am one of those individuals who keeps Volume 28 within reaching distance of my desk, and I have frequent occasion to refer to it."

AN ENGINEERING EDUCATOR: "Like thousands of other users of the book, I have employed my copy so constantly — an average of at least a dozen times a day — and interlined or otherwise marked up many score of biographies."

AN EDUCATOR: "I have occasion to look up people in it almost every day and to be without it for . . . would be a great deprivation."

SECRETARY TO CORPORATION PRESIDENT: "We use our WHO'S WHO as a constant reference."

A JOURNALIST: "I couldn't think of letting that book go out of my hands. I use it constantly, almost hourly."

AN INVESTOR-INDUSTRIALIST: "I have found that in Continental Europe WHO'S WHO is of great importance . . . has in several instances facilitated business arrangements."

AN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATOR: "To be without a current issue of WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA is like trying to navigate a ship without a rudder."

AN INDUSTRIALIST: "WHO'S WHO is the nearest book to my desk, and hardly a day goes by when I don't need to use it."

A CHURCHMAN: "I use the book very often. Then, too, many of my friends want to consult it when they come to my office."

AN ATTORNEY: "There is no book in our entire library that is more often used . . . not a day passes but that it is consulted one to twenty times, not only by myself but by others in the organization."

From DOLLARS AND SENSE OF A COMPANY LIBRARY
by Ruth Nielander
(Librarian, Lumbermens Mutual Casualty Company, Chicago)
"After your librarian has been appointed, her first step, and an important one, is to turn on all the charm she possesses and go to Mr. Brown and ask for his *Who's Who*."

THE A. N. MARQUIS COMPANY

MARQUIS PUBLICATIONS BUILDING **CHICAGO-11 ILLINOIS USA**

Overleaf: 'Who's Who" At Work

Some of the Always-Asked Questions WHO'S WHO Answers:

What's he done? What's he interested in? Where's he from? What's he doing now? What's his age? Family? Education? Where is he?

Career chronologically sketched.

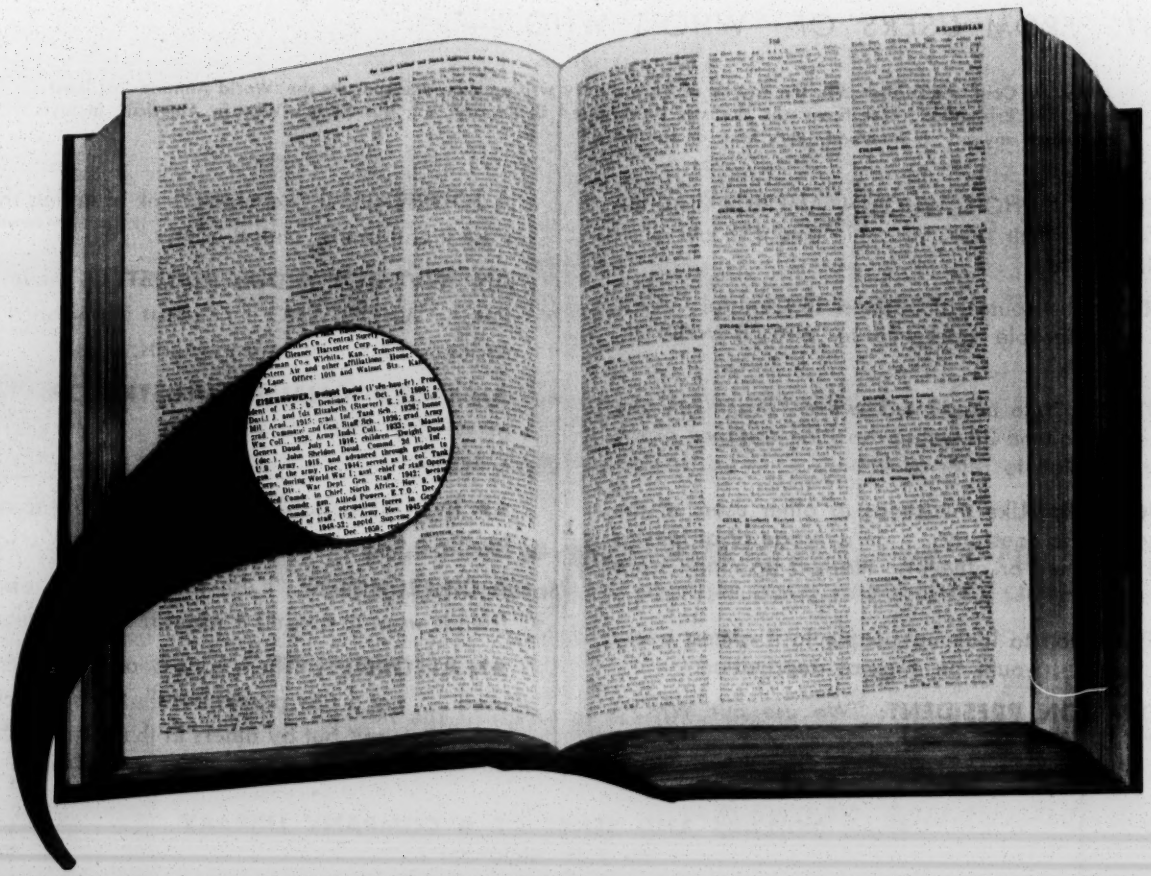
Principal incumbencies.

Noteworthy achievements, works and accomplishments; awards; decorations; honors.

Civic interests.

Organization memberships and officerships.

Governmental and military service.



Club and fraternal memberships.

Full name (with pronunciation, if difficult).

Age, birth place, education

Familial data: marital, children, parents' full names.

Current addresses (home and office).

Ready reference . . . for office . . . home . . . library . . . schoolroom.

TO QUOTE ONE COLLEGE LIBRARIAN—A REGULAR USER OF "WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA"—

"I would like to tell you how valuable we consider our copies of *WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA* and *WHO WAS WHO IN AMERICA*. When our freshmen are first introduced to the various reference titles in the college library both of the above listed works are pointed out immediately as "important." In fact, the first place to which students are directed for birth dates, books written, positions held, current addresses, etc., is to *WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA*. For concise biographical sketches, these works are the tops!"

Overleaf: Typical Comments About WHO'S WHO.

RESTRICTIONS APPLYING TO THIS FORM

The discounts from the After-Publication List Price of Volume 29 WHO'S WHO provided on the form to which this stub is attached are valid only to the biographee named on the covering envelope if that form is returned (signed or approved by that biographee) within the time limit specified. Shipments outside the continental USA and Canada are f.o.b. Chicago (add $1.00 for overseas postage).

Kenneth Z. Langhans Comptroller

P79104

DETACH FOR YOUR RECORDS AFTER NOTING DATE AND AMOUNT OVERLEAF

1956-7 (Vol. 29) WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA BIOGRAPHEE RESTRICTED AFTER-PUBLICATION FORM

The regular retail after-publication price of the new 1956-7 Volume 29, WHO'S WHO is $22.75 (delivered). As tangible reciprocation for checking and supplying data, biographees will be allowed a special discount from it that reduces the price (billed and delivered) to them only to $19.95—a 12% discount (saving $2.80)—and, on their accompanied-by-remittance bookings, an additional discount, in lieu of eliminated bookkeeping, which further reduces the delivered price to but $18.80—a 17% discount (saving $3.90).

THE A. N. MARQUIS COMPANY
MARQUIS PUBLICATIONS BUILDING
CHICAGO-11 USA

(This form valid only if used by, or with approval of the addressee named on the covering envelope.)

WHO'S WHO for business, institutional, or individual professional-vocational reference usage is a deductible expense taxwise.

DATE

Ship_____cop_____of the new (1956-7) Volume 29 WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA, prepaying all delivery charges and allowing the special discount I've checked, and to which I'm entitled as a biographee listed in it. ☐ $ _____ accompanies at $18.80 each, a 17% discount. ☐ Bill me on delivery (at $19.95 each—a 12% discount). ☐ Bill payer indicated below, for my attention. ☐ Requisition (or purchase order) attached or will follow.

Please Print Out Your Name_____
(Must be that of Marquis biographee named on the covering envelope.)

Your Signature or Initialed Okeh_____
(To assist in avoiding clerical errors, please print out at the left name of biographee signing or initialing above.)

Address for Shipping_____

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(If a business, institution or other payor is to be billed, please print out its name on second line above, and give address on line above, if different from that specified for shipping on third line above.)

P79104

W29AP

MITCHELL, George Sinclair, Exec. Dir., Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E. Atlanta 3, Ga. b. Sept. 9, 1902, Richmond, Va.; s. Samuel Chiles and Alice Virginia (Broadus) M. Edn.: B.A., Univ. of Richmond, 1923; Ph.D., Johns Hopkins Univ., 1926. m. Alice Love Armstrong of Ashland, Va., 1933; d. John Irvin and Ollie Connell A.; c.: Ellen Armstrong, Charlotte Sinclair. Exp.: Instr. in Sociol., Univ. of N. C., 1925; Instr. in Econ., Ala. Poly. Inst., 1926; Student, Balliol Coll., Oxford Univ., 1926-29; Inst. in Econ., Columbia Univ., 1929-30; Spec. Asst., Office of Sec., U. S. Dept. of Interior (without Compensation), 1934-35; Dir., Labor Relations, Resettlement Admin., 1935; Spec. Asst. to Admin., 1936; Regional Dir., 1936-39; Asst. Admin., Farm Security Admin., U. S. D. A., 1939-43; Southeastern Regional Dir., C.I.O. Polit. Action Comm., 1944-45; Dir. of Vets. Services, Southern Regional Council, 1945-47. Mem.: Am. Econ. Assn.; Am. Soc. for Pub. Admin.; So. Econ. Assn.; Econ. Hist. Soc.; Kappa Alpha; Cosmos Club, Washington, D. C. Author: Textile Unions and the South, 1930; (with Brodus Mitchell) The Indust. Revolution in the South, 1931; (with Horace Cayton), Black Workers and the New Unions, 1940. Ph.D Dissertation: Textile Unions and the South. Travel: British Isles; Continent of Europe; Caribbean. Listed in: Who's Who in the Western Hemisphere.

GALLEYS

MITCHELL, George Sinclair, economist; born in Richmond, Va., Sept. 9, 1902; s. Samuel Chiles and Alice Virginia (Broadus) M.; student The Tome Sch., 1916-18, Newark (Del.) High Sch., 1918-19, U. of Del., 1919-20; B.A., U. of Richmond, 1923; Ph.D., Johns Hopkins U., 1926; student Oxford U., Eng., 1926-29; m. Alice Love Armstrong, June 10, 1933; children—Ellen Armstrong, Charlotte Sinclair. Instr. economics, Columbia U., 1929-[illegible]; spl. asst. Office of Sec. of the Interior, 1934-35; dir. labor relations Resettlement Administn., 1935, spl. asst. to Admin., 1936; regional dir., 1936-39; asst. admin. Farm Security Administn., U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, 1939-43, U.S. Foreign Economic Administration, 1943-44; Southeastern Regional Director, CIO Polit. Action Com., 1944-45; dir. Veterans Services, Southern Regional Council, 1945-47, exec. dir. since 1947. Awarded Rhodes scholarship. Mem. Am. Econ. Assn., American Soc. Pub. Administrn., Kappa Alpha, Phi Beta Kappa. Democrat. Episcopalian. Club: Cosmos (Washington). Author: Textile Unionism and the South (with Broadus Mitchell), 1931; Black Workers and the New Unions (with Horace Cayton), 1940. Home: 906 Lullwater Rd. N.E. Office: 63 Auburn Av., Atlanta 3.

George S. Mitchell, [redacted] Past
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

[Use the accompanying envelope to return this card to the Editors
—Marquis Publications Building, Chicago-11, USA—]

SECTION 1

NOTE: The discarded sketch pasted below is no longer in type, is now used only by our compilers, and as a filing convenience. Data you may have supplied since it was prepared are NOT shown on this card, as they are filed separately—therefore please do not now supply again.

MITCHELL, George Sinclair, economist; born in Richmond, Va., Sept. 9, 1902; s. Samuel Chiles and Alice Virginia (Broadus) M.; student The Tome Sch., 1916-18, Newark (Del.) High Sch., 1918-19, U. of Del., 1919-20; B.A., U. of Richmond, 1923; Ph.D., Johns Hopkins U., 1926; student Oxford U., Eng., 1926-29; m. Alice Love Armstrong, June 10, 1933; children—Ellen Armstrong, Charlotte Sinclair. Instr. economics, Columbia U., 1929-35; spl. asst. Office of Sec. of the Interior, 1934-35; dir. labor relations Resettlement Adminstrn., 1935, spl. asst. to adminstr., 1936, regional dir., 1936-39; asst. adminstr. Farm Security Adminstrn., U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, 1939-43, U.S. Foreign Economic Administration, 1943-44, Southeastern Regional Director, CIO Polit. Action Com., 1944-45; dir. Veterans Services, Southern Regional Council, 1945-47, exec. dir. since 1947. Awarded Rhodes scholarship. Mem. Am. Econ. Assn., American Soc. Pub. Adminstrn., Kappa Alpha, Phi Beta Kappa. Democrat. Episcopalian. Club: Cosmos (Washington). Author: Textile Unionism and the South, 1930; The Industrial Revolution in the South (with Broadus Mitchell), 1931; Black Workers and the New Unions (with Horace Cayton), 1940. Home: 906 Lullwater Rd. N.E. Office: 63 Auburn Av., Atlanta 3, Ga.

SECTION

FOR NEW DATA NOT NOW IN THE FILE

934

NATIONAL BIOGRAPHEE FILE

No. SWGPC

DO NOT WRITE IN THE SPACES BELOW

	By	Date
Rev. Rec.—Filed		
Other data in File	By	Date

PUB.							

WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA

Fiftieth Anniversary Edition

VOLUME 25—1948-1949

SPECIAL REVISIONARY COPY AND PROOF

SHEET NO. WC-5

Revision of your WHO'S WHO sketch—pasted below—responsive to the accompanying letter can be conveniently indicated on this page by merely marking out data omission of which from the printings of it in WHO'S WHO will not lessen its general reference usefulness.

The blank pages may then be used without being detached from this identifying first page for suggested *additions* (preferably typewritten) for the subsequent publication of it in the new regional compilation mentioned in the letter. (The editors will automatically re-incorporate into this printing any data marked as not required for the printings in WHO'S WHO).

(A postage-paid and self-addressed envelope for returning this enclosure accompanies it).

Below is your sketch exactly as printed in 1946 in Volume 24—it does not contain any changes you may have suggested to the editors since then, for they are at the moment in the editors' revision files for the new (Volume 25) printing on which they are now working. Therefore please do not again indicate such changes below.

Your "Who's Who" Sketch

MITCHELL, George Sinclair, economist; born in Richmond, Va., Sept. 9, 1902; s. Samuel Chiles and Alice Virginia (Broadus) M.; student The Tome Sch., 1916-18, Newark (Del.) High Sch., 1918-19, U. of Del., 1919-20; B.A., U. of Richmond, 1923; Ph.D., Johns Hopkins U., 1926; student Oxford U., Eng., 1926-29; m. Alice Love Armstrong, June 10, 1933; children—Ellen Armstrong, Charlotte Sinclair. Instr. economics, Columbia U., 1929-35; spl. asst. Office of Sec. of the Interior, 1934-35; dir. labor relations Resettlement Adminstrn., 1935, spl. asst. to adminstr., 1936, regional dir., 1936-39; asst. adminstr. Farm Security Adminstrn., U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, 1939-43, U.S. Foreign Economic Administration, 1943-44, Southeastern Regional Director, CIO Political Action Committee, 1944-45; dir. Veterans Services, Southern Regional Council, since 1945. Awarded Rhodes scholarship. Mem. American Econ. Assn., American Soc. Pub. Adminstrn., Kappa Alpha, Phi Beta Kappa. Democrat. Episcopalian. Club: Cosmos (Washington). Author: Textile Unionism and the South, 1930; The Industrial Revolution in the South (with Broadus Mitchell), 1931; Black Workers and the New Unions (with Horace Cayton), 1940. Home: 906 Lullwater Rd. N.E. Office: 63 Auburn Av., Atlanta 3, Ga.

File

AN IMPORTANT NOTATION:

Irrespective of whatever condensation you may suggest for publications of it in WHO'S WHO, your sketch will of course be printed regularly in full and unabridged in the appropriate compilation among the new Marquis regional biographical dictionaries now in preparation for The East, The South and Southwest, The Central States, The West and Northwest, and The Pacific Coast. (Please see continuation overleaf.)

Return to:
THE A. N. MARQUIS COMPANY Marquis Publications Building Chicago-11 U.S.A.

For suggested additions for publication in the appropriate Marquis regional biographical dictionary—the following two pages may also be used—typewriting assists in avoiding inaccuracies in typesetting.

AN IMPORTANT NOTATION (Continued):

Indeed it is probable that additions to, instead of deletions from, your sketch will increase its regional reference usefulness as published in the sectional compilation, and the editors will appreciate receiving--preferably typewritten on the blank pages of this enclosure—suggested additions for such printings. Regional reference interest extends to many types of data not sought by those consulting WHO'S WHO throughout the world as a national biographical dictionary. (A self-addressed and postage-paid envelope is enclosed).

The new regional compilations are being undertaken following an extensive investigation which establishes that libraries and reference centers desire biographical dictionaries covering those reference-noteworthy *both* nationally and regionally, but selected under Marquis compilative standards instead of by the hit-and-miss methods too often characteristic of the transitory "vanity books" purporting to be effective biographical dictionaries of areas, professions or lines of business. Obvious to the adequacy of the Marquis regional compilations is inclusion of all WHO'S WHO biographies, although numerically those regionally noteworthy will of course predominate.

ADDITIONAL NEW DATA FOR COMPLETING BIOGRAPHICAL RECORD

Data heretofore made available to Marquis Editors should be repeated below. See "Suggested Additional Data" overleaf.

(Use a separate sheet if need be, and attach.)

Proofs sent during compilation are usually for the purpose of bringing to attention the latest information suggested for consideration by the Editors, and are not intended to commit the Editors to publishing any or all of the data involved in any specific issue, instead of holding the data in their non-current file.

The biography attached hereto, a Marquis-format composition, is the property of, and is copyrighted by, The A. N. Marquis Company.

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE — FOR COMPILERS' USE

COMPILERS' NEW DATA SHEET NO. SW PA
INDIVIDUAL: (NAMED BELOW)
FILE SECTION: SECT-FUNC CLASSIFICATION: WW
FILE ENTERED ☐ LISTING MADE ☐ COPY CHECKED ☐

PRINTER'S LOT NO. GALLEY NO.

This file-sheet is for the use of the compilers of the new Edition specified below. Please return as promptly as practicable (to the Editors, The A. N. Marquis Company, Marquis Publications Building, Chicago 11, Illinois, U S A), whether or not changes or additions are indicated, as the accuracy of the necessary file alphabetization depends on each numbered file-sheet being in hand.

"WHO'S WHO IN THE SOUTH AND SOUTHWEST"

FOR REFERENCE ONLY

IMPORTANT: This proof of a recent printing of your "Who's Who" sketch is placed here entirely for the compilers' convenience, and also yours in avoiding duplicating information in it among the additional new data you note to the left. Changes, corrections and/or revisions to which you have heretofore called attention should now be again noted on this sheet, and, address corrections should be noted at the bottom of the sheet, as there specified.

Special Form ("Who's Who" Biographee) for the File collated for Use by the Compilers.

1 Additional family, career and activity data (see C, overleaf).

2 Additional non-vocational data (see C, overleaf).

3 Other additional new data (use also any space to the right before attaching separate sheet):

4 Additional addresses (and corrections of those shown to the right if not already sent to the Editors — see "IMPORTANT" below):

MITCHELL, George Sinclair, economist; born in Richmond, Va., Sept. 9, 1902; s. Samuel Chiles and Alice Virginia (Broadus) M.; student The Tome Sch., 1916-18, Newark (Del.) High Sch., 1918-19, U. of Del., 1919-20; B.A., U. of Richmond, 1923; Ph.D., Johns Hopkins U., 1926; student Oxford U., Eng., 1926-29; m. Alice Love Armstrong, June 10, 1933; children—Ellen Armstrong, Charlotte Sinclair. Instr. economics, Columbia U., 1929-35; spl. asst. Office of Sec. of the Interior, 1934-35; dir. labor relations Resettlement Adminstrn., 1935, spl. asst. to adminstr., 1936, regional dir., 1936-39; asst. adminstr. Farm Security Adminstrn., U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, 1939-43, U.S. Foreign Economic Administration, 1943-44, Southeastern Regional Director, CIO Polit. Action Com., 1944-45; dir. Veterans Services, Southern Regional Council, 1945-47, exec. dir. since 1947. Awarded Rhodes scholarship. Mem. Am. Econ. Assn., American Soc. Pub. Adminstrn., Kappa Alpha, Phi Beta Kappa. Democrat. Episcopalian. Club: Cosmos (Washington). Author: Textile Unionism and the South, 1930; The Industrial Revolution in the South (with Broadus Mitchell), 1931; Black Workers and the New Unions (with Horace Cayton), 1940. Home: 906 Lullwater Rd. N.E. Office: 63 Auburn Av., Atlanta 3, Ga.

YOUR SIGNATURE (or an authorized one)—so that the Editors may be assured personal data have been checked at firsthand.

IMPORTANT: If the Marquis National Biographee Reference File does not include effective address information (preferably both home and business or professional), data cannot be sent for (1) the revisions necessary to the maintenance of its currency and (2) the avoidance of transfer to the non-current classification. The address portion of the sketch pasted above should therefore be carefully checked. Addresses may be withheld from publication on request to the Editors — if because of such a request no address is included in the sketch above, please note any address change directly under the last line of the sketch, adding "Not for publication" if it also is to be withheld from publication.

Overleaf: "Why This Comes to You"

WHY THIS COMES TO YOU

THE REASONS

A Every "Who's Who in America" biographee is automatically listed in the other Marquis standard biographical dictionaries, whenever location or vocation so suggests, for these two reasons: (1) otherwise these needed and useful regional or functional dictionaries could neither provide effective service nor (2) bear the Marquis trade name (trademarked) in their titles without misrepresenting. The Editors endeavor to make this relisting — necessary because of the two cited reasons — as automatic as practicable. They use the latest vocational and address information in their "Who's Who" files as a matter of course.

THE EDITORS ASK ONLY THIS OF YOU

B The Editors then turn directly to "Who's Who" biographees for only a minimum of cooperation in connection with but two steps, both of which are obviously of mutual concern:

1. — Of-the-moment changes or corrections.

2. — Significant data which obviously could not be published continuously in "Who's Who" because of space limitations and required emphasis on information of national reference interest. Biographers, historians, and researchers advise the Editors that such supplementary data, being connected with "Who's Who" biographees, are (1) useful to the completeness of recorded biographical information; and (2) valuable in regional or functional reference service. They also point out that, if included in the sketches eventually published in "Who Was Who", these additional data provide more complete final records for all time. Marquis' half century and more of experience in selecting and compiling biographical works supports this advice. The Editors therefore welcome cooperating with "Who's Who" biographees in expanding the Marquis biographical files – now probably the most extensive in the country — and the printed record of soundly selected American biography available in the libraries. Accordingly, the Editors will for their part prepare a biography, suitable for permanent inclusion in the printed record of American biography, which combines submitted additional information with the data published in "Who's Who"; and make available to the "Who's Who" biographee its publication in the appropriate functional or sectional Marquis biographical dictionary on exactly the same preferential bases the biographees of that work have been given in return for supplying and checking their data.

SUGGESTED ADDITIONAL DATA

C In connection with the comprehensiveness of your permanent biographical record, the Editors feel you may be interested in knowing their experience indicates data under the following headings to be among those biographers find useful as additions to sketches which, as published in "Who's Who", have been intentionally restricted to information subject to general reference interest: (1) Details of career not included in your "Who's Who" sketch (overleaf); (2) family data not appearing in that sketch; (3) activity data supplementing those printed in "Who's Who" (civic participations; associations; societies and clubs; honors and awards; educational notabilia; writings; and similar biographical notanda); and (4) other pertinent information not listed in your "Who's Who" entry (including non-vocational interests—and/or preferred avocations—and any addresses—with summer (and/or winter) addresses or residence "names"—not given in the final lines of the sketch attached overleaf).

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

D You will find overleaf convenient provisions for extending the Editors cooperation — in your interest as well as theirs — in connection with the above two steps.

As one tangible reciprocation the Editors can offer for your cooperation with them in connection with listing you in a Marquis directory other than "Who's Who" you are extended, as detailed in the covering letter, the same – and considerable – subscription preferentials given, for a like reason, to those for the first time supplying and checking data for the Marquis National Biographee Reference File for the use of its compilers. Accordingly, a form validating these preferences for use by you is supplied herewith.

Overleaf: A sheet arranged for conveniently noting additional new data for amplifying a biographical record already published in "Who's Who".

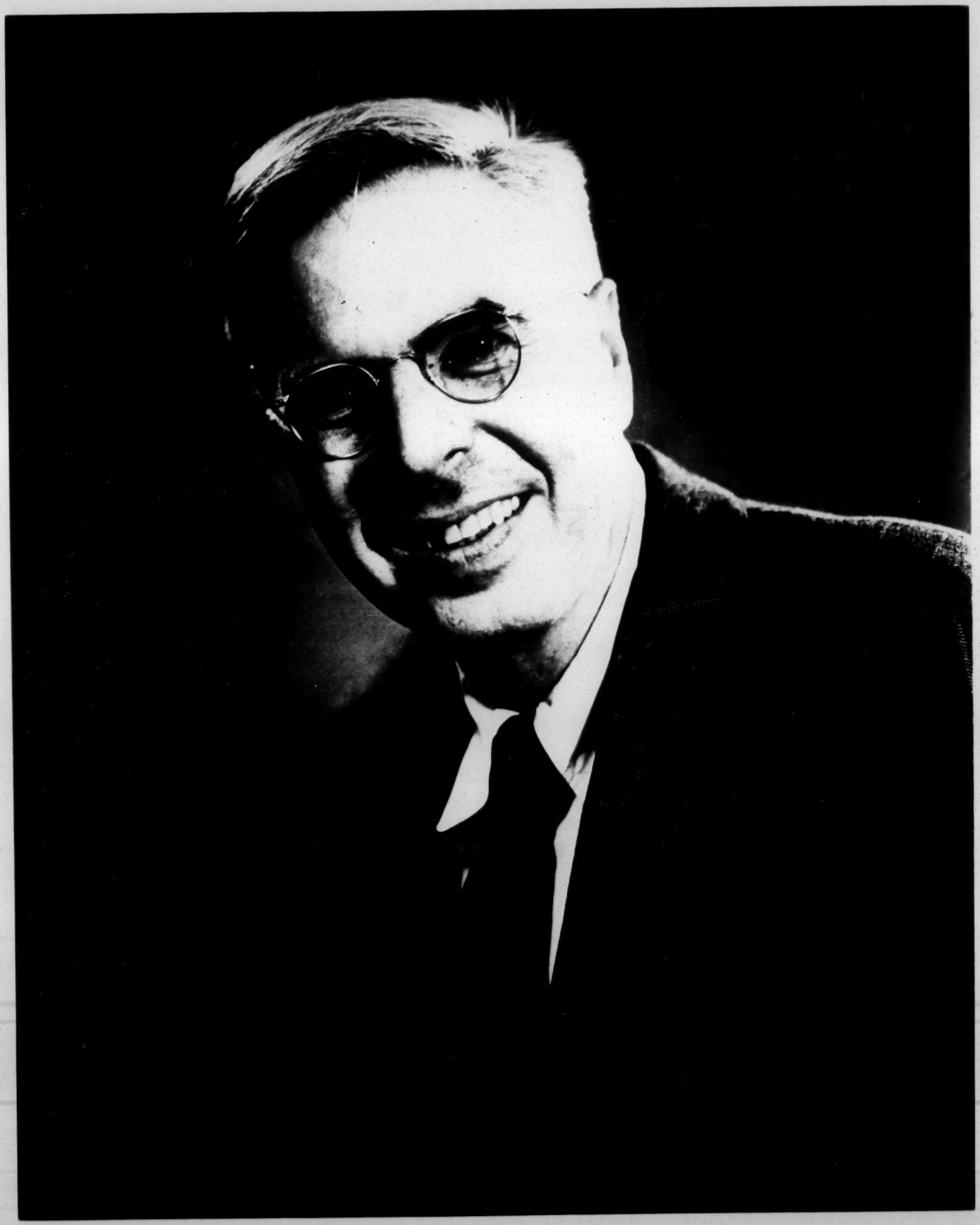
COMMENTS FROM WHO'S WHO ON GEORGE S. MITCHELL

Mitchell, George Sinclair, economist; born in Richmond, Va., Sept. 9, 1902; son of Samuel Chiles and Alice Virginia (Broadus) Mitchell; student The Tome School, 1916-18, Newark (Del.) High School, 1918-19, University of Del. 1919-20; B.A. University of Richmond 1923; Ph.D., Johns Hopkins U., 1926; student Oxford U., England, 1926-29; married Alice Love Armstrong, June 10, 1933; children—Ellen Armstrong, Charlotte Sinclair. Instructor economics, Columbia U., 1929-35; spl. assistant Office of Secretary of the Interior, 1934-35; dir. labor relations Resettlement Administration, 1935; spl. asst. to adminstr., 1936, regional dir., 1936-39; asst. adminstr. Farm Security Administrn., U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, 1939-43; U.S. Foreign Economic Administration, 1943-44; Southeastern Regional Director, CIO Political Action Committee, 1944-45; dir. Veterans Services, Southern Regional Council, 1945; Executive Director of Southern Regional Council since April 1947. Awarded Rhodes scholarship. Member American Econ. Assn., American Soc. Pub. Adminstrn., Kappa Alpha, Phi Beta Kappa. Democrat. Episcopalian. Club: Cosmos (Washington). Author: The Industrial Revolution in the South (with Broadus Mitchell), 1931; Black Workers and the New Unions (with Horace Cayton), 1940. Home: 906 Lullwater Road, N.E. Office: 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

(12)

MITCHELL, GEORGE SINCLAIR, economist; born in Richmond, Va. Sept. 9, 1902; son of Samuel Chiles and Alice Virginia (Broadus) Mitchell; student The Tome School, 1916-1918, Newark (Del.) High School, 1918-19, University of Del. 1919-20; B.A. University of Richmond 1923; Ph.D., Johns Hopkins U., 1926; student Oxford U. England, 1926-1929; married Alice Love Armstrong, June 10, 1933; children--Ellen Armstrong, Charlotte Sinclair. Instructor economics, Columbia U. 1929-35; spl. assistant Office of Secretary of the Interior, 1934-35; dir. labor relations Resettlement Administran., 1935, spl. asst. to adminstr., 1936, regional dir., 1936-39; asst. adminstr. Farm Security Administrn., U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, 1939-43, U. S. Foreign Economic Administration, 1943-44, Southeastern Regional Director, CIO Political Action Committee, 1944-45; dir. Veterans Services, Southern Regional Council, 1945, Executive Director of Southern Regional Council since April 1947. Awarded Rhodes scholarship Member American Econ. Assn., American Soc. Pub. Adminstrn., Kappa Alpha, Phi Beta Kappa. Democrat. Episcopalian. Club: Cosmos (Washington). Author: The Industrial Revolution in the South (with Broadus Mitchell),1931: Black Workers and theNew Unions (with Horace Cayton), 1940. Home: 906 Lullwater Road, N. E. Office: 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta 3, Georgia

Institute of International Relations
Guilford college, N.C.
Summer, 1924



[redacted]

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

January 14, 1957

Dear Friend:

The occasion for this letter is the retirement of Dr. George S. Mitchell after ten years of outstanding leadership of the Southern Regional Council. For years to come, the South and the Nation will be discovering the full measure of his stature and his contribution to human progress in our time.

A number of individuals and groups have asked that some provision be made for tangible expressions of admiration and respect for Dr. Mitchell. In response to these requests, we are taking this means to announce the establishment of the GEORGE S. MITCHELL [redacted] FUND.

Tribute

The creation of this special fund is not intended to conflict with other requests for assistance to this work in the Southern states. It is meant to provide an opportunity for those who wish to give recognition in this manner to Dr. Mitchell's devoted services. We could think of nothing more appropriate than a fund which would strengthen and sustain the work to which he gave himself with such dedication.

Contributions to this fund will ultimately be merged with the general operating funds of the Southern Regional Council. The names of the donors, however, will be permanently preserved in the annals of the Council and will be suitably recorded on a scroll for presentation to Dr. Mitchell.

The officers and staff of the Council ~~are~~ have pledged themselves to continue the work of the organization by the high standards set by Dr. Mitchell. The special fund established in his name will do much to make this possible.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

M. A. Wright
President (See post card)

Rufus E. Clement
Chairman, Executive Committee

Urban Bay

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

FBR ✓ good egg!
PA
HCF

February 11, 1957

(Dictated February 8th)

Mrs. Alice Spearman
1508 Lady Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Spearman:

Many thanks for your letter of February 4th with its helpful suggestions. The idea of a fund in honor of George Mitchell has been floating around, and your comments are a valuable addition to this thinking. I hope we can develop something along these lines.

Another meeting of the state staff members here in Atlanta is very definitely in prospect. We will be communicating with you and the other state officers about it as soon as we can work out details. Fortunately, we have reserved funds which should be sufficient to meet the expenses involved. We agree with you completely that such a meeting at this time is of great importance to the continuance and increased effectiveness of this movement in the South.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

Return to HCF

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations

1508 Lady Street
COLUMBIA, S. C.

February 4, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

RECEIVED FEB 8 1957

Dear Harold:

Mr. Dabbs arrived at our meeting on January 30th just in time to get Board approval of our proposed trip to the Washington, Philadelphia, and New York areas. It was late when we adjourned so there was no time to talk. He did say that SRC will need funds between now and the end of grant period. I have two suggestions.

(1) I'd personally like to express appreciation of George Mitchell's service to the Council, the South and the Nation. He would prefer a fund in his honor to a gift, I am sure. My own preference would be that it be set-up as a fund for leadership training. Your own files will contain names and addresses of organizations which he has helped in that manner; such as labor groups, church groups, etc. Then each state Council will know individuals who are personal admirers. They might profitably be approached. I know a few such persons in this state who might give for this but won't give to us. Others will give to honor George and it will in no way affect what they give us.

(2) Many organizations are raising substantial funds through memorials, bequest, etc. Throughout the South there have been numerous courageous pioneers. All of us know scores of such persons. Might the financial needs of SRC be helped by sending a contribution to you in honor of such persons, as they pass away. For example, I didn't send flowers, a telegram or respond in any of the conventional ways when Dr. Alexander or when Dr. Charles Johnson died. I would like an opportunity to express myself in a more permanent way and one more appropriate to the life and interests of both of these men. Doubtless others would like to do so, too. Again I think leadership education is the focus we might make. (In South Carolina we raised $53,000 through the South Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs in a relatively short time for leadership education. Avoided gifts where there might have been strings, explicitly or implicitly.)

I am sending a copy of this letter to our state staffs. It is my own feeling that it will be mutually invaluable to you and to us if we might have an unstructured conference with you soon. Have not thought out details as to whether all twelve states at one time, or states grouped by prevailing climate would be preferable. Just impromptu, I believe I favor all twelve at the same time.

Your prospectus sets forth goals, methods of approach and programs

about which C. H. Parrish and I talked here in Columbia before most of the state groups were re-activated. We will all be more valuable, individually and collectively, with the proposed orientation, I firmly believe. However, we shall need coordinated planning and effort. As 'weak vessels' as we state groups may be, we doubtless understand the prevailing currents as well as, if not better than any other individuals or groups. Our combined strength can mean much.

If this can't be financed by SRC, can't we do it through the state groups? If we can be housed at Atlanta University and expenses generally kept to a minimum, I believe we can and will welcome the opportunity.

Let me hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

Alice N. Spearman

(Mrs.) Alice N. Spearman
Executive Director

ANS/sw

February 14, 1957

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Enclosed is a draft of a letter to be reproduced and sent to our New South mailing list and other appropriate persons announcing the creation of a special fund in honor of Dr. Mitchell. This was a collaborative staff product, so that pride of authorship is non-existent. Feel free to amend or substitute at will. You will note that we had some last minute difficulty about the name of the Fund, finally settling on "George S. Mitchell Tribute Fund." We felt that it needed something in addition to the GSM in order to distinguish it from the many foundations bearing simply the name of the philanthropist. Your views on this will be welcome.

The plan would be to accompany the letter as finally approved and multi-lithed with a postage paid envelop of the long flat type, providing space for name, address, and amount of contribution.

Before sending this to the various state memberships, we propose to get clearance from each state affiliate.

In all, we propose to print 10,000 letters and accompanying envelopes. The printing cost would be $250.

I am sending a letter identical to this one to Mr. Clement, and will expect to hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

February 14, 1957

Mr. Rufus E. Clement
President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Clement:

Enclosed is a draft of a letter to be reproduced and sent to our New South mailing list and other appropriate persons announcing the creation of a special fund in honor of Dr. Mitchell. This was a collaborative staff product, so that pride of authorship is non-existent. Feel free to amend or substitute at will. You will note that we had some last minute difficulty about the name of the Fund, finally settling on "George S. Mitchell Tribute Fund." We felt that it needed something in addition to the GSM in order to distinguish it from the many foundations bearing simply the name of the philanthropist. Your views on this will be welcome.

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I am sending a letter identical to this one to Mr. Wright, and will expect to hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl.

February 15, 1957

Dr. William Lloyd Imes
Visiting Dean of Chapel
The Fisk Union Church
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Imes:

We are deeply grateful to the Fisk Union Church for its continuing support and friendship. The fact that this faithful contribution is made possible by the sacrifices of the students makes us cherish it the more.

The December issue of New South proved so popular that our supply was virtually exhausted in a matter of days. I have asked my secretary if she can find at least a few which we can send you.

With appreciation and kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Under separate cover this date:
3 copies December New South '56
Encl. SRC official receipt $20.00

RECEIVED FEB 14 1957

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

DEAN OF THE CHAPEL

Feb 13
1957

2/14/57
$20.00
CR
Pha

To the Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.,

We take pleasure in sending you the Fisk Union Church's donation to your work. If you did no more than publish "The New South," you would win our hearty commendation.

We should like some extra copies of the December '56 issue if you can spare them (The one containing the article by the Late President C. S. Johnson, whose tragic passing last fall has left our college and America all the poorer)

Our Students, who have made great sacrifices to make such gifts as we enclose possible, ask your continued cooperation

Sincerely, The Fisk Union Church
Frm Lloyd Jones Visiting Dean 1956-57

"Her Sons and Daughters are ever on the altar"

The Fisk Union Church

FISK MEMORIAL CHAPEL

FEBRUARY 10, 1957

FIFTH SUNDAY AFTER EPIPHANY

RACE RELATIONS SUNDAY

NEGRO HISTORY WEEK, FEBRUARY 10-17

WILLIAM LLOYD IMES, *Visiting Dean of Chapel*
HARRY E. VON BERGEN, *Director of the Choir*
THE FISK UNIVERSITY CHOIR
ARTHUR R. CROLEY, *Organist*

11:00 A.M. ORDER OF WORSHIP

ADORATION

10:45 a.m., Memorial Chimes, Martha Raye Williams, *Carillonneur*
Prelude: Carillon ..... *Sowerby*
*Processional: No. 306, "The Crest and Crowning"..*Cantate Domino*
*Call to Worship, Introit No. 516: "Blessed Art Thou"....*Palestrina*
Anthem: "Jesus, Dearest Master" ..... *Bach*
**Interlude ..... *Sowerby*

CONFESSION

*Responsive Reading No. 621, "An Invitation to Worship"
*Gloria Patri ..... *Greatorex*
The Scripture Lesson: Psalms 23 and 121
The Call to Prayer: Response by Choir ..... *Tallis*
The Pastoral Prayer, Closing with The Lord's Prayer (Unison)
**Interlude ..... *Sowerby*

DEDICATION

Announcements and Offertory Sentences
Offertory Anthem: "Man Born to Toil" ..... *Holst*
Doxology (Original Rhythm) ..... *Old Hundredth*
Hymn No. 310, "Not Empty Worship" ..... *Lanherne*
The Sermon: "Faith and Our Common Life"....Dr. Langdon B. Gilkey
The Jubilee Song . The Benediction . Choral Response .. *Redford*
Postlude: Toccata ..... *Frescobaldi*

RELIGIOUS EMPHASIS WEEK, FEBRUARY 16-20

MEHARRY—FISK—TENNESSEE STATE
(SEE "COMING CHAPEL SPEAKERS")

We welcome Professor *Langdon B. Gilkey*, of the Divinity School faculty, Vanderbilt University, to our Chapel pulpit today, and through him send warm greetings to our sister University in which he serves.

At the ISC, Fisk celebrates NEGRO HISTORY WEEK with a LINCOLN'S BIRTHDAY Evening (Feb. 12, 8 p.m.) program: "The Next Five Years in Race Relations," featuring our FISK RACE RELATIONS DEPT., with Dr. H. H. Long and Mr. John Hope II leading the discussion. A film, "THE SEARCH," will be shown.

Also at the ISC on Thursday, Feb. 14, 8 p.m., THE FISK JUBILEE SINGERS' pictures will be shown from films taken by Antoinette Williams, and members of the group will take part in the discussion.

COMING CHAPEL SPEAKERS (RELIGIOUS EMPHASIS WEEK)

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 11 A.M.—*Dr. Roy B. Chamberlin*, Dartmouth-Talladega Colleges.
6 P.M.—*Dr. James A. Wax, Rabbi*, Temple Israel, Memphis.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 11 A.M.—*Miss Emily V. Gibbes*
(All-University Convocation)

---

*Congregation Stands **Interlude for Seating

February 15, 1957

Mr. William H. Frey
1607 Briardale Lane, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Frey:

Thanks for your good letter and the very welcome contribution to the work of the Council.

It is tough to try to fill the shoes of a guy like George Mitchell, but it is made much easier when people like you continue their friendship with us.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl. SRC Official Receipt $25

RECEIVED FEB 15 1957

WILLIAM H. FREY
1607 BRIARDALE LANE, N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

February 12, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thanks for yours of February 5th. It is indeed sad to know that George and Allice are leave. He is a great guy and a good friend. We shall miss them. We said our au revoirs the other evening at a dinner party, and of course I hope it is not too many months before he visits us again, but in any event, the first time we cross the water, I plan to visit them.

Thanks for the report. I am enclosing my check for $25.00, and wishing you much success in your capacity as Executive Director.

Sincerely,

Bill Frey

W. H. Frey

WHF:mq

College in the Country

2-15-1957

Dear Harold,

For weeks I have tried to get by there to say good-by to George and to thank him for great service rendered our region and to wish him well.

It didn't work out, and I guess by now that he has gone.

H 25.00 Nha

Here is a check to help with the work. Marian and I wish it might be more.

Best wishes to you too.

Sincerely,

Carson

Carson Pritchard

RECEIVED FEB 18 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

February 21, 1957

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: DIRECTORS OF STATE AFFILIATES

FROM: HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

This is to let you know of two developments affecting the state affiliates.

1. For some time we have been wanting to bring together the state staff people for a two-day conference in Atlanta, so that we may discuss our common problems, hopes, and plans. Various state directors have expressed to us the hope that this could be done. I am glad to be able to announce that we are making plans for such a get-together and that sufficient funds are in hand for SRC to bear the travel cost and other expenses of state staffers. You will be hearing soon from Fred Routh about the details of time, place, and agenda.

2. SRC has been urged by various people, including leadership of several state affiliates, to provide for contributions to the SRC in honor of Dr. Mitchell. Enclosed is a letter of announcement which we plan to circulate widely. In order to reach persons who should know of this Fund, we propose to send the announcement to the entire New South mailing list. As you will see, the letter makes clear that this is not intended as a fund-raising campaign in competition with other requests for contributions by the state organization or SRC. However, since the announcement will be received by your membership, we wanted you to have a chance to review it ahead of time. If you have serious reservations or objections to our mailing the enclosed to the New South list for your state, please let us know at once so that we may consider the matter further. Needless to say, the announcement will also be sent to many people, within and outside the South, who are not formally identified with SRC and its affiliates. If you have suggestions for wider distribution of this kind, we will greatly appreciate your passing them on to us.

I am looking forward to our getting together at an early date. Meanwhile, kindest regards.

HCF/eab
Encl.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

C
O
P
Y

Dear Friend:

The occasion for this letter is the retirement of Dr. George S. Mitchell after ten years of outstanding leadership of the Southern Regional Council. For years to come, the South and the Nation will be discovering the full measure of his stature and his contribution to human progress in our time.

A number of individuals and groups have asked that some provision be made for tangible expressions of admiration and respect for Dr. Mitchell. In response to these requests, we are taking this means to announce the establishment of the GEORGE S. MITCHELL TRIBUTE FUND.

The creation of this special fund is not intended to conflict with other requests for assistance to this work in the Southern states. It is meant to provide an opportunity for those who wish to give recognition in this manner to Dr. Mitchell's devoted services. We could think of nothing more appropriate than a fund which would strengthen and sustain the work to which he gave himself with such dedication.

Contributions to this fund will ultimately be merged with the general operating funds of the Southern Regional Council. The names of the donors, however, will be permanently preserved in the annals of the Council and will be suitably recorded on a scroll for presentation to Dr. Mitchell.

The officers and staff of the Council have pledged themselves to continue the work of the organization by the high standards set by Dr. Mitchell. The special fund established in his name will do much to make this possible.

With kindest regards.

Sincerely,

M. A. Wright
President

Rufus E. Clement
Chairman, Executive Committee

Sent AIR MAIL
Mailed 2/21/57 to:

Mrs. D. S. Wheatley - Miss.
John H. Marion - Virginia
Edwin G. Kloppe - Texas
Walter Sharp - Tennessee
Mrs. E. H. Spearman - South Carolina
Harry S. Jones - North Carolina
Milton C. Vigo - Louisiana
Galen A. Martin - Kentucky
Mozell C. Hill - Georgia
Guy H. Wells - Georgia
William K. Williams - Florida
Nat Griswold - Arkansas
Robert E. Hughes - Alabama

John Hope
C. H. Parrish

Notice "Tribute file"

February 27, 1957

Mrs. Alice N. Spearman
1508 Lady Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Alice:

We have received from Marion Wright your donation of $25.00 to the George S. Mitchell Tribute Fund.

A million thanks for your generosity, and believe me, $25.00 is a real help at this particular time.

Best personal regards.

Warmly,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

Enclosure

To SRC by M.A. Wright

#25

from

Alice M. Spearman

CR

who in honor of

George S. Mitchell

Receipt made 2/26/57

2/25/57 (Credit to J.M. Dobbs solicitations)

Mrs. Alexander:

At Frogmore yesterday Mrs. S. gave me $25.00 in currency. I enclose my check and her note. Please send her official receipt and notify Mr. Dobbs.

M.A.W.

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations

1508 Lady Street
COLUMBIA, S. C.

opened by TBR

February 26, 1957

CONFIDENTIAL!

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Spent the weekend at Penn Community Services, Inc., St. Helena Island. Little time for talk with Marion Wright. However, I found him to be convinced that we should not report on matters of legislation. Shall we send clippings or will it suffice for you to rely upon The Southern School News?

"Harold Fleming is my kind" summed up the profusely complimentary remarks made about you by one M. A. Wright. Know you are happy to have such whole hearted support.

I gave Mr. Wright $25.00 in honor of George Mitchell and asked that it be credited to Mr. Dabbs' solicitations. Thought he was en route Atlanta but later discovered he was not. No doubt he will send it along.

Mr. Wright and I wondered what you might think of holding the regional state staff conference at Penn. It is a quiet, restful spot and quite free of distractions. Your reaction, please.

Sincerely,

Alice N. Spearman

(Mrs.) Alice N. Spearman
Executive Director

ANS/sw

Same letter to: William H. Frey
Rev. J. Carson Pritchard
J. S. Dudley

February 27, 1957

Mr. August B. Meyer
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Meyer:

As announced in the enclosed letter, the Southern Regional Council has established the George S. Mitchell Tribute Fund. Your recent and generous contribution to the Council has been entered in our records as your contribution to that fund.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/eab
Encl.

February 27, 1957

Dr. William Lloyd Imes
Visiting Dean of Chapel
The Fisk Union Church
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Imes:

As announced in the enclosed letter, the Southern Regional Council has established the George S. Mitchell Tribute Fund. Your recent and generous contribution to the Council has been entered in our records as a contribution to that fund by the Fisk Union Church.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/eab
Encl.

February 27, 1957

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

I write you in Harold Fleming's absence. Your generosity overwhelms us. I believe this is a great demonstration of your faith in SRC. We will consider this a donation to the George S. Mitchell Tribute Fund and your name will be entered on a scroll for presentation to GSM. The funds will go to the general budget of the Council.

Best personal regards to you and Mrs. Dabbs.

Warmly,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

Enclosure

James McBride Dabbs • Rip Raps Plantation • Mayesville, South Carolina

February 23, 1957

Mrs. Ruth House Alexander, Secretary-Treasurer
The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED FEB 25 1957

Dear Mrs. Alexander:

Thanks for the expense check for $44.40. I am returning $25 of it as a contribution to the work of the SRC, since I think you need it worse than I do.

I also picked up $42 in today's mail from a foray I made recently into Charlottesville, Va. Since I would never have made this trip and talk except for the existence of the SRC, I am sending twenty-five of it on to SRC.

CR H 50.00 rhs

That accounts for the $50 check enclosed.

My best wishes to you, Mr. Fleming, and the rest, in these trying days.

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs

J. M. Dabbs.

Mitchell Tribute Fund

February 27, 1957

Mr. Paul Christopher
216 Flatiron Building
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Paul:

I write you in Harold Fleming's absence. A million thanks for your contribution of $25.00 to SRC via Via. It is the continuing devotion of our Executive Committee and Board members that means so much to the staff.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

YSM Fund file

HELEN LOUISE COHEN
94 OLIVER STREET
ROCHESTER 7, NEW YORK

March 4/57

With "Godspeed" to
George Mitchell —
and the Southern
Regional Council!
Helen L. Cohen

a little late, may I say
to George Mitchell - much
appreciation for his letter of
Jan 2/57 ?
HLC.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
HAROLD FLEMING EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
F. B. ROUTH ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
JOHN HOPE II CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH
ASSOC. FOR PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT
MRS. M. E. TILLY
DIRECTOR WOMEN'S WORK
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

Dear Friend:

The occasion for this letter is the retirement of Dr. George S. Mitchell after ten years of outstanding leadership of the Southern Regional Council. For years to come, the South and the Nation will be discovering the full measure of his stature and his contribution to human progress in our time.

A number of individuals and groups have asked that some provision be made for tangible expressions of admiration and respect for Dr. Mitchell. In response to these requests, we are taking this means to announce the establishment of the GEORGE S. MITCHELL TRIBUTE FUND.

The creation of this special fund is not intended to conflict with other requests for assistance to this work in the Southern states. It is meant to provide an opportunity for those who wish to give recognition in this manner to Dr. Mitchell's devoted services. We could think of nothing more appropriate than a fund which would strengthen and sustain the work to which he gave himself with such dedication.

Contributions to this fund will ultimately be merged with the general operating funds of the Southern Regional Council. The names of the donors, however, will be permanently preserved in the annals of the Council and will be suitably recorded on a scroll for presentation to Dr. Mitchell.

The officers and staff of the Council have pledged themselves to continue the work of the organization by the high standards set by Dr. Mitchell. The special fund established in his name will do much to make this possible.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright
President

Rufus E. Clement

Rufus E. Clement
Chairman, Executive Committee

THE GEORGE S. MITCHELL TRIBUTE FUND

of the

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

I should like to join with others in honoring Dr. George S. Mitchell, on his retirement, by this contribution to the work which he advanced. Enclosed is $_____ for the George S. Mitchell Tribute Fund of the Southern Regional Council. (Please make checks payable to the Council.)

*Name*_____

*Address*_____

_____

Contributions to the Southern Regional Council are tax exempt.

GSM Fund file

March 5, 1957

Mr. & Mrs. J. L. O'Brien
522 Forest Lacen Road
Webster, New York

Dear Mr. & Mrs. O'Brien:

May we take this opportunity to thank you for your generous contribution to the George S. Mitchell Fund and for your equally generous comments concerning Dr. Mitchell and the Council.

Dr. Mitchell sails for Scotland on the 8th and is now in New York. We shall see that your good wishes follow him.

In relation to New South, if at any time we can supply you with additional copies of a particular issue or with any of our other materials it will be a pleasure to do so.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/hs

Mr. & Mrs. J. L. O'Brien
522 Forest Haven Rd.
Leicester, New York
March 2, 1957

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen,

We are so glad to have this opportunity to add a tiny bit to the tribute to Dr. Mitchell. Aside from everything his dedicated work has done for the South, I am sure there must be lots of people like me to whom he has been an unforgettable personal inspiration.

I hope it isn't too late for you to pass along to him my highest personal regards and best wishes for the peace and happiness in the years to come he has earned and deserves.

My husband and I enjoy New South so much and use it as source material frequently — just their work for a paper on integrated housing here in our suburb of Rochester, New York.

Every good wish in your work — and again to Dr. Mitchell.

Sincerely,

Jane Martin O'Brien

ASM
Fund file

March 5, 1957

Mrs. M. H. Sterne
Box 616, Route 2
Birmingham 9, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Sterne:

May we take this opportunity to thank you for your good and generous contribution to the George Mitchell Tribute Fund.

Dr. Mitchell sails for Scotland on the 8th and is now in New York. We shall see that your good wishes follow him.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/hs
Encl: SRC receipt, $25.00

GSM Tribute Fund File

State of New Jersey

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

DIVISION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

1100 Raymond Boulevard
Newark 5, New Jersey
Market 4-1414

162 West State Street
Trenton 25, N. J.
Export 2-2131

March 5, 1957

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Your general letter announcing the retirement of George S. Mitchell has been received. It is with extreme regret that I learn that George is retiring from the very important work that he is doing.

Thank you, however, for permitting me to participate in the establishment of a tribute fund. My modest check is enclosed as a very inadequate symbol of the very high regard of esteem in which I hold George. Please convey to him my very best wishes.

Very truly yours,

Harold A. Lett
Assistant Director

HAL neg
Encl.

March 7, 1957

Mr. Benjamin Segal
Trade Union Consultant
The Fund for the Republic
1820 Jefferson Place, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Ben:

You are not only ubiquitous, you are downright indescribable. Looking over the names of those who gave to the George S. Mitchell Fund, I am filled with wonder at the pitch you must have made, or the arm-twisting, or something. And we have carefully noted that the largest one of all came under the direct auspices of Ben Segal himself.

My sense of gratitude will oblige me to work much harder the next time you have an urgent need for a funny story.

I don't know what else to do, since I don't have all the addresses, but to send to you our official receipts for the various contributions. Maybe Sue Mills could scare up the remaining addresses and send them on to the contributors.

See you next week.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encls.

$175.00

BENJAMIN D. SEGAL
TRADE UNION CONSULTANT—FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
1820 JEFFERSON PLACE, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C.
STERLING 3-2194

Monday

Dear Harold,

Quite a good and fruitful luncheon. The Mitchells, plus all of us, enjoyed it.

Here is the $175.00 collected. for Geo. Mitchell Fund. Quite a goodly amount, considering the collection was taken from among only 60 folks present.

All the best,

RECEIVED MAR 6 1957

Ben

Ben

125 rec'd
HA

March 11, 1957

Mrs. Kenneth R. Parker
11435 Plainfield Rd.
La Grange, Ill.

Dear Mrs. Parker:

Thanks for your note about George and Alice Mitchell.

As much as we should like to be a conduit through which your contribution to the Mitchells might pass, we believe that our bookkeeping might be slightly complicated by receiving and disbursing your check.

If you should like to issue a check direct to the Mitchells and will send it to the Atlanta Office, that Office will be glad to forward it. They have the Mitchells' itinerary and will see that the check reaches them.

With kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

March 4th,'57
II435 Plainfield Rd.
La Grange, Illinois

Dear Mr. Wright:

We got y our letter about the George S.Mitchell Fund and after talking it over with Mr. Parker, we feel we would rather give a check thru you to Alice and George to be used personally for their life in Scotland. It can't be very much, but if you could do this we'd appreciate it.

Thank you,

Adele B. Parker

(Mrs. Kenneth R.Parker)

I should like to join with others in honoring Dr. George S. Mitchell, on his retirement, by this contribution to the work which he advanced. Enclosed is $_____ for the George S. Mitchell Tribute Fund of the Southern Regional Council. (Please make checks payable to the Council.)

Name_____

Address_____

_____

Contributions to the Southern Regional Council are tax exempt.

$10 for USM Fund enclosed

CONGREGATION B'NAI ISRAEL
P. O. BOX 1326
HATTIESBURG, MISSISSIPPI

RABBI
CHARLES MANTINBAND
808 MAMIE STREET

March 13

Dear Harold:—

Congratulations and all good wishes in your new work. With God's help, and under your capable direction, S.R.C. will grow from strength to greater strength.

In Mississippi everything is rapidly falling apart. Both state and parent bodies are coming in, from all sources, for an abundance of criticism and false judgments. The

Sullens press is especially nasty. What a pity, then, that at a time when we so desperately need guidance and aid (not financial but moral), we should be left alone and abandoned. Each one now goes his lone way ~ certainly I do. Have you a suggestion? Or has S.R.C. now completely written the Magnolia State off as a total loss?

One of these days I am due at Morehouse & Atlanta U. to speak & teach. When maybe our paths will cross again!

Greetings

Chas Martindale

Enc. check
Geo Mitchell Fund

March 14, 1957

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

We are receiving a small number of contributions of $25 and more for the George S. Mitchell Tribute Fund. It would seem appropriate to send these contributors a personal note as well as the usual official receipt. And, since these contributions are directed to you as President of the Council, we feel it would be best if this note bore your signature.

We are enclosing the draft of such a note for your approval. This note will be sent to all GSM Fund contributors of $25 or more. In turn, we will send you a list of all such persons.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/eab
Encl.

bc: Mr. Wright

GSM Tribute fund

March 14, 1957

Miss Margaret McCulloch
358 Whitford Place
Memphis 6, Tennessee

Dear Miss McCulloch:

We are very happy to acknowledge receipt of your letter of March 1st and greatly appreciate your contribution. We also endorse completely your very kind expressions as to George Mitchell.

Reluctantly, we must agree that, in spite of all our efforts, the organizing job has not been perfectly done. I am sure that you will understand that the mass pressures against the thing that we are trying to do in the South, pressures which are liberally financed and shrewdly directed, have made the task of organizing the progressive forces of the South a far graver one than any of us could have anticipated.

We do feel that the tide is beginning to turn. The violence and lawlessness which have characterized the segregationist movement are now beginning to awaken many Southerners to the fact that they can no longer remain neutral.

Thoughtful letters such as yours will spur us into redoubling our efforts.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright
President

MAW/eab

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
HAROLD C. FLEMING, INFORMATION
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. G. T. HAMILTON, PROGRAM
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
C. H. PARRISH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
F. B. ROUTH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Please re-write & sign my name hr.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

March 11, 1957

Miss Margaret McCulloch
358 Whitford Place
Memphis 6, Tenn.

Dear Miss McCulloch:

We are very happy to acknowledge~~ment~~ receipt of your letter of March 1st and greatly appreciate your contribution. We also endorse completely your very kind expressions as to George Mitchell.

Reluctantly, we must agree that, in spite of all of our efforts, the organizing job has not been perfectly done. I am sure that you will understand that the mass pressures against the thing that we are trying to do in the South, pressures which are liberally financed and shrewdly directed, have made the task of organizing the ~~liberal~~ progressive forces of the South a far graver one than any of us could have anticipated.

We do feel that the tide is beginning to turn. The violence and lawlessness which have characterized the segregationist movement, are now beginning to awaken many Southerners to the fact that they can no longer remain neutral.

Thoughtful letters such as yours will spur us into redoubling our efforts.

Yours sincerely,

President

M. G. McCULLOCH
358 WHITFORD PLACE
MEMPHIS 6, TENN.

Directors of Sumter Regional Council.

March 1-1957.

$5.00 ck to RA Her

Dear Friends:-

George Mitchell made a unique contribution to better race relations in the South. We have been friends through this work for years & I am happy to send a token of friendship & appreciation. His warm personality, keen mind, & dramatic gifts will be irreplaceable.

At the same time I want to say a word about why my gift is so small & what I hope for the future. George himself made his one-man star role of interpretation - an inestimable gift. The SRC publications have been of high quality & also made a unique contribution to Sumter interracial understanding. But I have to stop there. In my judgment SRC has failed signally to do the organizing job needed & for which it accepted the huge Ford Foundation Grant. The money is largely spent; the job remains to be done. Put a good organizer on the job; demonstrate some fruits & I shall be thankful beyond words, & shall also in my small way, be glad to contribute beyond mere token gifts. But there is a failure at a critical juncture to be redeemed. Before SRC can look for more cash - Cash beyond any thing we can offer has been poured down the drain by SRC when it was tragically needed for concrete achievement. I am praying to see a fresh recognition of this & a redeeming new vital accomplishment.

Sincerely -
Mrs Arthur McCulloch

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
HAROLD FLEMING EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
F. B. ROUTH ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
JOHN HOPE II CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH
ASSOC. FOR PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT
MRS. M. E. TILLY
DIRECTOR WOMEN'S WORK
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

Dear Friend:

The occasion for this letter is the retirement of Dr. George S. Mitchell after ten years of outstanding leadership of the Southern Regional Council. For years to come, the South and the Nation will be discovering the full measure of his stature and his contribution to human progress in our time.

A number of individuals and groups have asked that some provision be made for tangible expressions of admiration and respect for Dr. Mitchell. In response to these requests, we are taking this means to announce the establishment of the GEORGE S. MITCHELL TRIBUTE FUND.

The creation of this special fund is not intended to conflict with other requests for assistance to this work in the Southern states. It is meant to provide an opportunity for those who wish to give recognition in this manner to Dr. Mitchell's devoted services. We could think of nothing more appropriate than a fund which would strengthen and sustain the work to which he gave himself with such dedication.

Contributions to this fund will ultimately be merged with the general operating funds of the Southern Regional Council. The names of the donors, however, will be permanently preserved in the annals of the Council and will be suitably recorded on a scroll for presentation to Dr. Mitchell.

The officers and staff of the Council have pledged themselves to continue the work of the organization by the high standards set by Dr. Mitchell. The special fund established in his name will do much to make this possible.

With kindest regards,

Over please

Sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright
President

Rufus E. Clement

Rufus E. Clement
Chairman, Executive Committee

Another copy in "Miss - Psychology"

GSM file

March 15, 1957

Rabbi Charles Mantinband
808 Mamie Street
Hattiesburg, Mississippi

Dear Rabbi Mantinband:

How good it is to hear from you again and to have your encouraging words about the future of SRC. Your contribution to the GSM Fund is also deeply appreciated.

Please believe that we are deeply concerned about the situation in Mississippi and the plight of the good people there who feel so discouraged and isolated.

Certainly it is not the intention of the Council to "abandon" Mississippi. During the recent months of transition, we have all been so hard-pressed with organizational matters that we haven't made our concern and continuing interest as evident as we should have. The enclosed copy of my recent letter to Mrs. Wheatley sums up our feeling pretty well. Since that letter was mailed, however, I have been informed that the Mississippi Council has gone into what appears to be an eclipse. The only officer elected at the last meeting was the Secretary-Treasurer, who is Mrs. Lyells. Otherwise, there appears to be no one who feels that he or she can accept any further responsibility.

But the good people of Mississippi are still there and the question is still before us: how can SRC play a positive role in that state? I confess I don't have any pat answers, but my hope is that one or more of our staff members can soon pay another visit to Mississippi as a basis for working out some new pattern of activity.

It would be a tremendous help as well as pleasure to sit down and talk with you either here or on your home ground. Do let us know when you are going to be here so that we can plan such a get together.

Meanwhile, warmest good wishes to you and Mrs. Mantinband.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl.

cc & incoming to PA - for appropriate notation

March 15, 1957

Dr. M. LaFayette Harris
President
Philander Smith College
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Dr. Harris:

Mr. Wright has asked me to acknowledge with deep appreciation your letter of March 11th and your pledge of $30.00 to the George S. Mitchell Tribute Fund. We are all most grateful.

Through an oversight, the check you refer to in your letter was not enclosed.

We have noted the names of the persons whom you suggest as possibly being interested in New South.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

PHILANDER SMITH COLLEGE

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

March 11, 1957

No check enclosed. HLH

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 , 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wright:

This is a reply to your letter of February 27. I need not explain the many factors which made the delay necessary. I am in full accord with the establishment of the George S. Mitchell Tribute Fund. Please find enclosed herewith my small check, representing only part of my contribution. I will make monthly remittances until a sum of $30. has been paid.

I should like to see the following persons receive copies of the New South:

1. Dr. W. H. Roberts, 1113 Izard, Little Rock, Ark.
2. Dr. E. R. Arnold, Philander Smith College, Little Rock.
3. Dr. Mari Huth 1100 Izard, Little Rock, Ark.
4. Dr. E. N. Barron, 3rd and Izard, Little Rock
5. Dr. Georg G. Iggers, History Department, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Ark.

Most sincerely yours,

M. LaFayette Harris

M. LaFayette Harris
President

MLH:hlc
Dictaphoned

Encl. (check)

— A COLLEGE OF SERVICE AND DISTINCTION —

MEMBER: NORTH CENTRAL ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGES AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS; AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION

March 22, 1957

Mrs. Esther Watson Tipple
The Mercator Foundation for
Music and Therapy
Black's Bluff Road
Rome, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tipple:

I am sure that you will hear from Mr. Wright in the near future concerning your generous contribution to the GSM Tribute Fund.

I am taking the liberty of forwarding your comment concerning the Atlanta University Centennial to Dr. Rufus Clement.

We are deeply grateful for your interest in the work of the Council.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/eab

March 22, 1957

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Clement:

The enclosed arrived today along with a check of $25.00 for the GSM Fund. Thought it might be of some interest to you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/eab
Encl: copy of ltr from Mrs. Tipple
dtd 3/19/57

March 25, 1957

Miss Carolin A. Flexner
70 East Ninety-Sixth Street
New York, New York

Dear Miss Flexner:

Phil has just passed along your contribution. I can't tell you how much I appreciate your thoughtfulness and generosity.

I had meant to write you long before now and probably would have if we hadn't learned that we might be seeing you shortly. I do hope you'll be able to make the Atlanta junket.

You were very kind to give me such a pleasant and helpful evening when I was in New York. I doubt that you realize how much you did for my sagging morale. The trip turned out to be worthwhile, though I still have a lot to follow through on. I hope I'll have a chance to give you a brief account on home grounds before long.

With appreciation and warm regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl: SRC Official Receipt $20.00

March 19, 1957

Mr. Fleming:

Mr. Hammer asked that I forward the enclosed check to you.

$20.00

Bonell Jossey, Secretary
Hammer and Co. Associates

(Sp? - See check)

bj

Miss Caroline Flexner
70 East 96th St.
New York, N.Y.

RECEIVED APR 1 1957

Saint Augustine's College
Raleigh, North Carolina

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

March 29, 1957

Mr. M. A. Wright, President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thank you very much for your letter of March 25, with the enclosed card acknowledging receipt of $5.00 as my contribution to the George S. Mitchell Tribute Fund. I only wish that I could have done more.

Very truly yours,

James A. Boyer
President

JAB:mbw

MEMBER
UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

April 8, 1957

Mr. Johnnie Weaver
754 East 93rd Street
Los Angeles 2, California

Dear Mr. Weaver:

Sincere thanks for your contribution and your good letter.

Dr. Mitchell's leadership will be sorely missed. However, those of us who carry on the work are determined to make as effective a contribution as possible to the progress of the South in this difficult period of transition. Such words of encouragement as those you have written us are deeply appreciated.

With kindest regards and good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:mm

Los Angeles 2
Mar. 4. 1957

My Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am sure All of you of the Council and many of the Americans who know of your Service to America regret the resigning of Dr. Mittchell.

I take this way to Congratulate you on being chosen to Take over and Carry On the Ship that is heading All Americans to a Better Understanding and Better Relations.

I was born and received my early schooling in Houston. Texas and have traveled over most of Our America and being an American (with Black way of showing It) smile I have had my share of Experience with This Race Problem that exists in some degree All Over Our America

I am aware that some States have more Problems or Resistance to Progress than other States. and I know now that I can not live in Calif and Tell the Amereans to Solve their Race Problems in Ala. Miss. la and Georgia or any State. I would have to go to those States and Communities and "Help" Solve or Overcome the Mis-Understanding and Mis taken Beleifs about each other.

So I Praise you and your Co-Workers who are Trying to Help those Cummunities Grow Out of their Mistaken Beleifs about each other.

The Problems in any Cummunity will be solved by the People or Humans that live in that Cummunity, so I Praise All of you for your Efforts to Help each Cummunity for you are Doing a Great Service for All Americans Helping them to Reah the Goal of "hove (like) ye One Another"

I Think if we could get most Americans to Ivestigate the First words of Our Constitution they would Dicover a hesson that could Help them to Better Relation and Understanding with All Humans

All men (Humans) are "Created" Equal and endowed with Certain "Rights" by their Creator (God). Now All men (Humans) are not Born Equal so there must be a Spiritual "Part" in Each of Us that was Created by God in the Begining (when ever that was) or some part of the Creator in All Creation and a Certain "Man" called it Our father (of All Creation). so I Beleive if the Creator (God) had "Sense" enough to Create this Planet and All Planets He has "Sense" enough to Help Us Run It. (smile)

As Our President said at the end of His Oath

So Help me (Us) God.

Maybe I'm a little nuts (smile) but we can not stop the Creator from Expressing Himself in Sun, Moon, Stars or Other Planets His Creation, so no Problem Race Etc can Prevent the Creator from Expressing Himself in Our America and maybe Souls as All of you were Chosen by Him to Help Americans Grow Out of Mistaken Beleifs about each other, and Try to See some Part of the Creator in All.

Sorquin I congratulate you and All Co-workers and may All of you continue to enjoy the Blessings of Good Health, Happiness, Success and Devine Guidance in All your Efforts.

Sincerely

(MR.) Johnnie Weaver
754 E 93 St.

Thanks for Reading enclosed is here Gift for Dr. Mitchell Fund. I am sure he deserves a Rest.

April 8, 1957

Miss Margaret L. Fisher
Andrews, North Carolina

Dear Margaret:

Many thanks for your contribution to the George S. Mitchell Fund. The response has been quite good - a well deserved tribute to George and a very material help to the Council at this point.

Josephine tells me that you are planning a change. I hope this new phase holds much good fortune and satisfaction for you.

All best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:mm

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
HAROLD FLEMING EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
F. B. ROUTH ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
JOHN HOPE II CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH
ASSOC. FOR PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT
MRS. M. E. TILLY
DIRECTOR WOMEN'S WORK
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

How much?

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

Dear Friend:

The occasion for this letter is the retirement of Dr. George S. Mitchell after ten years of outstanding leadership of the Southern Regional Council. For years to come, the South and the Nation will be discovering the full measure of his stature and his contribution to human progress in our time.

A number of individuals and groups have asked that some provision be made for tangible expressions of admiration and respect for Dr. Mitchell. In response to these requests, we are taking this means to announce the establishment of the GEORGE S. MITCHELL TRIBUTE FUND.

The creation of this special fund is not intended to conflict with other requests for assistance to this work in the Southern states. It is meant to provide an opportunity for those who wish to give recognition in this manner to Dr. Mitchell's devoted services. We could think of nothing more appropriate than a fund which would strengthen and sustain the work to which he gave himself with such dedication.

Contributions to this fund will ultimately be merged with the general operating funds of the Southern Regional Council. The names of the donors, however, will be permanently preserved in the annals of the Council and will be suitably recorded on a scroll for presentation to Dr. Mitchell.

The officers and staff of the Council have pledged themselves to continue the work of the organization by the high standards set by Dr. Mitchell. The special fund established in his name will do much to make this possible.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright
President

Rufus E. Clement

Rufus E. Clement
Chairman, Executive Committee

Dear Harold –
Wish this could be
ten times ten times!
Regards
Margaret
Margaret L. Fisher – Andrews, N. C.

Please send Miss Frayser receipt.
M.A.W.

Receipt mailed 5/7/57 (mb)

Box 41, Winthrop College
Rock Hill, South Carolina
April 12, 1957

RECEIVED MAY 2 1957

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

It gives me rare pleasure to senf the enclosed.

Dr. George S. Mitchell did wonderful work. He sacrificed much in order to hasten the day when justice will be accorded to any underprivileged race.

Is your effort just for a beautiful piece of silver or some other gift, or do you plan to present a check, hoping that the contributions will sum up to at least $500.00? If so, I will send another check, immediately.

Does Dr. Mitchell have enough to live with the dignity and comfort due him?

The foregoing question and your reply shall be confidential.

I am enclosing some evidence of progress in interests you have promoted.

We are grateful for your splendid service. I miss copies of your addresses and articles.

The recent public meeting of Human Relations Council was splendid.

With regard, I am

Yours sincerely,

Mary E. Frayser

Mary E. Frayser

MEF:mdk
encls.

4/16/57

MEMO - Re Contributions to GSM Tribute Fund by members of Board of Directors of Council

FILE COPY

To: HCF

From: PA

Paul Christopher ($25)

J. M. Dabbs ($50)

L. H. Foster ($10)

C. H. Gomillion ($10)

M. A. Wright ($25)

F.K.Darragh, Jr. ($50)

Mrs. J. Fount Tillman ($10)

Mr. & Mrs. H. M. Davidson ($50)

Hodding Carter ($25)

Guy B. Johnson ($5)

Mr. & Mrs. Philip G. Hammer ($25)

List represents a total contributed of $285 from eleven board members, or approximately 13% of total number on board. (One additional member, Dr. Mays, has indicated plans to contribute in the future.)

D R A F T

Dear ---

You may recall our sending you a copy of the enclosed letter announcing the establishment of the George S. Mitchell Tribute Fund.

The response to the announcement has been good. However, a number of Board members have not contributed, and we felt that those who have not might welcome a letter of reminder.

With warmest regards.

Sincerely yours,

M. A. Wright, President

Rufus E. Clement, Chairman,
Executive Committee

Mitchell - Tribute Fund

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

D R A F T --------

RECEIVED APR 30 1957

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The response to the announcement has been good. However, a number of Board Members have not contributed, and we felt that those who have not might welcome a letter of reminder.

With warmest regards.

Sincerely yours,

M. A. Wright, President

Rufus E. Clement, Chairman,
Executive Committee

O.K.
M.A.W.
for Mr. Anthony

April 26, 1957

Mr. Marion Wright
"Top Not"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

At the suggestion of the Executive Committee, we have prepared a follow-up letter to those members of the Board of Directors who have not contributed to the Mitchell Tribute Fund.

A draft of this letter is enclosed for your approval or suggestions.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony,
Administrative Assistant

PA:cj

enclosure:

April 26, 1957

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
Atlanta University
223 Chestnut Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Clement:

At the suggestion of the Executive Committee, we have prepared a follow-up letter to those members of the Board of Directors who have not contributed to the Mitchell Tribute Fund.

A draft of this letter is enclosed for your approval or suggestions.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony,
Administrative Assistant

PA:cj

enclosure:

May 22, 1957

Rev. W. Carroll Brooke
Box 208
Staunton, Virginia

Dear Rev. Brooke:

May I take this opportunity to thank you for your recent contribution to the George S. Mitchell Fund. These funds will go toward continuing the work of the Southern Regional Council.

In turn, we will be happy to see that your best wishes are forwarded to the Mitchells.

This contribution and your continued moral support of the work of the Council are invaluable in the period ahead. For both, we are deeply grateful.

Sincerely yours,

M. A. Wright,
President

MAW:cj

SAME LETTER SENT TO ALL CONTRIBUTORS TO THE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL TRIBUTE FUND

May 23, 1957

Miss Mary E. Frayser
Box 41, Winthrop College
Rock Hill, South Carolina

Dear Miss Frayser:

May I take this opportunity to thank you for your recent contribution to the George S. Mitchell Fund. These funds will go toward continuing the work of the Southern Regional Council.

In turn, we will be happy to see that your best wishes are forwarded to the Mitchells.

This contribution and your continued moral support of the work of the Council are invaluable in the period ahead. For both, we are deeply grateful.

Sincerely yours,

M. A. Wright,
President

MAW/mf
Encl. - 1 official receipt

June 10, 1957

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
President
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mays:

On February 28th, in response to an announcement of the George S. Mitchell Tribute Fund, you asked to be reminded of the Fund in two or three months. Accordingly, we are enclosing copies of the materials mailed to you earlier.

With warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosures

L I S T

G.S.M. Tribute Fund Contributors

	NAME	AMOUNT
1.	Mr. Paul R. Christopher, Dir. AFL-CIO, Region VIII 216 Flatiron Building Knoxville 17, Tennessee	$25.00
2.	Mr. J. M. Dabbs Mayesville, South Carolina	$50.00
3.	Mrs. Alice N. Spearman 1508 Lady Street Columbia, South Carolina	$25.00
4.	Mr. L. H. Foster Tuskegee Institute Tuskegee, Alabama	$10.00
5.	Dr. V. G. Dailey 364 East 48th Street Chicago, Illinois	$10.00
6.	Rev. Lawrence Brediger Box 30 Silver Spring, Maryland	$ 5.00
7.	Mr. Gibson Gray Central YMCA Harrisburg, Pennsylvania	$ 5.00
8.	Most Rev. Joseph B. Brunini P. O. Box 57 Jackson, Mississippi	$10.00
9.	Mr. & Mrs. Irvin Dager 114 S. Bremistone Clayton 5, Missouri	$10.00
10.	Mrs. E. K. Morrison 52 Morton Street New York 14, New York	$ 3.00
11.	Mr. Edward J. Pfeiffer, Jr. 605 Woodlawn Avenue Buffalo 11, New York	$ 1.00

	NAME	AMOUNT
12.	Most Rev. Joseph H. Hodges St. Peters Church 808 East Grace Street Richmond 19, Virginia	$ 5.00
13.	Dr. Lawrence E. Paxton 16 Wells Avenue, N. W. Roanoke 7, Virginia	$ 2.00
14.	Miss Edith Franklin Wyatt 222 East Chestnut Street Chicago 11, Illinois	$10.00
15.	Mrs. M. H. Sterne Box 616, Route 2 Birmingham 9, Alabama	$25.00
16.	Mrs. Lillian Parker Wallace 2212 Hope Street (MEREDITH COLLEGE) Raleigh, North Carolina	$ 5.00
17.	G. C. Speidel 2666 Jeff Park Circle Charlottesville, Virginia	$ 2.00
18.	ANONYMOUS Winneyka, Illinois	$ 1.00
19.	Miss Margaret C. McCulloch 858 Whitford Place Memphis 6, Tennessee	$ 5.00
20.	E. F. Davies Virginia State College Petersburg, Virginia	$ 5.00
21.	Mr. & Mrs. Odom Fanning 5640 Oak Street Kansas City 13, Missouri	$ 5.00
22.	Mr. George B. Harris, Jr. 403 Stuart Cart Apts. 1600 Monument Avenue Richmond, Virginia	$ 1.00
23.	Miss Jimmie W. Kyle 1907 Link Road Lynchburg, Virginia	$ 5.00

	NAME	AMOUNT
24.	Rev. William A. James, Jr. 308 W. Madison Pulaski, Tennessee	$ 3.00
25.	Miss Susie P. Foster 1213 Dandridge Street Fredericksburg, Virginia	$ 3.00
26.	Mr. James M. Hinton 1222 Heidt Street Columbia, South Carolina	$ 3.00
27.	Miss Marcia Geiger Pendle Hill Wallingford, Pennsylvania	$ 3.00
28.	H. E. Fauntleroy 901 Wilcox Street Petersburg, Virginia	$ 2.00
29.	Mr. Charles G. Gomillion Box 31 Tuskegee Institute, Ala.	$10.00
30.	Miss Ellen B. Armstrong 63 Carral Street Port Jervis, New York	$ 5.00
31.	Dr. & Mrs. Harold K. Hughes 650 Lakeside Drive Rock Hill, South Carolina	$ 2.00
32.	Mrs. Anne B. Gellman 705 Byrd Parkcourt Richmond 20, Virginia	$ 5.00
33.	Louise S. Hunter Virginia State College Petersburg, Virginia	$ 1.00
34.	Dr. & Mrs. Isaac Hathaway 1318 Tuttle Avenue Montgomery 6, Alabama	$ 5.00
35.	Mr. Russel O. Partington 2120 Blodgett Street Muskegon, Michigan	$ 2.00
36.	Mr. Allen O. Edwards Winthrop College Rock Hill, South Carolina	$ 1.00

	NAME	AMOUNT
37.	Miss Marcia V. Marion 85 Birnie Circle Sumpter, South Carolina	$ 5.00
38.	Mr. & Mrs. J. L. O'Brier 522 Forest Lacer Road Webster, New York	$10.00
39.	Dr. Robert A. Lambert Box 356 Greensboro, Alabama	$10.00
40.	Mr. Miles E. Cary Route #2 Roanoke, Virginia	$ 2.00
41.	Miss Alice J. Minahan 1930 College Street Columbia 1, South Carolina	$ 1.00
42.	Miss Louise R. McKinney Stillman College Tuscaloosa, Alabama	$ 5.00
43.	Miss Willie Mae Watson 2533 Barre Street Norfolk 4, Virginia	$ 5.00
44.	Josephine Piccolo 167 Monticello Road Alexandria, Virginia (c/o Ben Segal)	$ 3.00
45.	Worker's Educational Local 189 - American Federation of Teachers Ben Segal, President (c/o Ben Segal - 1820 Jefferson Pl., N. W. Washington, D. C.)	$63.00
46.	Katherine Ellickson (c/o Ben Segal - see address above)	$10.00
47.	Abby J. W. Maudel (c/o Ben Segal - see address above)	$ 5.00
48.	Mr. Charles M. Smith (c/o Ben Segal - see address above)	$25.00
49.	Mr. Ted F. Silvey 4616 - 30th Street, N. W. DCA (c/o Ben Segal)	$ 5.00

	NAME	AMOUNT
50.	Mr. Stuart P. Brock (c/o Ben Segal - see address on previous page)	$10.00
51.	Mr. Kenneth M. Birkhead (c/o Ben Segal - " " " " ")	$10.00
52.	Anne B. Harrison 3556 Macomb Street, N. W. DCA (c/o Ben Segal)	$20.00
53.	Mr. John W. Piercey (c/o Ben Segal)	$ 5.00
54.	Mr. Adam Yarmolinsky Fund for the Republic 60 East 42nd Street New York, New York (c/o Ben Segal)	$20.00
55.	Katie Sue Echols 204 Bland Street Richmond, 25 Virginia	$ 5.00
56.	Mr. & Mrs. Javoil G. Dent 507 Harrison Street Greenville, Alabama	$10.00
57.	Mr. & Mrs. Jack Wilcox 1816 Lake Avenue Knoxville 16, Tennessee	$10.00
58.	O. D. Duncan Oklahoma A. & M. College Stillwater, Oklahoma	$10.00
59.	H. M. Silverman 1016 Larchmont Norfolk, Virginia	$ 5.00
60.	Mr. R. Thompson Hollis Route 1, Box 97-B Spencer, Oklahoma	$ 5.00
61.	Courtney & Elizabeth Siceloff Frogmore, South Carolina	$ 5.00
62.	Belle Boone Beard Sweet Briar, Virginia	$ 1.00
63.	Harold A. Lett, Ass't. Dir. Div. Against Discrimination 1100 Raymond Blvd. Newark, New Jersey	$ 5.00

	NAME	AMOUNT
64.	Helen C. Cohen 94 Oliver Street Rochester, New York	$10.00
65.	Mrs. Alice W. Anderson 311 Cleveland Avenue Anderson, South Carolina	$ 3.00
66.	A. L. Friedman 7317 Foster Morton Grove, Illinois	$ 2.00
67.	ANONYMOUS	$ 1.00
68.	J. H. Bowles Sandy Hook, Virginia	$10.00
69.	Mr. & Mrs. Myron Schwartz 8228 Tulane St. Louis 24, Missouri	$ 5.00
70.	Edna B. Merson 410 E. 57th Street New York 22, N. Y.	$ 5.00
71.	Mrs. Raymond C. Hodges Box 1416 College Station Fredericksburg, Virginia	$ 2.00
72.	Miss Helen C. Calloway 663 East Livingston Avenue Columbus 5, Ohio	$ 1.00
73.	Dr. Belle S. Mooney 4333 Bellefontaine Ave. Kansas City 30, Missouri	$ 1.00
74.	E. H. Saulson 920 E. 37th Street Austin 5, Texas	$ 1.00
75.	Mrs. B. J. Covington 2219 Dowling Street Houston, Texas	$ 1.00
76.	E. Page Tucker 66 Golf Circle, N. E. Atlanta 9, Georgia	$ 5.00

	NAME	AMOUNT
77.	Dora Byron Apt. M - 2080 N. Decatur Road Atlanta 7, Georgia	$ 5.00
78.	Mrs. Ida B. Patterson 2959 Andrews Drive Atlanta, Georgia	$ 5.00
79.	Miss Florence M. Read 675 Diamond Street Lagona Beach, California	$ 5.00
80.	Mrs. Buelah Lee Flowers 1401 State Street Pine Bluff, Arkansas	$ 3.00
81.	Carter Wesley 2418 Leeland Avenue P. O. Box 3086 Houston, Texas	$10.00
82.	Mrs. W. A. Scott, Sr. 1355 Hunter Road, N. W. Atlanta 14, Georgia	$ 5.00
83.	Lucile Gustotson 345 Diogonal Road Akron 20, Ohio	$20.00
84.	W. S. Moody Box 546 West Point, Mississippi	$ 3.00
85.	W. S. Howland TIME-LIFE Bureau 1020 Rhodes-Haverty Bldg. Atlanta, Georgia	$25.00
86.	Charles C. Walker 1216 Chester Street Little Rock, Arkansas	$ 2.50
87.	Janet K. Nelson Montaigne Drive Richmond 25, Virginia	$ 5.00
88.	Mrs. Norwood Phelps 2405 Pineridge Road Jacksonville, Florida	$ 1.00

	NAME	AMOUNT
89.	Dr. Riley B. Montgomery 214 South Hanover Avenue Lexington, Kentucky	$10.00
90.	Miss Willou Gray, Dir. The Opportunity School of S. C. West Columbia, South Carolina	$20.00
91.	Dr. L. C. Downing 31 Center Avenue, N. W. Roanoke, Virginia	$10.00
92.	Mrs. Leon Ellis Box 5104 Tate Street Station Greensboro, North Carolina	$ 1.00
93.	Mrs. Margaret E. Evans 115 S. West Street Alexandria, Virginia	$ 1.00
94.	J. E. Robinson 1066 South Bellevue Memphis 6, Tennessee	$ 2.00
95.	D. F. White 825 First Avenue Selma, Alabama	$ 2.00
96.	J. Emmett Jerome Box 68 Rock Hill, South Carolina	$ 3.00
97.	J. Leonard Bates 1012 W. Clark Street Urbana, Illinois	$ 2.00
98.	Mr. & Mrs. James Stokely 405 Clifton Heights Newport, Tennessee	$ 2.00
99.	Roy B. Clark P. O. Box 203 Richmond, Kentucky	$ 2.00
100.	G. E. Clary Wesley Memorial Building Atlanta, Georgia	$ 5.00

NAME	AMOUNT
101. Miss Emma C. W. Gray Pain College Augusta, Georgia	$ 5.00
102. The Rev. John B. Morris Saint Barnabas' Church Dillon, South Carolina	$ 5.00
103. Dr. Hamilton W. McKay 1012 Kings Drive Doctors' Building Charlotte, North Carolina	$ 5.00
104. Mrs. A. U. West 1739 N. Central Expressway Dallas 4, Texas	$ 5.00
105. Richard L. Henderson 354 S. McDonough Decatur, Georgia	$ 5.00
106. Miss Helen E. Amerman 1398-A Senic Avenue Berkeley 8, California	$ 5.00
107. Rt. Rev. William H. Marmion Diocese of Southwestern Virginia P. O. Box 2068 Roanoke, Virginia	$10.00
108. Marion O. Johnston 522 E. Henry Savannah, Georgia	$ 5.00
109. F. T. Hyland 1314 Spring Road Richmond 25, Virginia	$ 5.00
110. Frank W. Spencer Atlantic Towing Company P. O. Box 136 228 East Bay Street Savahnah, Georgia	$25.00
111. The Rev. Ralph O. Abernathy 1327 South Hall Street Montgomery, Alabama	$ 2.00
112. Fred K. Darragh, Jr. Box 86 Little Rock, Arkansas	$50.00

	NAME	AMOUNT
113.	Mrs. Henry R. Bourne 444 Hawthorne Drive Danville, Virginia	$10.00
114.	J. D. McLeod 805 - 19½ Street Huntsville, Texas	$ 2.00
115.	W. E. Leonard 400 Pine Street Vienna, Georgia	$ 3.00
116.	Miss Amazal Meredith Virginia State College Petersburg, Virginia	$ 1.00
117.	Miss Ruth Field Route 1 Guilford College, N. C.	$ 5.00
118.	J. Allen Easley 7212 Reynolds Station Winston-Salem, North Carolina	$ 5.00
119.	Samuel T. Schroetter, Jr. 138 Madison Lane, Apt. 8 Charlottesville, Virginia	$ 1.00
120.	Mrs. Ben Russell 824 Luseulom Blvd. Greenville, Tennessee	$50.00
121.	M. A. Wright Linville Falls, N. C.	$25.00
122.	Dr. W. B. Weatherford Black Mountain, N. C.	$20.00
123.	Father Jos. H. Driscoll, C.SS.R. St. Alphonsus Rectory 308 West Broadway New York 13, N. Y.	$10.00
124.	E. B. Henderson 307 W. Fairfax Street Falls Church, Virginia	$ 1.00
125.	Ruby Berkley 4410 Leland Avenue Dallas, Texas	$ 5.00

	NAME	AMOUNT
126.	Dr. Edward R. Hipp, Sr. 412 North Church Street Charlotte, North Carolina	$10.00
127.	Dr. Joseph O. Weaver Ahoskie, North Carolina	$ 2.00
128.	John M. Coe P. O. Box 29 Pensacola, Florida	$ 5.00
129.	Helen E. Holcomb 2214 Broadway - Apt. 10 Vancouver, Washington	$ 1.00
130.	Dr. James A. Boyer, Pres. St. Augustine College Raleigh, North Carolina	$ 5.00
131.	Mrs. J. Fount Tillman Palmetto Park Route 1 Lewisburg, Tennessee	$10.00
132.	Felton G. Clark, Pres. Southern University Baton Rouge, Louisiana	$ 2.50
133.	Mayes Behrman 309 South Elam Avenue Greensboro, North Carolina	$10.00
134.	Charles N. Mason, Jr. P. O. Box 108 Washington 4, D. C.	$10.00
135.	Monsignor Menamara Cathedral of St. John the Baptist 222 East Harris Street Savannah, Georgia	$25.00
136.	Mrs. Arnold F. Strauss 7438 Flicker Place Norfolk, Virginia	$ 5.00
137.	Council of Civic Clubs Bluff City & Shelby County Jas. T. Walker, Pres. 928 N. Second Street Memphis, Tennessee	$10.00

	NAME	AMOUNT
138.	Rabbi Charles Mantinband P. O. Box 1326 Hattiesburg, Mississippi	$10.00
139.	Robert H. Hyers 450 Milledge Heights Athens, Georgia	$ 5.00
140.	Mr. & Mrs. Harold C. Fleming 2892 Ridgemore Road, N. W. Atlanta, Georgia	$25.00
141.	F. B. Routh 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Atlanta, Georgia	$25.00
142.	Leonard & Rose A. Sperry Fund (c/o Leonard M. Sperry) 2090 Mandeville Canion Road Los Angeles 49, Calif.	$25.00
143.	Mrs. Luella S. Halvorsen 1329 N. W. 3rd Avenue Ft. Lauderdale, Florida	$25.00
144.	Mrs. Louis Jaffé 7440 Pinecroft Lane Norfolk, Virginia	$10.00
145.	Mary M. Cannon 4648 - 28th Road, South Arlington 6, Virginia	$ 5.00
146.	Alexander Heard 404 Westwood Drive Chapel Hill, North Carolina	$ 5.00
147.	Mr. & Mrs. James R. Vinson Brushwood Road Little Rock, Arkansas	$ 5.00
148.	Robert H. Ayers 450 Milledge Heights Athens, Georgia	$ 5.00
149.	Mr. & Mrs. W. R. Dawkins 702 Columbia Drive Marietta, Georgia	$ 5.00

	NAME	AMOUNT
150.	Mrs. L. E. Barnhardt 5830 Creola Road Charlotte, North Carolina	$ 3.00
151.	Father J. B. Cremillion 216 Patton Avenue Box 4206 Shreveport, Louisiana	$10.00
152.	Miss Ashby Tucker 66 Golf Circle, N. E. Atlanta 9, Georgia	$ 5.00
153.	Mrs. F. B. Drake 452 W. Parkwood Road Decatur, Georgia	$ 5.00
154.	M. A. Sutton 930 Drewery Street, N. E. Atlanta, Georgia	$10.00
155.	J. R. Otis Tuskegee Institute Tuskegee, Alabama	$ 5.00
156.	Miss Francis Lyon 3660 St. Johns Avenue Jacksonville, Florida	$ 1.00
157.	Mrs. Roscoe T. Anthony 6 South Lake Trail Palm Beach, Florida	$ 5.00
158.	Mrs. R. L. Turman 37 Camden Road, N. E. Atlanta, Georgia	$ 5.00
159.	Mr. & Mrs. Hembert K. Fowler 320 N. Oliver Fayetteville, Arkansas	$ 3.00
160.	Mamy Raoul Millis 377 Tenth Street, N. E. Atlanta, Georgia	$15.00
161.	Very Rev. Patrick Walsh, Dir. Dominican Fathers Our Lady of Springbank Retreat House Kingstree, South Carolina	$10.00
162.	Dr. Rupert Roett 3262 Holman Avenue Houston, Texas	$10.00

	NAME	AMOUNT
163.	Mr. & Mrs. Herbert M. Davidson 2 Braddock Avenue Daytona Beach, Florida	$50.00
164.	W. M. Gilliam 334 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Atlanta, Georgia	$ 3.00
165.	Mrs. C. Collins Harvey 415 N. Farish Street Jackson 2, Mississippi	$ 5.00
166.	Woman's Society of Christian Service Mrs. W. Judson Ready - Treas. 1809 Encree Avenue Columbia, South Carolina	$ 5.00
167.	Mrs. H. W. Banks Bethune-Cookman College Daytona-Beach, Florida	$ 2.00
168.	Samuel M. Snipes Lincoln Highway Morrisville, Pennsylvania	$ 5.00
169.	Mrs. Thomas Langston Puryear Virginia State College Box 487 Petersburg, Virginia	$10.00
170.	Johonnie H. Weaver 754 E. 93rd Street Los Angeles 2, California	$ 5.00
171.	I. E. Saporta 210 North Avenue, N. W. Atlanta 13, Georgia	$10.00
172.	Mr. & Mrs. G. W. Logan 601 Lawson Street Durham, North Carolina	$ 5.00
173.	Mr. & Mrs. George Wolfe 7901 Carroll Avenue Takoma Park 12, Maryland	$ 3.00
174.	Miss Mildred R. Mell Agnes Scott College Decatur, Georgia	$ 5.00
175.	Mrs. J. E. Gaines 710 S. Thornton Avenue Dalton, Georgia	$ 1.00

	NAME	AMOUNT
176.	Dr. Frank F. Lee 5659 Durango Road Riverside, California	$20.00
177.	Miss Margaret L. Fisher P. O. Box 355 Andrews, North Carolina	$ 5.00
178.	Mrs. Joseph C. Massee 869 Lullwater Parkway Atlanta, Georgia	$10.00
179.	Seymour Samet 1208 Congress Building Miami, Florida	$ 5.00
180.	Miss Sue R. Slaughter 522 Mowbray Arch Norfolk 7, Virginia	$ 5.00
181.	Mr. John Glvstrom 1865 Piedmont Avenue, N. E. Atlanta, Georgia	$10.00
182.	Maurice R. Davice Yale University Newhaven, Conn.	$ 5.00
183.	Mr. Hodding Carter Delta-Democrat-Times Greenville, Mississippi	$25.00
184.	Mrs. John T. McCall 3728 West End Avenue Nashville 5, Tennessee	$ 5.00
185.	Guy B. Johnson Box 652 Chapel Hill, North Carolina	$ 5.00
186.	Mr. & Mrs. J. Milton Richardson 4104 Bute Street Houston 6, Texas	$ 5.00
187.	Mrs. Madeline M. Low 417 Park Avenue New York 22, New York	$10.00
188.	Mr. & Mrs. A. L. Brody 5532 South Shore Drive Chicago, Illinois	$10.00

	NAME	AMOUNT
189.	Mrs. Lillie B. Harris 1665 Floyd Street Augusta, Georgia	$ 2.00
190.	Marion M. Brown 1214 Jessie Street Jacksonville, Florida	$ 2.00
191.	Mrs. Carry Robertson Box 426 - Route 1 Anchorage, Kentucky	$10.00
192.	Mrs. W. E. Balmen 40 Hill Street Whitinsville, Massachusetts	$ 5.00
193.	CalvinKytle 44 King Avenue Columbus 1, Ohio	$15.00
194.	Mr. & Mrs. Philip G. Hammer 3483 Ridgewood Road, N. W. Atlanta, Georgia	$25.00
195.	Mrs. Frank A. Sewell 631 Clifton Road, N. E. Atlanta, Georgia	$ 5.00
196.	Mrs. Frankie V. Adams 224 Boulevard, N. E. Atlanta, Georgia	$ 5.00
197.	Mr. & Mrs. C. A. Christophe 809 State Street Pine Bluff, Arkansas	$ 2.00
198.	Mrs. Herman Heyman 1271 Oxford Road, N. E. Atlanta 6, Georgia	$10.00
199.	Roland F. Smith 122 W. Senecast Oswega, New York	$ 3.00
200.	Harry W. Roberts Dept. of Sociology Virginia State College Petersburg, Virginia	$ 5.00

	NAME	AMOUNT
201.	John T. Caldwell 217 Ozark Avenue Fayetteville, Arkansas	$10.00
202.	William E. Craig Box 366 Salina, Kansas	$ 5.00
203.	Rev. Vincent J. O'Connell, S.M. St. Louis Church 506 Cedar Street St. Paul, Minnesota	$50.00
204.	Mrs. Bertha J. Dishman Piney Woods School Piney Woods, Mississippi	$ 3.00
205.	Miss Luella Richey Acct. Dept. Florida State University Tallahassee, Florida	$ 5.00
206.	Miss Ruth B. Hawes 3607 Seminary Avenue Richmond, Virginia	$10.00
207.	Miss Mary E. Frayser Box 41 Winthrop College Rock Hill, South Carolina	$ 5.00
208.	Mrs. D. R. Little 302 Lawrence Street Marietta, Georgia	$ 5.00
209.	Ina Corinne Brown Scarrett College Nashville, Tennessee	$ 5.00
210.	Mrs. Mabel B. Murphy 1030 - 4th Street, North Birmingham 4, Alabama	$ 5.00
211.	Gertrude Weil 200 West Chestnut Street Goldsboro, North Carolina	$10.00
212.	The Rev. Wilford Lyerly P. O. Box 437 Winston-Salem, North Carolina	$ 2.50
213.	Mrs. Marvin H. Jones 284 Lee Street, S. W. Atlanta, Georgia	$ 1.50

	NAME	AMOUNT
214.	Miss Josephine Wilkins 387 Milledge Avenue Athens, Georgia	$25.00
215.	Mrs. Luther P. Jackson Virginia State College Petersburg, Virginia	$ 5.00
216.	Mrs. W. F. Bates 125 Atkins Street North Little Rock, Arkansas	$10.00
217.	Mr. Emory F. & Margaret Via 3928 Wascanna Road Hapeville, Georgia	$25.00
218.	George J. Stafford V. A. Hospital Dublin, Georgia	$10.00
219.	B. H. Bowser (M.D.) 513 N. Adams Street Richmond 20, Virginia	$ 5.00
220.	J. H. M. Boyce 4730 Sharon Street Houston, Texas	$ 5.00
221.	John H. Black 13 Taft Avenue Oneonta, New York	$10.00
222.	Mrs. E. M. Sparling Route 5 Hot Springs, Arkansas	$ 5.00
223.	Miss Carmen Lucia 2450 Peachtree Road, N. W. Atlanta 5, Georgia	$ 5.00
224.	Arthur Martin 652 Teasdale Place New York 56, New York	$ 2.00
225.	S. F. Shelton 1820 Graham Street Montgomery 6, Alabama	$ 1.00

	NAME	AMOUNT
226.	Mrs. Nola I. Smee 1214 Jessie Street Jacksonville, Florida	$ 3.00
227.	Mrs. Lora Mansfield 822 West 35th Street Norfolk 8, Virginia	$ 1.00
228.	F. Woods Beckman 5908 Magazine Road Knoxville 20, Tennessee	$15.00
229.	Albert Dent Dillard University New Orleans, La.	$100.00
230.	The American Jewish Committee 386 Fourth Avenue New York 16, N. Y.	$50.00
231.	Mrs. M. E. McPhail 523 Willows Bend Bellaire, Texas	$ 1.00
232.	The Rev. W. Carroll Brooks Box 208	$10.00
233.	Mr. Z. F. Shelton 1820 Graham Street Montgomery, Alabama	$ 1.00
234.	Rev. Archibald V. McLees 141 Chauncey Street Holy Rosary Rector Brooklyn 13, N. Y.	$ 5.00
235.	Dr. H. Councill Trenholm The Alabama State College Montgomery, Alabama	$15.00
236.	Rev. Caxton Doggett 376 N. E. 90th Street Miami, Florida	$ 5.00
237.	Mr. Jerome K. Crossman 3400 Republic Nat'l. Bank Bldg. Dallas 1, Texas	$20.00
238.	Mr. J. M. Ellison Virginia Union University Richmond, Virginia	$ 5.00
239.	Dr. M. LaFayette Harris Philander Smith College Little Rock, Arkn.	$20.00

	NAME	AMOUNT
240.	Dr. & Mrs. Dwight J. Bradley 331 East 83rd Street New York 28, New York	$10.00
241.	Miss Gladys Boone Sweet Briar, Virginia	$ 2.00
242.	Dr. B. R. Brazeal Morehouse College Atlanta, Georgia	$ 5.00
243.	Mrs. J. A. Rayzor 3207 Groveland Lane Houston, Texas	$50.00

Mr. George S. Mitchell

Affirmation of Aaronsburg

WE SEEK THE FULL PROMISE OF THE AMERICAN IDEAL.

We believe the attainment of this ideal possible only as men can, and do, accept the responsibilities of living together peacefully and rationally.

Few men can claim to have lived and not been scarred by antagonism and bias—the residue of disagreement among individuals and groups.

But a man's prejudices, such as he may have, are not a part of his original nature. No design of his Creator fixed in his being any unfriendly intent toward a fellowman. This he acquired in a life as yet immature in terms of man's highest idealism.

Every individual bearing the image of his Creator—be he righteous—is entitled to the favorable regard of his fellowmen. So too, is he entitled to his share of advantage and opportunity by which to attain dignity and competence.

Prejudice toward a fellowman which denies him his natural rights of dignity, justice and opportunity is unthinkable in the American ideal.

We accept the following as twin keys to success with Americanism:

- Faith in a Creator who provides us with the power to discern His purpose and to serve this purpose.
- Tested knowledge of our time—scientific learning—by which we may take each forward step in a developing civilization confident we serve the mission of our generation.

With these two keys, we will seek our destiny associating ourselves with others who share our faith in the essential goodness of mankind.

Strengthen us, oh God,
Strengthen us to live with
That understanding which is worthy
Of the American ideal.

Presented to
George S. Mitchell
By the Neighbors of Aaronsburg
on June 21, 1953 *naming* him *an*
Honorary Associate
in preserving the Aaronsburg Ideal

1/22/51 Wrote GSM out of town & would see on his return

THE UNION CENTRAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY
CINCINNATI

LESTER A. ROSEN, C.L.U.
1241 STERICK BUILDING
PHONE 8-0256-7
MEMPHIS 3, TENNESSEE

LIFE MEMBER MILLION DOLLAR ROUND TABLE N.A.L.U.

January 20, 1951

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Souther Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your plan to meet with a group of us in Memphis is a fine idea and I know that it would meet with the approval of all parties concerned. May I suggest, however, Mr. Mitchell, that you postpone your visit to Memphis until March. The proposed date of February 15 is just before Brotherhood Week and the Conference of Christians and Jews will be entirely taken up with preparations for it.

I have suggested to Mrs. Wilroy that she also write to you direct.

Sincerely yours,

Lester A. Rosen

LAR:meh

RECEIVED
JAN 22 1951
Southern Regional Council

Daniel Lichtenberg

January 24, 1951

Milton Kulick

Dear Dan,

It was certainly good to hear from you, and I am glad that you are already thinking of those things you can cook up in the way of help and support for Dr. Mitchell and the SRC.

Dr. Mitchell is presently out of the city on a trip - however, both you and I and the others will have an opportunity to meet with him in New York, since he is coming to our annual meeting. I shall remember at that time to ask him about a side trip to Little Rock from Memphis. It would certainly be in order for you to lay preliminary ground work for Dr. Mitchell's visit on the basis of a date to be definitely decided later. I hope - but realize the odds against - you have some important Southwestern leadership in New York on January 26 - 28, and that you introduce Dr. Mitchell to them.

I will look forward to what you are able to do for Dr. Mitchell - and to seeing you again soom.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

M.

MK/drm
cc. Isaiah Terman
cc. Dr. George Mitchell

JAN 25

SRC - Exec Dir

January 26, 1951

Mrs. Hazel West
NAIRO
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Mrs. West:

Dr. George S. Mitchell will be attending the meeting of NAIRO February 9th and 10th.

Would you be kind enough to reserve a single room with bath for him for the night of February 9th?

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Rogers
Secretary to George S. Mitchell

1/30/51 Sent copy to 9 AM & asked him to write Mrs West if he would

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS OFFICIALS

4901 ELLIS AVE., CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

RECEIVED JAN 24 1951

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MAURICE B. FAGAN
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
PHILADELPHIA JEWISH COMMUNITY
RELATIONS COUNCIL
PHILADELPHIA 2, PA.

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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
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FIELD REPRESENTATIVE
CITY OF DETROIT MAYOR'S
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EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
NEW YORK STATE COMMITTEE
ON DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
NEW YORK 1, N. Y.

MARGARET GARRITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL ACTION
NATIONAL CATHOLIC WELFARE CONFERENCE
WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

LOUIS E. HOSCH
DIRECTOR OF PERSONNEL
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UNITED NATIONS

EDWARD HOWDEN
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
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SAN FRANCISCO 8, CALIF.

WILLARD JOHNSON
NATIONAL PROGRAM DIRECTOR
NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS
AND JEWS
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

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ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
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NEW JERSEY DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
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THOMASINA W. NORFORD
MINORITY GROUPS CONSULTANT
UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE
BUREAU OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY
DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

GEORGE SCHERMER
DIRECTOR
CITY OF DETROIT MAYOR'S
INTERRACIAL COMMITTEE
DETROIT 26, MICHIGAN

JOHN B. SULLIVAN
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS
EDUCATION AND RESEARCH
STATE COMMISSION AGAINST
DISCRIMINATION
NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK

THOMAS H. WRIGHT
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS
CHICAGO 10, ILL.

MAURICE B. FAGAN, PRESIDENT
FELLOWSHIP COMMISSION BLDG.
260 SOUTH 15TH STREET
PHILADELPHIA 2, PENNSYLVANIA

AIR MAIL

January 23, 1951

Dear Board Member:

The Executive Committee will definitely meet in Chicago on Friday, February 9th and 10th, at 4901 Ellis Avenue. We would like to begin as close to 10 a.m. on Friday as possible and hope to adjourn about noon on Saturday.

Please advise Mrs. Hazel West at 4901 Ellis Avenue of your hotel needs so that she can make the necessary arrangements.

As each of you knows, this is a very crucial year for NAIRO and it is most important, therefore, that we hold this Executive Committee meeting on February 9th.

I look forward to seeing you again.

Sincerely,

Maurice Fagan

MAURICE B. FAGAN
President

MBF:ml

308 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta, Ga.
Feb.2,1951

Dr. G. Mitchell
Rev. 906 Lullwater Rd. N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

We have selected you as one of our outstanding citizens to share your ideas and strength for friendship and love for our fellowman.

We are asking every organization to help in this great effort. It will mean better relationships between the white and Negro people.

The meeting is Monday January 5,5 pm, Wheat Street Baptist Church, Auburn and Jonge St.

Citizens Committee:FOR Negro Trolley OPERATORS

Ruby Little

Ruby Little, Organizer

February 6, 1951

Rev. L. J. Twomey, S.J.
Institute of Industrial Relations
Loyola University
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Dear Father Twomey:

Many thanks for your letter of January 29. I will mark aside the whole week of March 12-17 for whatever meetings you finally work out.

Most kind of you to do all of this toilsome arranging.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR

UNIVERSITY 5471

INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS
LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
NEW ORLEANS 18, LOUISIANA

January 29, 1951

RECEIVED
JAN 31 1951
Regional

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

It was really grand seeing you in Columbia. All of us in the Catholic Committee of the South deeply appreciate the real contribution you made to the convention. There is no reason in the world why the SRC and the CCS should not work in intimate cooperation. My being a member of both convinces me of the real opportunity that the two groups have to achieve the important objectives they have in common.

My principal purpose in writing this letter is to let you know the schedule we have arranged for your trip through Louisiana.

Lake Charles	Monday, March 12
Lafayette	Tuesday, March 13
Alexandria	Wednesday, March 14
Ruston	Thursday, March 15 (Luncheon meeting)
Monroe	Thursday, March 15 (evening meeting)
Shreveport	Friday, March 16
Baton Rouge	Saturday, March 17 (luncheon meeting)

We are now striving to arrange sponsors in each of these cities. It is a difficult job, because it is of necessity ground work that we are doing. As soon as we have all the arrangements completed, we will let you know. In the meantime be assured of our sincere appreciation of your willingness to put yourself at our disposal.

I would appreciate your sending about 25 copies each of "What Kind of South Do you Want?" and "Representation for All."

God bless you always.

Sincerely,

L. J. Twomey, S. J.

L. J. Twomey, S. J.
Chairman, La. Div., SRC

LJT:aw

P.S.: Enclosed is a folder which will give you some idea of one of the principal projects directed from this office.

February 7, 1951

Rev. Leo M. Byrnes
Superintendent of Schools
Diocese of Mobile
56 South Franklin Street
Mobile 1, Alabama

Dear Father Byrnes:

Many thanks for your letter of February 5 and for your kindness in undertaking to get all matters straight with Father Rhein.

I will be on hand in Birmingham by a few minutes after ten o'clock February 19, and in Mobile at the same hour February 21.

I am in hopes that Father Rhein's kind invitation can be met by my being at Spring Hill College at his disposal in the afternoon of February 21.

Sincerely,

George D. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

DIAL 3-1660

SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS
DIOCESE OF MOBILE
56 SOUTH FRANKLIN STREET
POST OFFICE DRAWER 129
MOBILE 1, ALABAMA

February 5, 1951

RECEIVED FEB 6 1951 Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED JAN 15 1951 Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Conference
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am writing to you according to my promise to ask you to keep in mind kindly the dates of February 19 in Birmingham and February 21 in Mobile. You will recall that I asked you to speak to the teachers of the Diocese of Mobile on those two dates.

We have placed your talk at 10:45 on each morning, and we will be glad to give you as much time as you need for the presentation of your material and for the discussion period to follow.

While I presume that your talk will be on Southern Sociology and Economic Backgrounds, I would be glad to make the title fit your present thinking. Blackboards, colored chalk and spotlights will be provided.

The Institute will be held at Saint Paul School Auditorium, 318 North 22nd Street in Birmingham, and at Bishop Toolen High School Auditorium, Lafayette at Old Shell Road in Mobile.

The Diocese of Mobile will pay your expenses and offer you an honorarium for your trouble.

Looking forward to seeing you at the Institutes, I am

As ever,

Leo M. Byrnes

GSM Speech

February 9, 1951

Rev. Walter Rhein, S.J.
Spring Hill College Forum
Spring Hill College
Spring Hill, Mobile County
Alabama

Dear Father Rhein:

The talk I am to give at Spring Hill is called "The Map of the South." It requires a blackboard (better if good-sized) and colored chalk. I will bring the chalk, but it would save time in arrangements if a blackboard were already installed in the room we are to meet in. The actual speaking takes 35 or 40 minutes. If the hall is quite large and my voice ought to be amplified, I can do the speech mostly in the neighborhood of a microphone; but it goes a little better for fifty or seventy people than for a larger group.

I greatly look forward to being at the College.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence

February 10, 1951

Mr. Edward S. King
YMCA
North Carolina State College
State College Station
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. King:

The two times when I could probably come are February 15 or March 8. I don't see how I could get to Raleigh and back for less than $40.00 -- though that sounds steep to me for a small group and thirty minutes.

I would love to come; let me know if you work it out.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence

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THOMAS NELSON

February 7, 1951

FEB 8 1951
Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Some time when you are in this area on a Thursday, we would like to have you come to the N. C. State College and speak to our Y.M.C.A. group on "Race Relations in the South". We meet at 12 noon in a private dining room of the College Cafeteria and have lunch together. We only have 30 minutes for the program which of course, is not long enough, but it is better than nothing.

Could you come on February 15? This is our first choice. Other possibilities are February 22, March 1, or March 8. Please let us hear from you as soon as convenient. I have an idea you may be in this vicinity on the 15th.

Also could you give us an idea of what the expense involved would be?

With all good wishes, I remain,

Yours truly,

Ed. S. King

Ed. S. King

ESK:cm

February 12, 1951

Rev. Walter Rhein, S.J.
Spring Hill College Forum
Spring Hill College
Spring Hill, Mobile County
Alabama

Dear Father Rhein:

The one time I can make (other than the early morning hours I mentioned in my last letter) would be 2 P.M., Wednesday, February 21. I would of course like to meet with your students at the hour when they would really be there, but the two o'clock Wednesday time is the one that I can fit in. I recognize an obligation to you also, because you wrote me so long ago.

As to what the talk is about, the enclosed outline gives a summary of the speech.

I am also enclosing biographical material.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encls.

SPRING HILL COLLEGE

Spring Hill, [Mobile County] Alabama

December 21, 1950

Mr. Paul D. Williams
President, Southern Regional Council
3320 Glouchester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Williams:

To introduce myself - I am the director of the Spring Hill College Forum, which provides lectures for our school assemblies.

Recently, Brother Berchmans, of the nearby Sacred Heart Brothers Scholasticate, suggested that I obtain a speaker from the Southern Regional Council. He thought that Mr. George Mitchell would be available. And he suggested that I make enquiries from you.

We would like very much to have Mr. Mitchell talk to us. Our preferred dates are: any class-day on or between January 8 and January 19; or any class-day on or between February 7 and February 28.

Can you help us arrange such a lecture by Mr. Mitchell? And will you please forward to me Mr. Mitchell's address, so I can contact him directly.

We have a sufficient budget to pay the travel and living expenses for Mr. Mitchell's trip down here. But we regret that we will not be able to pay a lecture fee as such.

We will sincerely appreciate your help.

Merry Christmas, and best wishes.

Yours truly,

Walter Rhein S.J.

Walter Rhein S.J.
Spring Hill College Forum
Spring Hill College
Spring Hill, Mobile Co.
Alabama

SRC - Exec Dir

February 23, 1951

Rev. A. Rufus Morgan
Box 319
Franklin, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Morgan:

This confirms my call of today saying that I am now free to be in Gatlinburg. I look forward to it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

February 22, 1951

Rev. A. Rufus Morgan
Box 319
Franklin, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Morgan:

I am much honored by your invitation to be at Gatlinburg, and distressed that I have promised weeks ago to be in Memphis on the 29th. I have run over in my mind all possible conveyances from Gatlinburg to Memphis, but none are trustworthy enough for me to feel secure in meeting my engagement in Memphis. So, reluctantly, I will have to decline.

I have been in your church at Franklin, know a bit about Holy Comforter at Andrews, and collected accounts of the Stoney-Segal wedding in the tiny church at Cherokee.

I am terribly sorry not to be with you and your friends. Give me another chance.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence

PASTOR OF
ST. AGNES, FRANKLIN
INCARNATION, HIGHLANDS
MESSIAH, MURPHY
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HOLY COMFORTER, ANDREWS
ST. CYPRIAN'S, FRANKLIN
ST. BARNABAS, MURPHY

A. RUFUS MORGAN
BOX 319
FRANKLIN, NORTH CAROLINA

16th February, 1951

RECEIVED
FEB 19 1951
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

My dear Mr. Mitchell:

The annual meeting of our Council of Southern Mountain Workers is to be held in Gatlinburg, Tennessee, March 28-29. On the first evening we need a speaker who will give us some stimulating insights into some of our social, educational, and/or economic problems in our region. I am writing as chairman of the Program Committee to ask you to come and render this service for us. Will you come?

After we have received you consent we shall give you further details.

Hoping you can be with us, I am,

Faithfully yours,

A. Rufus Morgan

A. Rufus Morgan.

March 5, 1951

RECEIVED
MAR 6 1951
Southern Regional Council

Michael Sage

Milton Kulick

Southern Regional Council

I hope that your plans for the Boston meeting for Dr. George Mitchell materialize soon. I am sure you will be interested to know that Mr. Bicknell Eubanks of the Christian Science Monitor, Boston 15, Mass. has been helpful in the work of the Southern Regional Council through the frequent reports in the Christian Science Monitor of the Council's activities. Possibly Dr. Mitchell will be interested in seeing Mr. Eubanks when he is in Boston - and Mr. Eubanks may be of help to you in arousing interest and attendance in the Southern Regional Council. I am the same.

Kindest regards,

Cordially,

MK/drm
cc. Dr. George Mitchell

Wade

COPY

FURMAN UNIVERSITY

WOMAN'S COLLEGE

GREENVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

March 9, 1951

RECEIVED
MAR 12 1951
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am in charge of the program on the Community of the Southern Sociological Society, which will meet in Atlanta on April 27th and 28th. Attached is the program. I wish you would attend this section and help by leading the discussion of Mr. Beck's report. Please let me know if you can do this, so I can include your name on the program.

I do hope you can be with us so I can have a talk with you after the program.

Sincerely yours,

Laura Smith Ebaugh
mt

Laura Smith Ebaugh

LSE:mt

2 typical letters, send
OK
GM

T E N T A T I V E

SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

COMMUNITIES, Laura Smith Ebaugh, Furman University, Chairman

1. "Summary of a Survey of Current Community Organizational Activities and Leadership as They Relate to Civil Defense." Melvin J. Williams, Florida State University

2. "Everybody's Business - A Self Survey of Conditions Affecting the Negro Population of the Greenville, South Carolina Area." J. E. Beck, Principal, Sterling High School, Greenville, S. C.

3. "Southern Towns as Portrayed in the Contemporary Southern Novel." Anna Green Smith, Agnes Scott College

4. "The Rural Locality Group as a Locus of Formal Social Participation: A Study of Two Community Situations in Wake County, North Carolina." Selz C. Mayo, C. Paul Marsh, N. C. State College

5. Discussion:

   Gordon Blackwell, University of North Carolina
   George Mitchell, Southern Regional Council

Previous corr.

April 9, 1951

To: Participants on Communities for the meeting of the Southern Sociological Society

From: Laura Smith Ebaugh, chairman

I hope you have received a copy of the program for the meeting of the Southern Sociological Society at the Atlanta Biltmore Hotel on April 27th and 28th. The COMMUNITY panel is scheduled from 3:30 to 5:30 on Friday afternoon. I look forward to seeing you then. I will have an exhibit of several White House Conference State and County surveys, as well as copies of the Greenville survey. If you have material to exhibit, please see that it is up before the panel begins.

Dr. Blackwell would like copies of the papers before the meeting, so if you will let me have them, I will forward them to him. Be sure you time your paper so everyone of you four speakers will have his or her time and that we have time for the discussion.

Sincerely yours,

Laura Smith Ebaugh

LSE:mt

CC/Dr. Brearley
Dr. Blackwell
Dr. Mitchell

RECEIVED
APR 10 1951
Southern Regional Council

SPC - Exec Dir

March 9, 1951

Miss Florence Goodell
Council of Southern Mountain Workers
8½ Wall Street
Asheville, North Carolina

Dear Miss Goodell:

Thank you for your material about the meeting March 28 and 29 at the Mountain View Hotel in Gatlinburg. I will be on hand well before 7:30 P.M. the 28th, and will expect to stay through the 29th.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

COUNCIL OF SOUTHERN MOUNTAIN WORKERS

8½ Wall Street
Asheville, North Carolina

Arthur M. Bannerman, President

Florence Goodell, ~~Office Director~~
Executive Secretary
~~Edna Ritchie, Recreation Leader~~

March 5, 1951

RECEIVED
MAR 6 1951
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

It is a pleasure to hear from Mr. A. Rufus Morgan that you will speak at the opening meeting of the Conference of Southern Mountain Workers at 7:30 Wednesday evening March 28, at the Mountain View Hotel, Gatlinburg, Tennessee.

We hope that you will be with us through the final meeting Thursday evening. I am reserving a room for you for both nights.

Perhaps you already know something about the work of the Council. In case you do not, I am enclosing a mimeographed sheet giving an outline of what we are attempting to do. There will probably be about one hundred people at the conference, most of whom are workers in the mountains. Others will represent Mission Boards and other organizations interested in this area.

The enclosed letter will give you some idea of the type of meeting we are planning as well as the theme. Programs are being printed and you will receive one as soon as possible. If any questions occur to you, will you please let me know.

Although the Council is not in a financial position to pay you for the time and effort, we are glad to offer to pay your expenses which will include travel and maintenance.

Looking forward to meeting you,

Sincerely yours,

Florence Goodell

Florence Goodell

FG/bb
Enc.

Affiliated with
NATIONAL
SOCIAL WELFARE
ASSEMBLY

1910 - NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE - 1950

FOR EQUAL ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

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NATIONAL OFFICE
1133 Broadway
New York 10, N. Y.

—

Contributions are deductible for income tax purposes.

SOUTHERN FIELD DIVISION
Nelson C. Jackson, *Director*
George L. Edwards, *Ass't Director*

March 16, 1951

Dr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

The Southern Field Division of the National Urban League is holding its Second Annual Regional Conference at Atlanta University on April 6-7, 1951. The theme of this Conference will be "Mobilization and the South." The Conference will take on the form of a Workshop in which the following three topics will be treated:

(1) Industrial Relations

(2) Housing

(3) Welfare Services

The Planning Committee is desirous of having you as one of its resource persons for the Workshop on Industrial Relations which will be held from 9:45 AM to 12:15 Noon. Registration for the Conference will begin at 9:00 A.M. on April 6, 1951.

Will you kindly let me know at your earliest convenience if you will be able to serve us in the above mentioned capacity.

Very cordially yours,

Nelson C. Jackson/mf

Nelson C. Jackson
Southern Field Director

NCJ/mf

RECEIVED
MAR 19 1951
Southern Regional Council

SRC-Exc 24

March 20, 1951

Dr. W. A. Bell, President
Miles College
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Dr. Bell:

This confirms my undertaking today by telephone to be present at the Founders Day exercises at the College Friday, March 30, at 11 A.M., and to talk on "The South in the World Crisis."

I am to be at Gatlinburg, Tennessee, to speak Wednesday evening, March 28. I will stay in Gatlinburg for the forenoon of Thursday, the 29th, and use that afternoon to drive down to the near vicinity of Birmingham, and then drive on in, to arrive at the College before 10 A.M. on Friday, the 30th. I will report at once to you.

If the occasion involves academic dress, the hood is Johns Hopkins. But I have gladly appeared in hoods appropriate to Greenville Female Institute, or anything that is handy.

If you need biographical material, the short cut is Who's Who. If you need a picture, here is a mat.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

PASTOR OF
ST. AGNES, FRANKLIN
INCARNATION, HIGHLANDS
MESSIAH, MURPHY
ST. JOHN'S, SYLVA
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ST. BARNABAS, MURPHY

A. RUFUS MORGAN
BOX 319
FRANKLIN, NORTH CAROLINA

21st March, 1951

SRC - Exec dir
RECEIVED
MAR 23 1951
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We are looking forward to having you with us in Gatlinburg for the Conference of Southern Mountain Workers, March 28-29. I am sure Miss Goodell has given you the program and such other information as you will need.

I am writing the Rev. Ernest J. Arnold, Director of the Southeastern Office, National Council of the Churches of Christ, there in your same building, suggesting that he come to the Conference. Such a contact should be a two-way help. Perhaps you could put in a word for us.

Thanking you for your willingness to be with us, I am,

Faithfully yours,

A. Rufus Morgan

A. Rufus Morgan.

SRC - Ex dir.

March 26, 1951

Notes on George S. Mitchell's Memphis trip, Mar. 22-23, 1951

I went at the invitation of Dr. Morton Tendler, chairman of the Memphis chapter of the American Jewish Committee. In Dr. Tendler's unexpected absence, arrangements were completed by Mr. Morris Strauch, a lawyer in the Commerce Title Building.

Mr. Stranch arranged for me to have lunch with him the first day in company with Mr. Lieberman, who runs the Jewish Welfare Fund in Memphis. At dinner the evening before the talk were Mrs. Arthur Jacobs, who lives at the Peabody Hotel, Mrs. Kremer, Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Rubin, Mr. and Mrs. Mel Greenspan, and Mr. and Mrs. Manny Delugach.

In the morning before the talk I visited Mrs. Mattye Wilroy, secretary of the NCCJ thereabouts, office in Commerce Title Building.

GSM:er

SRC - Exec Dir

NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY INC.

1790 BROADWAY · NEW YORK 19 · NEW YORK

FRANK L. WEIL *President* MRS. HENRY A. INGRAHAM *Chairman Executive Committee* ROBERT E. BONDY *Director*

March 27, 1951

Mr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

I know the meeting described in the enclosed invitation will be of very great interest to you and that you would have a great deal contribute to the discussion. I hope that you can plan to be present and participate.

Sincerely yours

John H. Moore
Assistant Director

Encl.

RECEIVED
MAR 29 1951
Southern Regional Council

NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY INC.
1790 BROADWAY · NEW YORK 19 · NEW YORK

FRANK L. WEIL President MRS. HENRY A. INGRAHAM Chairman Executive Committee ROBERT E. BONDY Director

Invitation
to
SOUTHEAST REGIONAL CONFERENCE
of the
NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY
Atlanta, Georgia -- April 14, 1951

Subject: "The Impact of the Defense Mobilization on Community Welfare Programs "

This Conference has been called at the suggestion of the southeast representatives of national social welfare organizations. Invitations are being extended to a number of lay leaders from the area who are active locally and nationally as well as to field representatives and field directors. Leaders in welfare councils from communities which are experiencing impact from the defense mobilization are also being invited, as are representatives of the Department of Defense and the Atomic Energy Commission.

Miss Mary Jane Willett, Coorelator for the Southern Region, National Board of the Y.W.C.A., is generously assisting with the arrangements for program and housing. The Atlanta Y.M.C.A. has offered its facilities for the meeting - 145 Luckie Street, N.W.

Colonel E. W. Palmer, President of Kingsport, Tenn. Press and a leader in many social welfare programs locally and nationally, will chair the morning session which will be given over to a discussion of community needs growing out of the defense mobilization. The session will start at 9:30 a.m. and will run to 12:30 p.m.

Mr. Laurence Williams, business leader from New Orleans and leader in many social welfare programs locally and nationally, will chair the afternoon session which will run from 2:00 p.m. to 4:30 p.m. This session will be devoted to a discussion of the most effective ways to relate existing and emergency social welfare programs, public and private, to the needs revealed in the morning discussion.

In this connection it is expected that there will be a discussion of recently developed emergency programs such as those of the United Defense Fund and its two major program agencies, United Community Defense Services and the reactivated USO.

Mr. John H. Moore, Assistant Director of The Assembly and Executive Director of United Community Defense Services, is serving as staff director for the Conference.

Will you please use the enclosed postal card to indicate your attendance.

Robert E. Bondy
Director

P.S. It was necessary to set the date for April 14th in order to secure appropriate meeting space and our leaders.

March 22, 1951

AFFILIATE ORGANIZATIONS

American Association of Group Workers

American Association of Medical Social Workers

American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers

American Association of Social Workers

American Federation of International Institutes

American Hearing Society

American Jewish Committee

American National Red Cross

American Public Welfare Association

American Social Hygiene Association

Association of Junior Leagues of America, Inc.

Board of Hospitals and Homes of the Methodist Church

Boy Scouts of America

Boys' Clubs of America

Bureau of Employment Security, U. S. Department of Labor

Bureau of Old Age and Survivor s Insurance, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency

Bureau of Prisons, Department of Justice

Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency

Camp Fire Girls

Child Welfare League of America

Community Chests and Councils of America, Inc.

Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds

Division of Child Labor and Youth Employment, Bureau of Labor Standards, U. S. Department of Labor

Division of Welfare, National Lutheran Council

Extension Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture

Family Service Association of America

Girl Scouts of the United States of America

Girls Clubs of America, Inc.

Home Missions Council of North America, Inc.

International Social Service

National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association

National Child Labor Committee

National CIO Community Services Committee

National Conference of Catholic Charities

National Council of Jewish Women

National Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations

National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, Inc.

National Jewish Welfare Board

National Legal Aid Association

National Organization for Public Health Nursing

National Publicity Council for Health and Welfare Services

National Recreation Association

National Safety Council

National Society for the Prevention of Blindness

National Travelers Aid Association

National Tuberculosis Association

National Urban League

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The Department of Social Welfare, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.

The Salvation Army

United States Children's Bureau, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency

United States Public Health Service, Federal Security Agency

Veterans Administration

Youth Department, National Catholic Welfare Conference

ASSOCIATE GROUPS

American Association of Schools of Social Work

Conference of National Agencies and Professional Schools of Group Work and Recreation

National Health Council

Social Casework Council

SRC-Exec Dir

March 27, 1951

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Delighted to be at Fisk again this summer. I have marked down July 9-14 as the week in some part of which you will want me there.

Many thanks.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

MAR 27 1951
Southern Regional Coun

March 24, 1951

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

I believe the Institute Staff let you get by last year, but they have insisted that this must not be repeated this year.

The Institute, is scheduled this year for July 2 - 14, and we would like to have you make one of your usual provocative presentations and participate in our clinic sessions during the second week (July 9 - 14) of the Institute.

Could you let me have some word from you at your earliest convenience?

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Charles S. Johnson

CSJ
c
f
w

SRC - Exec Dir.

GAMMON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

March 29, 1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Can you come to speak to our students on Tuesday, April 3, on the whole question of race relations in the South today, and especially on the work of the Council? I am anxious for our students to know about the Council so that when they get out in Southern communities, they can participate in the Council's program.

The class will begin at 2:45. This is a seminar session which lasts two hours. You need not use all of this unless you wish, but at any rate, the time will be at your disposal. This will be a real favor for which we shall be grateful. I hope you will have a group of twenty or more.

I trust all is going well.

Yours cordially,

Harry V. Richardson

Harry V. Richardson
President

HVR:j

PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER
STATE DIRECTOR, TENNESSEE

COURTNEY K. SHILL
ASSISTANT STATE DIRECTOR

Speech

Organizing Committee

NATIONAL OFFICE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

JOHN V. RIFFE
NATIONAL DIRECTOR

ORAL L. GARRISON
SECRETARY-TREASURER

216 FLATIRON BUILDING

KNOXVILLE 17, TENN.

PHONE 2-6780

April 3, 1951

Dr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn St., N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

During the week of May 13-19, 1951, we are conducting a Southern CIO Staff term at Highlander Folk School, and much of the work of arranging the details has been delegated to Lucy Mason, John Ramsay and yours truly.

I tried to reach you last Friday in Atlanta, but called too late to get you at your office and missed getting around to calling you later at home. The idea was to follow up a suggestion made by Myles Horton, which I think is a good one, to try to get you to come up -- at our expense, of course -- and give a historical and geographical background description of the South, which you do so well. Could you?

As I see the program shaping up now the best time, from our viewpoint, would be right after dinner on Sunday night, May 13. Or, if you can't come then, either Monday or Tuesday right after lunch -- out on the lawn if the weather is pretty.

We need you and I hope you can make it.

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul R. Christopher
Tennessee Director

PRC:llr

CC: John Riffe
John Ramsay
Lucy Mason

April 17, 1951

Mr. Harry V. Richardson
Gammon Theological Seminary
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Richardson:

I have Tuesday, May 22, firmly marked on my calendar.

I will have to rely on your good offices for providing academic dress. 6-3/8 hat, 160 pounds, six feet flat, hood (quite unnecessary) Johns Hopkins PhD.

3/4

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Dictated but not read

Speeches
GSM

GAMMON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

April 16, 1951

RECEIVED
APR 17 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

This is just to thank you for accepting our invitation to deliver the Commencement address at Gammon this year. The Service will be held on Tuesday morning, May 22, at ten o'clock.

Will you wish us to provide a cap and gown for your use on that occasion, or will you bring your own? If you should like us to provide them, please let us have the following measurements immediately:

Your hat size
Your weight
Your height.

With very best wishes, I am

Yours cordially,

Harry V. Richardson

Harry V. Richardson
President

Dictated but not read.

HVR:j

SRC - Exec Dir

AN INVITATION FROM THE HOUSTON COMMISSION ON INTER-RACIAL COOPERATION

April 17, 1951

Dr. George Mitchell, Director of the Southern Regional Council will speak at the Young Women's Christian Association, corner Rusk and Austin, Wednesday evening, May 2, 8:00 p. m. He will discuss conditions in the South of vital concern to the Council and its work, the purpose of which is to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region. The Council is located at 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia. Mr. Paul D. Williams is President.

Dr. Mitchell is a man of scholarly and courageous judgment. After receiving his Ph. D., he went as a Rhodes Scholar to London, returning to Columbia University to teach economics for six years. His experience since has been in rural and industrial fields, over a wide area of the South.

The Commission on Inter-racial Cooperation, a member of our local Council on Education in Race Relations, is one of the groups of the Texas Commission on Inter-racial Cooperation, which is an affiliate of the Southern Regional Council. The local Commission sponsoring this meeting hopes that you will attend and give publicity on it to your members, thereby assisting toward a full attendance for a presentation of this very important subject by an eminently qualified speaker.

Please accept our sincere thanks,

Mrs. James S. Crate

Chairman,
Houston Commission on Inter-racial Cooperation

Sent to churches and organizations — including 109 members of the Council of Social Agencies, of which the Commission is one

May 15, 1951

Most Rev. Vincent S. Waters
Bishop of Raleigh
15 North McDowell Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Bishop Waters:

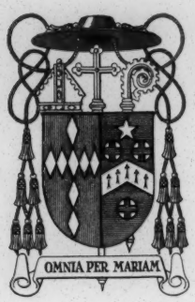
Why don't I set aside on my calendar the period from Monday, July 16, till Friday, July 27? I am already down for the 18th and 19th respectively at Chestnut Hill College and St. Joseph's Convent. Anything else you arrange between the 16th and the 27th would fit in beautifully.

I want to do just what will be most helpful.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er



BISHOP'S RESIDENCE
15 NORTH McDOWELL STREET
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

RECEIVED
MAY 11 1951
Southern Regional Council

May 9, 1951

Mr.George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr.Mitchell:

I have been so enthused over your address on the regionalism of the South that I thought perhaps you could do a lot of good in speaking to some Sisters while they are at summer school, since most of these groups have Sisters located in the South and each year additional Sisters come into the region for the first time. Your acceptance would be an answer to many of their questions.

I spoke to Mr.Paul Williams about it and he said perhaps on one or other of your trips to New York you might be able to stop off, but that the Council had no money to cover traveling expenses for such a project. If it would be at all possible, I have two locations for you of Sisters' Convents which during the summer school period would welcome your address.

They are: Chestnut Hill College , Philadelphia 18,Pa., Sister Clare Joseph, Dean of Summer School. Any date between July 9th to 27th, Monday to Friday, inclusive between 11 and 12 o'clock when the largest group could be contacted. 18

St.Joseph's Convent, Gethsemane,Columbia,Pa. (about 75 miles from Philadelphia) June 27th or 28th, July 18th or 19th or August 15th-16th Mother Mary Annunciata,Provincial Superior. Columbia could best be reached by taking a train from Philadelphia to Lancaster, and the Sisters would have someone meet the train at Lancaster with a car.

I notice that the only coinciding dates are July 18th -19th, in which perhaps both talks could be taken on the same trip. I do hope I am not intruding but both groups of Sisters are rather enthusiastic to learn more about the South and I am sure your talk would be sincerely appreciated, and very well received. If you can see your way clear to take one or other or both of these engagements, I would consider it a personal favor for our Sisters in the South.

With best wishes, and hoping to hear from you, I remain

Sincerely yours,

+Vincent S. Waters

Vincent S.Waters,
Bishop of Raleigh

May 28, 1951

Mr. Harry V. Richardson
Gammon Theological Seminary
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Richardson:

My goodness! To be cited and gowned and hooded and praised and have a plaque awarded me, and then in addition to get a check, makes my cup run over.

I greatly enjoyed the occasion and the opportunity to be with you and those who work with you. And our Council is already $75.00 the fatter for your most kind check.

I am sure that Alice will cherish your words of praise -- as I do, though unbelievingly.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

GAMMON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

May 23, 1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Brother George:

I had this check in my pocket yesterday intending to give it to you. I forgot to do it two or three times, and you got away before I had a last chance to see you.

Please accept this as a token of gratitude for your message. You helped to make this one of the best Commencement sessions we have had.

We will have the plaque engraved and delivered to you very shortly. Inclosed is a copy of the citation. I no doubt will be seeing you soon.

Please give our best wishes to Mrs. Mitchell and family.

Cordially yours,

Harry V. Richardson

Harry V. Richardson
President

HVR:j
Inclosures (2)
1- Check #337
2- Citation

RECEIVED
MAY 24 1951
Southern Regional Council

SRC - Exec Dir

June 6, 1951

Mr. John V. Riffe
CIO Organizing Committee
40 Pryor Street, S.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Riffe:

It was extremely kind of you to send on the check for $31.36, completely covering my expenses on the recent trip to the CIO Staff Term at Highlander Folk School.

I am sorry I missed you there, and I want to come over when you are available and give myself the pleasure of a talk with you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

June 6, 1951

Mr. Paul Christopher
216 Flatiron Building
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Paul:

Very many thanks for putting through the expense account. John Riffe added $10.00 to it. I did have a snack or two along the way, and I had sent Highlander $5.00 for board-contribution. So it comes out about even.

The problem in my auto turned out to be a broken rear motor mount. That was easily fixed.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Dictated but not signed

CYPRESS 5065

CIO

Organizing Committee

40 PRYOR STREET, S. W.
ATLANTA 3, GA.

JOHN V. RIFFE
NATIONAL DIRECTOR

ORAL L. GARRISON
SECRETARY-TREASURER

May 29, 1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Rm 432, 63 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Your trip to the CIO Staff Term at Highlander Folk School was deeply appreciated by all of our people, also by me personally.

Director Christopher sent me your letter giving as your expense for the trip your mileage of $21.36. Enclosed please find check to cover this amount to which I have added $10.00 which I think will take care of any incidental expense you may have had on the trip.

Thanking you most sincerely for participating in this work and wishing you the best of everything, I am

Sincerely,

John V. Riffe

National Director.

ck enc

RECEIVED
JUN 1 1951
Southern Regional Council

SRC - Exec Dir

June 11, 1951

Rev. Garland R. Stafford
Lewisville, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Stafford:

I am delighted to be remembered from a year or so ago, and have marked down Thursday, September 13, 1951, on my calendar.

It would be necessary to cover my travel expenses to Winston-Salem and back, but that ought not to go above $40.00.

The name of that speech is "The Map of the South."

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

GARLAND REID STAFFORD
Methodist Pastor
Lewisville, N. C.

RECEIVED
JUN 11 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Several months ago I heard you speak in a meeting sponsored by Jim Sells there at Wesley Memorial. You said so much in such an attractive way that I have not forgotten it.

I am writing to ask whether or not you would be available to speak to the Forsyth County Methodist Young Adult Fellowship in Winston-Salem, N. C., the evening of Thursday, September 13, 1951. And, if so, upon what terms. There is usually an attendance of between two and three hundred. It is a dinner meeting.

Hoping to have a favorable reply, I am

Cordially yours,

Garland R. Stafford

SRC - Exec Dir

June 11, 1951

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Many thanks for your letter of June 8.

I will be on hand all day Tuesday, July 10, and Wednesday, July 11. The July 11 morning appearance, I suppose, had best be my "map speech." The best title I have for that is "The Map of the South."

That speech needs some bring up to date, but I have got the grooves on it cut so deep that I don't know that it can be switched around.

I look forward a lot to being at the Institute.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

8 June 1951

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

This is simply to advise that we have scheduled your major presentation on the South for the morning of July 11, and hope very much that you will be able to spend several days. If your schedule would permit it, we should like very much to have you come as early as the 9th and participate as a consultant in our clinics. The clinics are scheduled during the second week from July 9 through the 11th. If this is not possible for you, I can readily understand.

In connection with your major presentation, I wonder if you would like to send a more exact title of your presentation.

We are looking forward with much pleasure to your presence here.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Charles S. Johnson

CSJ
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RECEIVED
JUN 11 1951
Southern Regional Council

Copy
W. Mitchell

July 6, 1951

Dr. Forrester B. Washington
373 Felton Dr., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Forrester:

I would be all in favor of the kind of conference you discussed in your letter of June 25 and will come any time.

Anything you want me to do about it I will do.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK
247 HENRY STREET, S.W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

FORRESTER B. WASHINGTON
DIRECTOR

RECEIVED
JUN 28 1951
Southern Regional Counc

June 25, 1951

Dear Friend:

Ever since last December 7th when the Midcentury White House Conference on children and youth ended, I have felt that there was a need for some of us in Georgia, who had the privilege of attending that Conference, to do something more practical in the nature of a follow-up than to just deliver speeches when called upon. I thought it my duty, especially, to do something along these lines because I was Chairman of the Committee of 18 delegates, appointed by Oscar Ewing.

Having waited a reasonable length of time and having found that no one else had proposed anything definite, involving all groups, irrespective of race, nationality or creed, in the state, I discussed with the Board of Advisers of the Atlanta University School of Social Work, of which I happen to be director, the possibility of our School initiating and sponsoring (at least in part), and serving as host of a sort of follow-up conference.

At its Spring meeting on April 1st, the Board empowered me to invite as many persons who attended the White House Conference as are interested to help plan a 2 or 3 days' "follow-up conference" to be held at the School of Social Work during the last week of October and of which the School would be host and part sponsor.

I am writing you this early because I hope to make this an important conference not only from the point of view of what will be "talked about" during the meetings but also from the point of view of what "social action" can be launched at the conference for the welfare of children and youth of Georgia.

I hope that we can form a sponsoring committee for this October conference which will be statewide and interracial in its composition and representation and which will be built around a core of the 18 delegates from Georgia appointed by Oscar Ewing and other interested delegates who were independently appointed.

I hope to have workshops, plenary meetings, public meetings, out-of-town speakers as well as local speakers and the cooperation of representatives of the Federal Government.

At the present time, I have no prospect nor hope of any funds for financing travel of delegates or speakers. The School of Social Work is willing to provide for the necessary preliminary correspondence, publicity, and the like. As a matter of fact, I hope that this project will not be the sort of conference that will be overloaded with a lot of organizational machinery which is costly and usually of little value. I believe that if we can keep in mind the objective of youth and child welfare and are willing to make some personal sacrifices as re-

gards traveling, expenses can be kept down to a minimum.

As you know from this letter, the project has moved no further at the present time than the "idea" state. Planning will begin when and if I get a sizeable number of favorable replies from people such as yourself.

Will you let me know immediately if you believe such a conference would be worthwhile, if you personally would be interested in cooperation with it in one or more of the following ways: serving on the sponsoring committee, speaking, participating in a panel or heading a workshop.

Will you let me know also in your reply whether or not you think you could interest people in your community to come to such a conference at their own expense, or at the expense of some organization or agency which they are connected.

Sincerely,

Forrester B. Washington

Forrester B. Washington,
Director

FBW-m

Speeches

July 30, 1951

Mr. Eugene A. Butner, Jr.
Methodist Young Adult Ass'n.
836 Shober St.
Winston-Salem, N. C.

Dear Mr. Butner:

Many thanks for your kind letter of July 28.

I expect I will drive up, getting into Winston Salem about 2:30 the afternoon of September 13. I will call you as soon as I arrive. If you will be good enough to make a hotel reservation for me, I will be most grateful.

Here is a mat.

The Southern Regional Council is composed of Southerners of both races and of all faiths who work together to promote equal opportunities for all the people of the region. It is based in part on the work of the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation, which was started in 1919. The Council itself was organized in 1944. A number of distinguished North Carolinians are or have been closely associated with the Council. These include: Will W. Alexander, Howard Odum, and Guy Johnson, at Chapel Hill; Harold Trigg, at St. Augustine's College in Raleigh; John H. Wheeler, of Durham; Bishop Edward A. Penick; R. D. Wellons, at Pembroke; Dr. Charlotte H. Brown, at Palmer Memorial Institute; President Clyde Milner, of Guilford College; Mr. N. C. Newbold, of Raleigh; and many others.

I myself am sometimes from Richmond, Virginia; went to Richmond College and then to John Hopkins and after that to Oxford. I taught at Columbia for six years and worked in the Government for nine years, mostly with the Department of Agriculture. I ran the C. I. O.-P. A. C. in the Southeast in 1944-45 and took my first job with the Southern Regional Council in 1945. I have been Executive Director since 1947.

The Council has for many years had the cordial support of the Methodist Church. Not only do various of the central boards help us with funds, but a large number of the local Woman's Societies of Christian Service aid the Council directly.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

RECEIVED
JUL 30 1951
Southern Regional Council

E. A. Butner, Jr.
836 Shober Street
Winston-Salem, N. C.
July 28, 1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

It was indeed nice to learn from Rev. Garland Stafford that you accepted the invitation to come to Winston-Salem on September 13th to be speaker at our Methodist Young Adult Annual Banquet. From what I have heard about you I am sure our crowd has something to look forward to and sure hope we can have a good turn out that night of about 150 to 175 people.

I am sorry to be so long in writing you after Rev. Stafford sent word to me but have been busy due to vacation periods in our work.

We will be looking forward to September 13th to hear your speech "The Map of the South" which is a very fitting subject for all of us.

Our meeting will probably start around 6:30 P. M. that evening but I am sure you will want to be here earlier to visit with some of your friends or to look around our fair city. I will be glad to have you as my guest that day and if you would like for me to make hotel reservations for you or attend to any other matter please let me know.

If there is any special songs or such that you would like to be used that night please advise as we will be making up our programs soon.

We would also like to have a black and white print or negative of your picture if possible so that we can use in newspaper with write up of this event. Any other information that can be used to build up this meeting will be appreciated.

Dr. Mitchell, I will send you our program when they are ready if you wish and as to expenses for your trip we will give you an honorary that will cover all these.

I hope I have given you a picture of our plans and hope to hear from you soon.

Very truly yours,
METHODIST YOUNG ADULT ASS'N.

Eugene A. Butner, Jr.

Eugene A. Butner, Jr.
President

EB/eb

August 31, 1951

Mrs. Beulah Whitby
720 Transportation Bldg.
131 W. LaFayette Ave.
Detroit 26, Mich.

Dear Mrs. Whitby:

What a very welcome letter!

That's fine. I will be delighted to appear at the church for the two occasions on Sunday, November 11. Dr. A. D. Beittel at Talladega has a couple of times honored me with an opportunity to be the speaker at his Sunday morning services. So I am not altogether unfamiliar with a gown (in a Congregational church). I will have to do some work to get together the right things to say for the morning service, but the forum in the evening with the map speech is a cinch.

My Council does have a mighty hard time for money. But if the church is to be so generous as to pay my expenses to Detroit and back, I would think $50 (which is what Dr. Johnson gave me for the speech at Fisk) the greatest plenty for my speech-making. If the church is disposed to help us additionally, perhaps that might be managed through the collection or by asking as many as will of those present to become associate members of the Council.

That is most kind of Mr. White and of you and of the church.

I will write you later about trains, but I would expect to come up on the sleeper and reach Detroit earlish on the Sunday morning.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

ALBERT E. COBO
Mayor

REV. JOHN E. COOGAN
Chairman

GEORGE F. BOOS
JOHN J. CONSIDINE
ARTHUR DONDINEAU
HARRY J. DURBIN
GOLDA G. KROLIK
JAMES A. MCFALL
JOSEPH G. MOLNER, M.D.
DANIEL J. RYAN
GEORGE W. SCHUDLICH
CHESTER A. SMITH
EDWARD M. TURNER

City of Detroit

MAYOR'S INTERRACIAL COMMITTEE
720 TRANSPORTATION BUILDING
131 WEST LAFAYETTE AVENUE
DETROIT 26, MICHIGAN
WOODWARD 1-9674

GEORGE SCHERMER
Director

BEULAH T. WHITBY
Assistant Director

August 28, 1951

RECEIVED
AUG 30 1951
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Reverend Horace White, pastor of the Plymouth Congregational Church, has asked me if I would write to you to request your services as the speaker for two programs at his church on Sunday, November 11, 1951.

He would like for you to speak at his regular morning worship service at eleven o'clock, and at his community forum in the evening at eight o'clock. On both of these occasions, he would like for you to interpret some of the problems, progress, and programs in intergroup relations in the Southern region of our country. For the community forum, he would like very much for you to outline the map, much as you did at the Race Relations Institute this summer at Fisk University.

Plymouth Congregational Church will be pleased to defray your travel expenses and to meet your requirement as to an honorarium.

I reported some of the things that Dr. Johnson said at the Institute about the need of the Southern Regional Council for funds, and Rev. White suggested that perhaps the church might be able to make some contribution to your program.

This request comes with the consideration that you will probably be coming to this area about that same time to attend the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials conference which meets in Detroit. We hope that the timing of this invitation makes it easier for you to give us a positive answer.

We hope to hear from you on this at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Beulah Whitby

(Mrs.) Beulah Whitby
Assistant Director

ejs

RECEIVED
SEP 11 1951
Southern Regional Council

September 10, 1951
Winston-Salem, N. C.

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your letter of September 5th received and thought I had better get an answer back to you.

The reason I had not written sooner was I wanted to send the copy of program and was waiting on them to be finished. Iam encloseing a copy of the program and also a clipping from the Saturday evening paper of September 8th.

Your reservation was made at Hotel Robert E. Lee as requested and you can contact me at phone 4-5593 upon your arrival.

Arrangements have been made for Rev. Garland Stafford to pick you up at the hotel around 6 o'clock and bring you to Ardmore for the banquet.

Will be looking forward to our meeting Thursday evening September 13th.

Cordially yours,
Eugene A. Butner, Jr.
Eugene A. Butner, Jr.
Pres.
Methodist Young Adult Ass'n.

Enclosed-

DR. G. S. MITCHELL
. . . "equal opportunities" . . .

Dr. Mitchell Will Address Young Adults

Dr. George S. Mitchell, executive secretary of the Southern Regional Council, will address the Methodist Young Adult Association at its annual banquet Thursday, Sept. 13, at 7 p.m. at Ardmore Methodist Church.

Dr. Mitchell, of Richmond, Va., went to Richmond College and then to Johns Hopkins and after that to Oxford University. He taught at Columbia University for six years, and worked for the government for nine years, mostly with the Department of Agriculture. He took his first job with the Southern Regional Council in 1945, and became executive director in 1947.

The Council, he says, "is composed of Southerners of both races and of all faiths who work together to promote equal opportunities for all the people of the region."

New officers for the Young Adults Association will be installed Thursday night by President Eugene A. Butner Jr.

The new officers and the Methodist churches they represent are:

Jack Goff, Marvin, president; Francis Stevens, Green Street, vice-president; Miss Annie Moser, Lewisville, secretary; Mrs. Mary Voss, Ardmore, assistant secretary; and Hold Newsome, Crews, treasurer.

Oct 2 y

NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY INC.

1790 BROADWAY · NEW YORK 19 · NEW YORK

FRANK L. WEIL *President* MRS. HENRY A. INGRAHAM *Chairman Executive Committee* ROBERT E. BONDY *Director*

RECEIVED
OCT 1 1951
Southern Regional Council

September 28, 1951

Mr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

You will probably recall from the report of the discussion at the Southeast Regional meeting of the National Social Welfare Assembly held last April that the following resolution was passed:

> "That it is the sense of this meeting that a Southeastern Regional Council be set up to consider social welfare planning, including planning related to defense mobilization, for the region and that a committee be appointed to discuss with the National Social Welfare Assembly the formation of such a Council, and
>
> "that the chairman of this meeting appoint a nominating committee of three to name the Committee authorized above, and a chairman thereof."

The nominating committee, consisting of Rt. Rev. Msgr. G. L. Smith, Dr. William E. Cole, and Miss Mary Jane Willett, have done their work and are asking you to serve as a member of the Committee.

A meeting of the Committee is being scheduled for Monday, October 15th, in Atlanta. It will probably be a luncheon meeting, although the detailed plans have not yet been completed. A confirmation as to the time and place will be sent you shortly.

Will you please indicate on the enclosed postal card (1) your acceptance of membership on the Committee, and (2) your attendance at the meeting October 15th.

Sincerely yours

John H. Moore

John H. Moore
Assistant Director

October 1, 1951

Mr. John Long
Southern Christian Institute
Edwards, Miss.

Dear Mr. Long:

Your letter of the 23rd said, "Would it be possible for you to be with us October 13?"

But I am entirely free Tuesday, October 9, and could and would come.

The annual meeting for 1951 has been postponed till December 12. Ordinarily, it would be November 7, but we are in hopes that by a month later we will have a definite answer, one way or another, from the Ford Foundation.

I would suppose that the Mississippi Division would do well to go on and have its meeting.

I will hold the 9th, and if you want me there I will come.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE

AN ACCREDITED CO-EDUCATIONAL SCHOOL FOR NEGROES
CHARTERED 1875

EDWARDS, MISSISSIPPI

JOHN LONG, PRESIDENT
CHARLES C. MOSLEY, DEAN

September 28, 1951

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF
UNITED CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY
INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA

RECEIVED
OCT 1 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I did not keep a copy of my note to you requesting that you attend our meeting, but did I say "Tuesday, October 13" as did your note of the 26th????

I meant TUESDAY, the 9th.

However, since that date some of our group have suggested that we have our State meeting following the Atlanta one in order to get more immediate reports on actions taken there.

What do you think of such a plan?

If we did this, how soon after the Atlanta meeting would you be able to come to us?

And the final question, When is the meeting in Atlanta?

Cordially,

John Long

October 8, 1951

Dr. Horace A. White
Plymouth Congregational Church
Garfield and Beaubien Sts.
Detroit 1, Mich.

Dear Dr. White:

I am at your disposal, as agreed, for Sunday, November 11, and look forward a lot to the day.

Here are a couple of mats. Also an attached slip with biographical material.

You will see that I have had a good deal of contact with the labor movement, though I can't boast of actual union acquaintances in Detroit.

I will come up on the train and be at the church by or before ten o'clock Sunday morning, November 11—ten o'clock at the latest in order to get a little time to learn about the church.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

HORACE A. WHITE, D. D.
Minister

Plymouth Congregational Church
GARFIELD AND BEAUBIEN STREETS
DETROIT 1, MICHIGAN

Church Phone
TE. 2-8896
Residence
MA. 0522

October 4, 1951

OCT 8 1951
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Mr. Mitchell:

Mrs. Beulah Whitby corresponded with you in my behalf some weeks ago about your speaking in Detroit at my church at 11 o'clock Sunday morning, November 11, and after that, in the evening to a community forum, on appropriate subjects. The arrangements would be that we would give you a fee of $50.00 and pay your transportation.

I admire the work you have been doing in behalf of democracy in the South. Would you please send me pictures and biographical material for publicity? If you could send me a glossy print, I could have other pictures made from it. If you have any contacts in Detroit that you would like notified that we could use for publicity purposes, feel free to let me know about them. As you know, we are a very strong union town.

Sincerely,

Horace A. White

October 12, 1951

Dr. Mozell Hill
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mozell:

I expect to be present at the meeting Tuesday, October 30, 7 p. m., at your office on the study of Atlanta's interracial resources.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

HORACE A. WHITE, D. D.
Minister

Plymouth Congregational Church

GARFIELD AND BEAUBIEN STREETS
DETROIT 1, MICHIGAN

TE. 2-8355
Church Phone
XXXXXXX
Residence
XXXXXXX
TO. 8-3082

October 16, 1951

RECEIVED
OCT 23 1951
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We are looking gorward to your coming Sunday November 11, 1951 with great anticipation. We were very glad to receive the biographical material, but regret that our papers do not use mats. They use glossy prints. If you could send us a glossy print we will be grateful then we can get along with our advertising.

We are enclosing your mats, because you might want to use them.

Respectfully yours,

Horace A. White

Horace A. White.

October 17, 1951

Mr. Herbert M. Davidson
The News-Journal
Daytona Beach, Fla.

Dear Mr. Davidson:

Certainly, I will be delighted to come to Daytona Beach for the December 7 meeting and particularly delighted to stay at your and Mrs. Davidson's home. I remember mighty well those many special pleasures and comforts.

I am all for grassroots and for equal justice in the courts, and will talk about them.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Rec-3

Daytona Beach Evening News
DAYTONA BEACH MORNING JOURNAL
The Sunday News-Journal

RECEIVED
OCT 17 1951
Southern Regional Council

OFFICE OF THE EDITOR

DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA

Oct. 16, 1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Mrs. White is at this moment in my office and we have decided to hold you to your promise to attend the annual meeting of the Florida Division in Daytona Beach Dec.7, and to address the meeting. I hate to put you to this trouble, but as you know, the condition of the organization is a bit rocky and we need your gentle but contagious enthusiasm. The theme of the meeting will be " Back To The Grassroots ", and the aim will be to inspire those present to form interracial groups in their communities. Our experiment here in Daytona Beach has petered out and I don't think the time is ripe for another try. But I would like to see several efforts made elsewhere. Mrs. White and I agree that there is danger in the present trend toward separate rather than joint activities and that the two races are losing contact.

You do not have to speak directly on this subject, since it will be the theme of a discussion, but it would be nice if you touch on it. We like the suggestion mentioned in your letter to Mrs. White, that you discuss rather fully the problem of unequal measures of justice in the courts. In this connection Joe Grotegut, managing editor of our Morning Journal, has promised to follow up your talk with a description of specific instances in this community, especially in one Justice of the Peace court of which he made a special study.

I hope you will be able to come, that you will arrive on the 6th, and that you will stay with us as before.

With kind personal regards,

Sincerely,

Herbert M. Davidson

Editor

Herbert M. Davidson/eb

October 24, 1951

Mrs. Martha Horne
Florida Conference of Social Welfare
Box 989
Jacksonville, Fla.

Dear Mrs. Horne:

Many thanks for your letter of October 19 and its kind invitation.

I will take an overnight plane (air coach) from Detroit, leaving there the night of the 15th and arriving in Miami a little before 8:00 in the morning on Friday the 16th. I will repair to the Fleetwood Hotel and try during the morning to get a little into the swing of the Conference. I realize that I am on deck 2:00 p. m. Friday, November 16.

I can't give you advice on a suitable Negro person to have. Your resources for knowing who is available in Florida are much better than mine. But I will be happy with anyone you pick.

The thing I do best is what is called my "Map Speech." It crowds into 38 or 40 minutes history, geography, economics, agriculture, industry, trade unionism, race relations and civil rights! It has been popular and is praised as instructive. But I must admit that it relates to the Southeast as a whole and a bit neglects Florida, because Florida has distinctive problems that I don't really know much about. However, there are plenty of lessons to be drawn for the various situations in Florida--more particularly, north and central Florida.

Mrs. Havens knows that speech, I fear, all too well and can advise you whether it would be acceptable. I could do something else, but, I warn you, that is the thing I do brightly. It is not a frightening speech--I did it a couple of years ago for a Florida district Rotary conference at Hollywood, and they didn't complain. I would make some special effort to adjust it to the needs of your particular audience.

I have today mailed to Mrs. Rudd some biographical material and two mats, as I have no glossy prints for the moment. I will have the glossies tomorrow and will send them on to her also.

The air coach fare, Atlanta to Miami and back, is somewhere around $62. Except for incidentals, that ought to be the only expense.

Sincerely,

GSM:ec

George S. Mitchell

FLORIDA CONFERENCE
OF SOCIAL WELFARE
A non-profit corporation
formerly FLORIDA STATE CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
PLEASE ADDRESS REPLY TO: P. O. BOX 989
JACKSONVILLE, FLA.

RECEIVED
OCT 22 1951
Southern Regional Council

NORRIS KLASS, PRESIDENT
G. BOWDEN HUNT, VICE PRESIDENT
ANNA M. LOVELL, VICE PRESIDENT
HERBERT D. WILLIAMS, SECRETARY-TREASURER

CONSTANCE PRINGLE RUDD
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

P. O. BOX 629 TELEPHONE 71-4771 ST. PETERSBURG 1, FLORIDA

October 19, 1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Mr. Levin Armwood has told us of his conversation with you and we deeply appreciate your willingness to change your plans so that you will be able to attend our State Conference of Social Welfare in Miami Beach. We understand about the Council's budgetary situation and while our Conference finances are in an extremely precarious state, we have done some hasty conferring by telephone and think that we are safe in assuring you that we can reimburse you for the cost of your travel and chief expenses. We cannot finance the travel and expenses for two persons to Miami for this session.

As perhaps Mr. Armwood explained to you, the reason we are so late in planning this particular session is that we had suddenly found ourselves with two free hours because of the necessity of switching an afternoon session to the evening after most of the program had been planned. We have already obligated ourselves for almost more than is safe, financially, for the other sessions. We are unable, therefore, to offer expenses to Dr. Hill of Atlanta University and so have not approached him.

We are anxious to have as a part of this session, however, a competent Negro speaker and would, of course, prefer to have someone you know so that your presentations could be better coordinated. If you have any helpful ideas of how we could secure Dr. Hill or another person of similar caliber without cost to us, we would be most happy to trust your judgment and make our plans accordingly. Failing this, we will try to find someone from within our state. The name of Dr. C. W. Smith of the Sociology Department of the Florida A and M College has been suggested but we are checking further before inviting him as the persons who suggested him have not heard him deliver a speech. It is possible that you would know of someone in Florida whom you would like to suggest. We shall appreciate your help in making this session a truly educational experience for the Conference membership.

As Mr. Armwood told you, we have thought vaguely of this session as being focused around cultural influences on people. As you undoubtedly know, social work leaders are increasingly emphasizing the strong influence of cultural forces in the development of personality and the behavior of individuals. Social workers who are practicing in the field but have little or no previous training for the job are frequently confused because on the one hand, they are eager to treat all people by the same standards regardless of race or background, and on the other hand, they are baffled when the people with whom they are working do not respond in the expected manner because of basic differences in cultural background. Many of these workers are not sufficiently removed from the prejudices with which they had always lived to be sure of their newly acquired and sometimes only intellectually accepted ideas of the rights of each individual to human dignity and acceptance of his worth as a person. Inadequate understanding of the broad economic and social factors and the part they play in producing the situations which cause so much distress to the community and to the worker makes it the more difficult for the worker to know what he really feels and believes and is willing to defend.

I am sure that you are familiar with Florida generally and its economic, social, and cultural contrasts. Most persons, when thinking of Florida, think of the tourist centers but, as you know, the greater portion is rural and resembles south Georgia and Alabama in many ways. You probably remember seeing some of the news stories during our 1951 legislative session in which the aid to dependent children program was under severe attack. Some of the issues were the same as those raised in Georgia, such as "encouragement of illegitimacy and immorality", "chiselers", etc. Criticism of the percentage of Negroes on the rolls was widespread and vitriolic but not so often labelled as such in the newspapers. We did escape the personal attack on staff which Georgia suffered.

We are sending you, under separate cover, a bulletin of public assistance statistics which will give you some information. You will note from these figures that Florida has had the highest rate of ADC recipients in the country. The legislature slashed the ADC funds in half so we are now going through a period of doing some pretty horrible things to children in an effort to stay within the funds available.

It should be pointed out that Florida has administered its ADC funds with no discrimination as to race. I, personally, believe that this could not be said of any southern state whose assistance rolls were not heavily weighted with Negroes. The Department of Public Welfare here was forced last year, for the first time, to keep statistics on the race of public assistance recipients and the results revealed, naturally, that Negroes predominated. On the one hand, employers of Negro women and children complain that ADC reduces their labor supply, and on the other, we know that in seasonal occupations such as cotton, celery, truck gardening, and certainly in domestic employment, ADC has subsidized and kept available a cheap labor supply. ADC has borne the

brunt of the underlying economic lacks, and the lacks of other, more suitable, forms of supplying economic security for people in need. Florida does not even have a state-wide general assistance program.

We believe, since there has been so much discussion this year in Florida about this whole subject, that the kind of material we know you are equipped to present will be most timely. We do not wish to limit you in your topic and really do prefer that you tell us what you would like to present and what would be an appropriate title. The audience would be composed of several hundred (we hope) social workers, board members, and assorted lay and professional persons from all over Florida. There will be all kinds of social workers from many different fields. Negro workers participate in our State Conference and for quite a few years, the Conference has been held only in hotels which would give written guarantees that unsegregated meetings could be held without embarrassment to the Negroes present. Also, because of the age old difficulties in the simple act of eating, we have abandoned "meal" program meetings. We are holding our breaths, but the Fleetwood Hotel, where the Conference will be held, has assured us that while they cannot have Negroes as overnight guests, they will serve them meals during the Conference.

Your session is scheduled at 2:00 Friday, November 16th, and it will run until 4:00. We had thought tentatively that each speaker would want approximately an hour. You may want to have a block of time reserved for questions from the audience. This will be a general session with no competing meetings. I have asked Mrs. Henry Havens to be the Chairman for this session and to introduce you and the other speaker. I hope that this meets with your approval.

We hope to hear from you in the immediate future with suggestions. We are enthusiastic about this session and are extremely anxious for it to be a success. Please do let us know if you have any questions.

Mrs. Constance P. Rudd, Executive Secretary of the Conference, will need some biographical material from you, as well as a glossy print for use in pre-Conference publicity. She needs these just as soon as possible.

Gratefully,

Martha Horne

(Mrs.) Martha Horne
Chairman, Program Committee

MH:pc

P.S. It has occurred to me that you might like to arrange to have some Council literature on exhibit at the Conference. Let us know.

October 25, 1951

President George M. Modlin
University of Richmond
Richmond, Va.

Dear Dr. Modlin:

I did my duties Tuesday as representative of the University of Richmond at the Agnes Scott inauguration. It was all handsomely done, with a speech by the lady who runs Vassar and another by the new Agnes Scott man. At the actual ceremony they did an unprecedented thing (announced as something other colleges had been afraid to try) and had the administrative dean read from the platform the name of each represented college and of its representative, the while in single file the representatives, as so-named, shook hands with President Alston. It went off with hardly a hitch, added 35 minutes to the session. But the crowd was seated only for the period from 10:30 to 12:40. And on balance, I would say it was a good scheme. There is something too ungracious about the standard device of calling forth visiting dignitaries to rise by their centuries--"All those from 1636 to 1803, please stand. All those from 1804 to 1827, please stand."

Incidentally, they fed us all a mighty nice lunch, and Dr. Jack from Randolph-Macon made an agreeable and shortish speech.

The cap and gown went back by mail yesterday. My warmest thanks to Dr. Wheeler for his Hopkins hood. Tell Miss Thomasson the hat was plenty small. In anticipation of its wobbling a bit though, I had various suggestions as to a cure. Alice said a wad of chewing gum. The representative of LaGrange College, who sat next to me, suggested a thumb tack!

With warm regards.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

University of Richmond
Richmond, Virginia

Office of the President

RECEIVED
OCT 22 1951
Southern Regional Council

October 18, 1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

We are mailing you today by insured parcel post to your office a cap and gown and Dr. Wheeler is lending his Hopkins Ph.D. hood. I'm sorry we didn't have a 6-3/4 cap, so we are sending the next, 6-7/8. Hope it won't fall off!

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Thomasson

Secretary to the President

October 1, 1951

President George M. Modlin
University of Richmond
Richmond, Va.

Dear Mr. Modlin:

I will be delighted to be the University of Richmond's man at the Agnes Scott inauguration October 23. Have sent in the proper card.

I am quite without cap and gown and would be grateful if you could have them mailed down. Head size, 6 3/4; hood, Johns Hopkins, Ph. D.

With warm regards.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

University of Richmond
Richmond, Virginia

Office of the President

September 26, 1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell
906 Lullwater Road, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

The University of Richmond has been invited to be represented at the inauguration of the new President of Agnes Scott College on October 23. As it will be impossible for me to be present, I am writing you in the hope that you can arrange to represent your Alma Mater at this ceremony. If you can do so, there is enclosed an acceptance card which you should complete and return directly to the Committee on Inauguration. If you do not have an academic costume or cannot conveniently obtain one in Atlanta, we shall be glad to send you a cap and gown for your use (if you will inform us of your hat size).

I shall be grateful to you if you can render this service to the University.

With cordial good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

G. M. Modlin

George M. Modlin

October 25, 1951

Mr. A. Hurford Crosman
Belmont Hotel
Abbeville, S. C.

Dear Mr. Crosman:

Your most kind letter of October 19 came in Monday, but I am only today really getting to it.

I greatly appreciate the invitation to come and be with the group for the meeting. Unfortunately, all day tomorrow, the 26th, is given over to a meeting of the Council's Executive Committee. I will try my best to arrange things so that I could drive over to Abbeville in the course of Saturday afternoon and be with the group at dinner that night and have the early part of the evening. I will try to persuade my wife to come with me, and what with teen-agers at home, we would need to drive on back to Atlanta Saturday night.

I quite realize that I will be useless unless I have seen the land and the people, but I will enjoy the company.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

RECEIVED
OCT 22 1951
Southern Regional Council

October 19, 1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Ralph Rose, of our Race Relations Department, has told me about you and your interest in the work of the A.F.S.C. I suspect you may know something about the Little River Farm Project which was established by Wilmer and Mildred Young in 1940. Enclosed you will find the brief statement concerning this project. Last year at our annual meeting held in Abbeville, your name was mentioned by several members of our committee as being an agricultural expert.

The committee holds its next annual meeting on October 26th, 27th and 28th, and I am writing to ask if it would be possible for you to meet with us this year. We meet at the Belmont Hotel in Abbeville, the first session being a dinner at sixp.m. on Friday the 26th. I find there is a train on the Seaboard Line leaving Atlanta at 1:35 p.m., arriving in Abbeville at 5:10 p.m. which would be just good time for this dinner. After a session at the hotel in the eveningwe stay there at the hotel and then the next day spend all day out at the Farms and come back to the hotel again for dinner at night. We then stay over Saturday night and have a Meeting for Worship at the home of Wilmer and Mildred Young on their farm. The group then disperses after about 11:00 Sunday morning.

Perhaps you would be interested to know the names of the members of the committee who will be meeting there. The Chairman of the group is Dudley D. Carroll, Dean of Economics at North Carolina University; Walter Coble, of the Coble Dairies in Guilford, North Carolina; James Dabbs, of Mayesville, South Carolina; Madeline Erskine, of Philadelphia; Richard Hobbs, School of Business Administration, University of North Carolina; Homer and Edna Morris, of the Service Committee

staff; Thomas Potts, of Philadelphia; Claude Shotts, of the University of North Carolina; Howard Taylor, New Jersey farmer; Haines Turner, on the staff of Pendle Hill in Wallingford, Pennsylvania; Marion Young, a physician of Pleasant Hill, Tennessee.

We shall be most happy to have you join us if you can arrange it.

A. Hurford Crosman

A. Hurford Crosman, Secretary
Little River Farm Committee

AHC/ghc

Enclosure 1

RECEIVED
OCT 22 1951
Southern Regional Council

LITTLE RIVER FARM PROJECT

Conducted by Wilmer and Mildred Young Under the Auspices of the
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

20 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

In the spring of 1940, some 800 acres of land were purchased near Abbeville, South Carolina on the western edge of the state. The tract was divided into eight smaller farms and each tenant-farmer was told that he might purchase his own farm.

This land was about as poor as any in the South on which tenant-farmers were trying to eke out an existence with the traditional one-crop cotton system. Wilmer and Mildred Young wanted to demonstrate on one of these eight farms that they could rebuild the land and produce a good living. Furthermore, they wished to show that it could be done independent of outside assistance other than aid available as well to the new owner-farmers.

While some of the funds contributed to the American Friends Service Committee for this special project were used to buy the land and buildings which the Youngs use, rent has been paid by them. The Youngs have lived a life of "functional poverty" and have improved their standard of living only as they were able by the product of their own labors. By such a demonstration they hoped to encourage their neighbors to do likewise.

Diversification of crops was to be the answer to the boll weevil. Progress was slow, but gradually corn, alfalfa, orchard grass, lespedeza and kudzu took the place of cotton which meant that dairying, hog and chilcken raising became feasible. Mildred Young has successfully demonstrated how the women can contribute to economic stability through the production of eggs and poultry.

Early in the program it was decided that contributed funds should be used to set up certain "Special Projects" which would be available to all farmers in the vicinity, including the Youngs, on a cash-fee basis. A pedigreed bull and boar to build up the quality of stock, a tractor and machinery outfit for ploughing, harvesting, etc., a saw mill to produce lumber for barns and houses from the standing timber on the farms, a sorghum mill to produce molasses, a hammer mill for grinding corn and grain a buzz saw for cutting firewood--these have all had their place in the general economy and all have been self-supporting, the fees not only amortizing the investment, but paying for labor involved in the operations.

Today Wilmer Young raises no cotton, and while his neighbors have not followed suit to the extent that might be desired, they are making progress toward it, and, in the meantime, Wilmer Young carries out a worthwhile educational program in the use of strays to control the boll weevil. It is certainly gratifying to see the gradual improvement in productivity of the land.

During the first eight years of the project, the tenant-farmers built up enough equity so that local banks were willing to grant loans. By means of these loans the farmers have paid the American Friends Service Committee in full. Thus, the main objective of shifting from the status of tenant-farmer to that of owner has been achieved in a new self respect and sense of human dignity which is even more important than economic stability. To quote one homesteader: "You know, it does something to a man to own his own farm".

The original fund, set up through contributions to start this project was returned to its original status minus the amount invested in the Youngs' demonstration farm. In 1948, the fund was reinvested in a 1,000-acre tract adjoining the original 800 acres. This had been owned by a large cotton brokerage firm and the tenant-farmers, raising cotton on this land, were encouraged to repeat the procedure established by their neighbors. Because of the success of the original group, the local banks were willing to take a very different attitude and within one year the fund had completely revolved again. In all fairness it should be said that the employment in the nearby cotton mills of one or more members of many of the families, had some bearing on this situation. A major problem, however, was that while the banks were willing to finance the white families, they were not able to do the same for the Negro families. It is hoped that the federal agency known as Farmers Home Administration will prove to be the solution of this problem.

The committee decided that its next step should be to make a long-range investment of the revolving fund by the purchase of a 300-acre tract known as the Thompson farm on which it is proposed that one or two Negro families be helped to develop dairies under the guidance and leadership of Wilmer Young. This program is now in the process of being worked out. On the lease is an additional 550-acre tract, the Hill farm, to which is being applied the Government Terracing Program to stop erosion of the soil. In all probability this tract will one day be purchased to help additional tenant-farmers become farm owners.

The outstanding accomplishment on the part of the Youngs during 1950 and 1951 has been the shifting of their Grade C Dairy to Grade A. This has involved the building of a modern, sanitary "milking parlor". Now the product of the same herd of cows has more than doubled the net income and, at the same time, required less labor because of the introduction of better sanitary equipment and a milking machine.

In terms of modern American efficiency standards, progress at Little River Farms will seem slow, but the Youngs' philosophy has been to do only what others might also do. The introduction of too much outside capital would defeat this purpose.

Above and beyond the Youngs' demonstration of an economic way of life which brings a greater degree of physical security and human dignity to the neighborhood, is the spiritual impact which they have had upon the community. No one ever comes in contact with the Youngs for long without coming to the realization that here Christianity is being practiced. As

a visitor said not long ago: "I never come here without feeling I am in a Holy place".

November, 1951

November 2, 1951

Mr. H. W. Large
Chattanooga Interracial Committee
812 Georgia Ave.
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Large:

Many thanks for your letter of October 31.

I will be happy to be in Chattanooga for the meeting of the Interracial Committee on Thursday, November 22, at the YMCA at 4:00 p. m.

What would you like me to talk about?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

CHATTANOOGA INTERRACIAL COMMITTEE

812 GEORGIA AVENUE

Chattanooga, Tennessee

October 31, 1951

RECEIVED
NOV 1 1951
Southern Regional Counc

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am wondering if your schedule would permit you to be in Chattanooga to speak to our Interracial Committee on the third Thursday in November, which would be November 22. The gathering will be at the Y.M.C.A. at 4:00 P.M.

May I hear from you at your convenience.

I am

Sincerely yours,

H. W. Large
Recording Secretary

HWL:sh

October 2, 1951

Mrs. Martha Horne
Florida Conference of Social Welfare
Box 989
Jacksonville, Fla.

Dear Mrs. Horne:

Many thanks for latest word about the Friday afternoon program. Looks like it will be a good one.

I am to arrive at Miami a little before eight o'clock in the morning of that Friday. People at the University of Miami will haul me over to Coral Gables, where I talk to an early morning class. Then I will get over to the Beach before the end of the morning session, so as to reassure all of you that I am really on hand.

I quite like your title for the whole session.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

FLORIDA CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WELFARE

A non-profit corporation

formerly FLORIDA STATE CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

PLEASE ADDRESS REPLY TO: P. O. BOX 989
JACKSONVILLE, FLA.

MORRIS KLASS, PRESIDENT
G. BOWDEN HUNT, VICE PRESIDENT
ANNA M. LOVELL, VICE PRESIDENT
HERBERT D. WILLIAMS, SECRETARY-TREASURER

CONSTANCE PRINGLE RUDD
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

P. O. BOX 629 TELEPHONE 71-4771 ST. PETERSBURG 1, FLORIDA

RECEIVED NOV 2 1951 Southern Regional Council

AIR MAIL

November 1, 1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

We thought that you might wish to know that following your "Map" speech at our Conference, Dr. Richard D. Jones, of the Canadian Council of Christians & Jews, Toronto, will speak. His title is "World Unity Begins in Your Community". We learned at the last minute that Dr. Jones would be in Miami and available to us so we asked him rather than continue to hunt for a Negro speaker here.

I had written to Nelson Jackson asking him to be present to give perhaps a ten minute comment on practical ways and means in which social workers and board members in their official capacities could be of help in this whole area. We have just received his declination. He is committed to Tuskeegee Institute from November 14th through the 16th.

The Conference President and Executive Secretary have dreamed up a title for this whole session which may or may not please you -- at any rate, it is "Minority Groups--America's Strength".

Sincerely yours,

Martha Horne

(Mrs.) Martha Horne
Chairman, Program Committee

MH:pc

November 6, 1951

We

Mr. M. A. F. Ritchie
Dept. of Human Relations
University of Miami
Coral Gables, Fla.

Dear Mr. Ritchie:

All straight.

I will arrive on the 7:48 Delta plane Friday morning, the 16th, and put my bag at the Honorable the ~~Saint~~ San Sebastian. Will do your Friday morning class and the Saturday morning seminar.

We appreciate your renewed membership. And we look forward to the article.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI

CORAL GABLES (UNIVERSITY BRANCH) 46, FLORIDA

November 2, 1951

RECEIVED
NOV 5 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Geroge S. Mitchell,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am delighted to learn from your letter of October 31 that you will be with us on the 16th and 17th. ~~and that we have you on the campus~~. We will plan, therefore, for you to take my 9:30 class in "Action Programs" and my Saturday morning seminar in "Leadership in Human Relations Education". The first class is undergraduate and the second is graduate.

If it would be satisfactory to you, we would be glad to have you as a guest of the University for the night, with a room at the San Sabastian men's dormitory. If I were here I would make an extra effort to arrange to have you at oneof the University's guest houses, but they are inconvenient to the campus and do not have eating facilities. If I were here I could see that you had convenient transportation by car to the University and cafeteria. The San Sabastian, however, has eating facilities in the building and is on a direct bus connection to the main campus and to Coral Gables.

Fred Routh and Don Sprague look forward with keen anticipation to your visit. I will give your letter to Fred so that he can have the benefit of details relative to time of your arrival, etc.

I have just written Fleming that I will work up the article the first opportunity after I have returned from Washington. A month or so will probably elapse before it will be ready for you.

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI

CORAL GABLES (UNIVERSITY BRANCH) 46, FLORIDA

November 2, 1951

I am enclosing a membership form together with a check for $3.00. You say that I "personally have not been enrolled as a member". Either your records are wrong or your staff have poor eyesight. At least I parted with three good American bucks and received regularly for well over a year your publications at our street address. At the end of that time I received several courteous letters reminding me that my membership was on the verge of lapsing. So, your records or faulty eyesight to the contrary notwithstanding, I am an old timer at least for one year with your organization.

Coridally yours,

M.A.F. Ritchie, Chairman
Department of Human Relations

MAFR/jj

November 7, 1951

Mr. Alfred Mynders
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Mynders:

Mr. Large called and said you had brought to his attention the conflict between Thanksgiving Day and the meeting of the Chattanooga Interracial Committee! We all back out in favor of turkey.

But he set me up for Tuesday, December 4, at four o'clock in the afternoon. And if that's all right with you, I will arrive in your office that Tuesday at 11:30.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

FLORIDA CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WELFARE

A non-profit corporation

formerly FLORIDA STATE CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

RECEIVED
NOV 9 1951
Southern Regional Council

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RECEIVED
NOV 8 1951
Southern Regional Council

November 8, 1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

This is a last minute greeting to tell you again that we are anticipating your participation in our annual meeting program scheduled for Friday, November 16th at 2:00 p.m. We are looking forward to having you in Florida and we hope that we have made proper arrangements with the weather man for perfect Florida weather.

If there is anything I can do to be of assistance to you, please let me know. I shall be at the Hotel Fleetwood beginning Sunday evening, November 11th.

Cordially yours,

Constance P. Rudd

(Mrs) Constance P. Rudd
Executive Secretary

CPR:ls

Many thanks for the material you sent —

COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN
DR. MARY M. STREET, LEGISLATIVE STUDY
LIEUTENANT COLONEL H. W. YOUNG, MEMBERSHIP
MARTHA P. HORNE, PROGRAM
MRS. THURMAN A. WHITESIDE, NOMINATIONS
MRS. HAROLD B. SPAET, LOCAL ARRANGEMENTS

SRC - Ex. Dir

The Chattanooga Times

November 19, 1951

RECEIVED
NOV 20 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I will be waiting at the office at 11:30 o'clock on the morning of December 4. Afterwards, we will go to lunch and possibly I will have two other guests, Mr. and Mrs. Stanton Smith, both members of the Southern Regional Council; he the president of the Tennessee Federation of Labor and active in most causes; and she a leader among the women. You will enjoy talking with them.

Your meeting will be held at 4 o'clock at the Y.M.C.A. I hope to be down in Atlanta for the annual meeting but I am not certain whether I can make it or not.

Faithfully yours,

Alfred Mynders

Alfred Mynders
Editor of The Chattanooga Times

AM/ea

November 19, 1951

Mr. H. W. Large
Y. M. C. A.
812 Georgia Ave.
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Large:

Many thanks for your note. December 4 is the day, and I will be there with much pleasure.

Here's a mat and facts.

Where public mention is made of the Southern Regional Council, it is usually convenient to explain it as "an organization to attain, by research and action, equal opportunity for all the people of the South."

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

of Chattanooga, Tennessee, - GENERAL OFFICES - 812 Georgia Avenue

Serving Chattanooga Youth Since 1871

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OCOEE, TENNESSEE
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812 GEORGIA AVENUE
STUDENT BRANCH
UNIVERSITY OF CHATTA.
OR
812 GEORGIA AVENUE

HUGH P. WASSON PRESIDENT
H. W. LARGE, GENERAL SECRETARY

November 12, 1951

RECEIVED
NOV 13 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

This is to confirm our telephone conversation to the effect that our next Interracial Committee meeting will be Tuesday, December 4, at 4:00 P.M., at the Central Y.M.C.A.

Sorry I almost messed you up and the committee, too, by staging a committee meeting on Thanksgiving day. Of course that would be something to be thankful for. We shall look forward to your forth-coming visit.

If you will let me have a photograph or a mat along with a publicity statement, we will get some publicity in connection with your visit.

As ever yours,

H. W. Large

H. W. Large

HWL:sh

MISSIONARY SERVANTS OF
THE MOST HOLY TRINITY
SILVER SPRING, MARYLAND

RECEIVED
DEC 7 1951
Southern Regional Council

December 5, 1951

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Hello Mr. Mitchell!

Thanks very much for your kind letter, and for your generous offer to come out and speak to our students some time. I'd like very much to take advantage of that.

I have one class with most of the students in it at 9:30 Saturday mornings, which is yours any time you could make it; but our superior here - Fr. Gerard Fredericks - has said that any evening that you can make it out to our place, he will take care of the arrangements here.

If you get to Washington, give me a call at Shepherd 9083. We are at 9001 New Hampshire Ave., Extended; just outside the District of Columbia. We have 34 young men preparing for the priesthood here, in their philosophy and theology courses. Most are from the North, but at least five Southern states are represented. The majority will serve in the South after ordination.

Looking forward to meeting you here some day,

Sincerely,

Father Lawrence M.S.SS.T.

Lawrence Brediger, M.S.SS.T.

Exec. Dir.

December 5, 1951

Professor Hal G. Lewis
Professor William A. Fullager
College of Education
University of Florida
Gainesville, Fla.

Dear Mr. Lewis and Mr. Fullager:

Very many thanks.

Sure. I will love to come down. And either the 7th or the 8th is all right. Take your pick, and I will plan to be there all day either day.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
GAINESVILLE

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

December 3, 1951

RECEIVED
DEC 5 1951
Southern Regional Counc

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Ever since your last visit to this campus we have been hoping to arrange to get you back to be with us again. Just a few days ago we managed to wangle $60 out of the Lectures Committee of the University to pay your expenses for another trip to the campus. Will it be possible for you to come and would you be willing to come for that very small amount towards expenses? We thought it possible that you might combine this trip with some other one in this region and kill two birds with one stone.

In order to get the money we had to make some tentative selection of dates and so we have selected January 7 or 8.How does this fit into your calendar? We would like for you to talk to the combined sections of our sophomore course in education on your socio-economic map of the south. Those classes at this time will be taking up some of the problems of the southern region. In addition to these students there will be the senior students who are just finishing up their work in their senior year. There will be about one hundred of those. In addition others in our College will certainly be interested in attending and listening and perhaps asking questions afterwards.

We know this is a lot to ask of you but we feel that your last visit to the campus brought so much good that you might be willing to do it again.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Hal G. Lewis

Hal G. Lewis
Professor of Education

W. A. Fullager

William A. Fullager
Assistant Professor of Education

December 18, 1951

Mr. Coleman Medintz
Uniforms Inc.
610 W. Peachtree, NW
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Medintz:

My most humble apologies. 'Tis a dreadful thing that I did. I promised to go and speak for your group last night, I sent you the proofs and the dope, and I didn't show up.

Excuses are no good, but all I can say is that I put it in one notebook and, unaccountably, in transferring engagements to another notebook left it off, I am an ex-professor, and I do that kind of thing about once a year, but not oftener. And I am deucedly sorry that my 1951 lapse appeared in connection with the meeting you organized for me.

I am at your services for any later meeting that you may name. And I am genuinely regretful for missing the opportunity for fellowship with your members last night.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

SRC Exec. Dir.

January 23, 1952

Mr. Hal G. Lewis
Dept. of Foundations of Education
College of Education
University of Florida
Gainesville, Fla.

Dear Mr. Lewis:

Very many thanks indeed for the University's check for sixty dollars, which more than covered my expenses down and back. Indeed, I was able to donate twenty-five of it to the Southern Regional Council as lecture fee.

You and your friends are about to make me a devoted Floridian.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
GAINESVILLE

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

January 16, 1952

RECEIVED
JAN 21 1952
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Conference
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Enclosed is a check for $60 for expenses for your trip to Gainesville.

We appreciate very much your coming down to talk to us. Your talk has been well received and I think we can certainly say that it did some good. I hope that I shall wee you again before too long.

Sincerely yours

Hal G. Lewis, Acting Head
Department of Foundations of
Education

Enclosure

H, misc.

January 24, 1952

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
The Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Grace:

That sounds like such an extra-special meeting of the Board of the Urban League that you may be sure I will be there, Thursday, January 31, four o'clock, 582 University Place, NW.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

239 AUBURN AVENUE ATLANTA, GA.

TELEPHONE WALNUT 2355

RECEIVED JAN 24 1952 Southern Regional Council

January 23, 1952

MEMORANDUM

To: Members of the Board of Directors
Atlanta Urban League

From: Mrs. G. T. Hamilton

Re: Next Board Meeting

. . . . . .

The January Board meeting, of the Atlanta Urban League, will be held on Thursday, January 31st at 4:00 P. M., at the Hamiltons' house, 582 University Place, N. W.* The hour is later than usual in order to permit a meeting without returning to the various places of business that day.

The agenda will include a report of some very important developments in regard to the New Private Wing of Grady Hospital; comments on the budget hearing by members of the League's Finance Committee, and the appointment of a nominating committee for 1952.

We very much hope that it will be possible for all members of the Board to be present. We look forward to seeing you.

---

*Directions for reaching the Hamiltons' house from down town Atlanta: Drive west on Mitchell or Hunter Streets; turn right at Walnut Street and proceed one block north from West Hunter to University Place. The house is on the corner of Walnut and University Place - south side of the street.

"These Immortal Chaplains"

From Oil Painting by
DUDLEY SUMMERS

"These Immortal Chaplains"

Four Army Chaplains, Clark V. Poling (Evangelical Reformed Church), George L. Fox (Methodist), John P. Washington (Roman Catholic) and Alexander D. Goode (Jewish), were seen last, standing with arms locked, praying to God, each according to his own faith, as the transport Dorchester, torpedoed by submarine went down in iceberg waters ninety miles from Greenland, at 12:55 a. m., February 3, 1943. They questioned neither religion nor national origin of four soldiers to whom they gave their lifejackets as they paid this highest sacrifice.

"Arms linked together and at prayer!
Four men of God undaunted there,
Who dared to die for their belief in ties of brotherhood."

By Edgar A. Guest

Distributed by
THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS, Inc.

GENUINE CURTEICH-CHICAGO "C.T. ART-COLORTONE" POST CARD (REG. U.S. PAT. OFF.)

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Sou. Regiomal Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Glossy prints of GSM

July 23, 1957

Dr. and Mrs. George S. Mitchell
Glencoe, Argyll
SCOTLAND

Dear Alice and George:

I am a poor correspondent these days, but the thoughts of all of us here frequently turn to Scotland and the Mitchells. I trust by now the house is taking tangible shape and that you have made a clean sweep of the bureaucratic and physical obstacles that lay in your path when last we heard.

We recently had a midsummer executive meeting, and this seemed a good time to update you on the trials and triumphs of the indomitable SRC. Enclosed is more than you will want to read, in the form of a semi-annual report. As to finances, we have had moderate success. The Fund for the Republic came through fairly handsomely with $200,000 for the 39 months following October 1 -- about one-third of our projected budgets for that period. For this calendar year, we have in hand or definitely in prospect all but $16,000 of what we need to make it through December. In short, we must still push away at Sisyphus' stone, but we have enough footing under us to keep pushing.

The main business of the executive committee was the cutting up of a $40,000 pie among the state groups for fiscal 1957-58. An unenviable job, since all of them need and want more than any slicing of the pie can provide. We can only hope that most of them will work out ways to survive and seize the opportunities as they arise.

Otherwise, the usual busyness prevails. Voting is the big focus just now, and the findings of our voting survey are paying out handsomely. The position of Labor Consultant is by now firmly established in the SRC structure, and Emory is hewing out a valuable area of operation. C. H. is putting in the summer with us, helping to unscramble state problems and working with Fred and John Hope on consultant workshops. Liz Brantley has been lost (at least for the year) to Colorado, and Florence has had to return to ancestral North Carolina to help in the family business. But we've been lucky in the matter of replacements, and all the duties are getting well carried out.

You might like to know that the Fund for the Republic is undergoing major internal changes, now that their new orientation is in effect. Frank Loescher has been severed, and is exploring a South African - U. S. exchange plan, to be sponsored by a number of organizations. Depending on how his affairs work out, he might even put in some professional licks for us! Dave Freeman will also be leaving within the next few months -- to do what, not yet determined. Josephine hasn't yet got her campaign for us under way in New York, but will launch it anew in the fall.

This is small-talk enough for the time being. Let us hear from you as the construction permits. Meanwhile, warm greetings from us all.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - Semi-Annual Report of SRC

Glencoe August 10, '57

Dear Dave,

It has been in my mind for ten days or so to write to you, and I will now, on a Sunday, fulfill. I am the more inclined to give you what news I have, as Harold lately wrote that the Fund, as in my times, will alter; that Frank is already at something else, and so on.

We got to this side in the middle of March, and spent about a month combing over the croftin g counties, hunting for a spot we would like. Remoteness defeated us; plus a few more facts of life. Forty or fifty miles of winding, single-track road to a huddle of six crofts; no shop, no garage or repairman, few neighbors. And the houses, where ancient, were built before the invention of something essential called damp-proof courses, and they gather moisture from the ground and the surroundings. And there is a housing shortage, and young couples have crowded into everything habitable, and generous government grants to repair and replace old cottages have been fully used. I could not substantiate the picture of crofts a'dying from economic inactivity; quite true that the subsistence farming is passe, but many crofters find industrial jobs, and keep their places ancestrally, or retreat to them in spells of not wanting to follow regular jobs. So all in all, we turned our faces toward some greater degree of civilization. I remembered that I had known a boy whose people owned land in the neighborhood of Glencoe, hunted up the people, and they very pleasantly agreed to let us settle indefinitely on a grazing moore attached to one of their farms. I had to cut a 450-foot driveway up a hill and into the moor, but did that, and we have a glorious building-site, with a view up at the terrible pass of Glencoe, and a more peaceful look down over the waters of Loch Leven. And the sheepies and Highland stirksto mow the moors, and exempt me forever from grass-cutting.

We are into the building job. Got an architect from Edinburgh, who did plans and then got ulcers. By the plans we levelled the site, and laid foundations, and now go up with cement-block walls, duly damp-proofed. Have a garage already (leakily) roofed, and will (I think) before winter have a roof on so that we can do the interior work come what may come. We found also somebody's summer place to live in while we are building. Circumstances are inconvenient for Alice, admittedly, but we survive, and she claims she adds weight. Certainly she has turned into one of the most successful women ditch-diggers of all Scotland, and has drained a marsh (in front of the house-site), and performed other miracles. We put in a full day each sunshiny day, and these have been satisfyingly frequent this particular spring and summer. Rainy days we use to visit the towns, and line of lumber and cement and bricks and stones.

Arrangements for the land will interest you legally. The Glen goes on forever, and we are short-termers. So we may build, for a small annual payment, and have the house for ours as long as the payment continues and as long as the house descends to my own flesh and blood. If we leave, the landlord gets the refusal of the house at the then appraised value; or if we leave before 1987, they have to pay us at the appraisal. Key is that the house sits on part of a farm, and ultimately will replace the old house, built sometime before the massacre, and that was in 1692.

We continue to like Scotland, and the Scotch. And prices are still within our reach. Alice feeds the two of us on less than five pounds sterling a week. Meat and milk and eggs and butter and similar staples are considerable cheaper than at home. What is inordinately dearer are the amenities of civilized life: refriges, electric stoves, freezers, washing-machines, and so on. But we haven't yet got electricity to our spot, and probably shan't have for a few years. Complicated arrangements to make a constantly-fed open fireplace do the house-heating. We name the cottage Failte Blath, which in the Gaelic is warm welcome. But they put the adjective last, and for strictly transatlantic we insert a ghostly comma, turning it into Welcome, warm. Do come and give it a try!

Our daughters have showed up; Charlotte to get coached for a year in hopes of passing the Scottish Universities Entrance Exam and getting into St. Andrews, where three years for an MA; and Ellen for the tag-end of her Paris experience, and hence to William and Mary for her senior year.

My cogitations on race relations yield only a distillation of the British experience in dealing with less advanced peoples, to whom civilized standards are to be passed. The British have learned that what you do is announce that in some proximate time, three or five years, the British will pull out, and leave the country to be run by the locals. And, amazingly, the locals proceed to squeeze into the short period the self-education that acentury of tutelage would not have accomplished. Moral; let Southern town school-board announce that in one, two or three years' time the local schools will be opened. Next move: the Nego people have a meeting, shove out all the white people, and say to each other, "Now exactly how many of these children have we got that are ready to go to school with the white." Ans., "Three". Give people responsibility and all human experience is that they use it well.

I was greatly pleased in Harold's letter to learn that the Fund had again been generous to the Council. The amount I think altogether satisfying, and it must not have been an easy one to persuade Trustees to like.

Do some and all of you show on this side, and in Scotland, and in Glencoe. We are really building two tiny houses the one for the St. Andrews daughter when she can be in it, which will be seldom. And that same one is for the Fund for the Republic, and Dave and Frank and their friends, in most particular; but for everybody that can ever claim to have once been part of the Fund, in the good days.

Warmest wishes. You were all understandingness and courage itself in my time, and I remain lastingly a praiser of what has been done.

Sincerely,

George

Milwaukee

Sept. 21

Wonderful letter from Sister
Douglas. It is so seldom we
receive one & we appreciate it
very much. Dear Mrs. Woodbridge
I wish you could see for a
day or two how tired we are!
Yesterday we came 7 miles
& were 13 hours on the road
and we arrived here for $68.84
Shall go to Rice for a
week-end & then back to
Boston & home!
Love & Love

BY AIR MAIL

PAR AVION

AIR LETTER

AEROGRAMME

RECEIVED SEP 26 1957

H.C. Fleming

SRC

63 Auburn Ave NE

Atlanta 3

Georgia

U.S.A.

First fold here

Second fold here

Sender's name and address: 95 Mitchell

Glencoe

Argyll

Scotland.

AN AIR LETTER SHOULD NOT CONTAIN ANY ENCLOSURE; IF IT DOES IT WILL BE SURCHARGED OR SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

Write here

Glencoe, Argyll
August 25, '57

Dear Harold, andthe Family,

Mighty good to have Harold's long letter, and the semi-annual report, of which I read eagerly every word. Fine that the F for R. behaved themselves; as well, I would think, as might have been hoped. And with that securely under you, you can push on through.

I wrote Dave Freeman a letter, and told him I was glad they had done thus well, and inquired after all there at F for R.

We received a great envelope full of letters, some of them dating back into April and May, which I took to mean that Ruth had been on a long holiday (cum illness?) and was back. Do please set machinery that sends even dubious-looking things likex insurance premium notices on, as I had to write humiliatingly to the TIAA and ask them to be gracious and reinstate one.

Our house moves, though jerkily. As to weather, we have had a remarkably open spring and summer, but here at the end of August she seems to have "set in", to usethe local phrase. But we are hoping always for better and dryer days, andexpect that September will give us a month to shove ahead in. We finally, when the house was one-fourth up, received the permission f the Argyll County Council to build ahouse. But then there are such things as getting bricks andtimber deliveredto a remote Highlandpoint, andHighlanders, bless 'em, are notoriously finnicky about working on days when the fishing is nice, or when their crofts need 'tending. But we have foundationsin all around, many bits of wall up three or four feet, a garage and workshop enclosed and roofed (great triumph, andgives a place to store cement and timbers). We long since got the road in, and go over it nonchalantly, as though there had been a road back into that moor forever,

During August we have had to seek new living quarters, as the guy whose summer place we livedin came back for his August. Fortunately we found a furnished cottage in the neighboring village of Ballachulish (BallaWHOlish), for the regular thirty shillings a week, and so got under a roof instead of, as we had feared, under a flapping bit of canvas.

Ellen andCharlotte duly showed, arriving in mid-July. C. is now off to St. Andrews, not yet as an accepted student, but to be coached for the three remaining ones of her five entrace exams. She has a most attractive professorial family to live with in the town, and expects a pleasant year (andis glad not to be shovedinto exams which she wasn't ready for). Ellen fetched along some Wellesley gal, whom E. had been in Paris with, andthey scouredthe drippy hills on push-bikes, with intervals of being dmestic and daughterly here in Glencoe, or in Ballachulish. All of 'em now off, C. at St. A's, and E. and gal about to embark on Mauretania for home. E. has only the one more year, andthen hopes to get a job in NY and earn enough to get her back to this side. I have, perhaps harshly, let it be known that when the gals get through college they become "drops".

Sorry you lost Miss Lutz to Colorada. Wish I had some acquaintance with the various new people. Tell 'em I'm for 'em: nothing is more important than for the Southern States to learn to behave.

Scotland continues to be attractive, and a happy place. And I continue miraculously free of wheezles. Poor Alice has to twist andturn to keep me fed on oatcakes, and we keep running out of corn meal. Tell any travellers to please tote over five pounds of corn meal, water-ground, and mail it at me from the boat. Most preferably bring it at me, but mail acceptable.

We didnot get to see Leonard and Bea Haas, a matter of sorrow, but the times just wouldn't work out. That is agoodman, and she a nice lady.

I continue to rejoice that you do my job; andto be sure that you do it imaginatively and resultfully. Kepp her going!

Alice flourishes; complains that she is getting ampler. She is the champeen ditch-digger, roof-painter, and clay-toter of Scotland.

George

RECEIVED NOV 25 1957

November 19, 1957

Dear all of you,

This comes to say from these old, retired, untired, Mitchells - that we think of you many many times, that we hope all of you and all of your families are going to have a very Merry Xmas - (a bountiful Thanksgiving first!) and that the New year will be the most effective, least troublesome, best financial in the history of S.R.C! The latest edition of New South arrived at our lunch break the other day, and we realized it was the Tuesday after the second Monday in November, and therefore the day of the Annual Meeting. We, being 5 hours ahead of you, knew you were barely getting your day started, but we followed you through it just the same.

Our days are all the same, from the moment dawn breaks (around 7 these days) until dark comes on about 4:30. We listen for the BBC. weather which is the same old story "dull, cloudy weather, with possible bright intervals, some showers, winds strong to gale force, tomorrow likely to be the same". Then, in anticipation of catching a bright interval, we pull on our work clothes and heavy boots, and away we go to lay bricks, dig ditches, build septic tank, mend road, etc. At noon we return to our lodge for cornflakes and milk, a second report on weather, and back to our job. We are slow, and our fond hope of getting a roof on before winter didn't materialize, in fact we are far from it. But we do make progress and someday we'll have a house.

One day an approaching car had a driver so much like E. Via that for one moment I thought it must be he! If I could tell you how I felt in that moment you would all know what a royal welcome you would each have if I could ever see you coming over our hill!

I am taking a class every Monday night in Scottish Country Dancing. What fun! And every Tuesday night Papa George goes to a class in the Gaelic! Now thats a difficult language

if ever there was one.

Please give our best wishes to all our friends, and our love to each of you.

A. Mitchell

First fold here

BY AIR MAIL

PAR AVION

AIR LETTER

AEROGRAMME

Southern Regional Council

63 Auburn Ave. N.E.

Atlanta

Georgia

U.S.A.

POSTAGE POSTAGE

6d EIIR 6d

6d SIXPENCE 6d

BRITISH ARGYLL

Second fold here

Sender's name and address:

A. Mitchell

The Lodge, Glencoe, Argyll

SCOTLAND

AN AIR LETTER SHOULD NOT CONTAIN ANY ENCLOSURE; IF IT DOES IT WILL BE SURCHARGED OR SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

To open cut here

November 21, 1957

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Glencoe, Argyll
SCOTLAND

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Enclosed are two articles concerning the death of your father which Mrs. Alice Spearman has asked to be forwarded to you. We, like Mrs. Spearman, feel that you would want to keep these two clippings.

Sincerely,

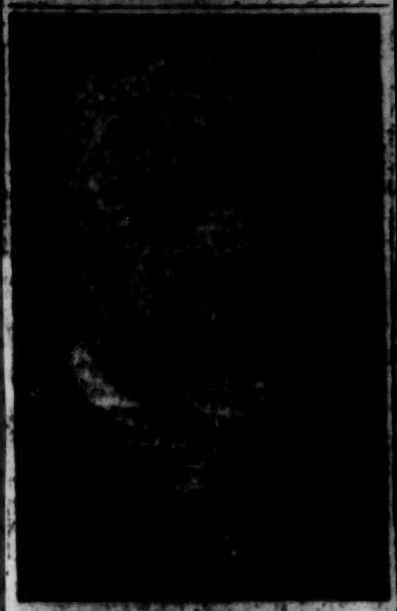
(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Executive Dir.

MF
Enclosures - 2.

The State

COLUMBIA, S. C., SATURDAY, AUGUST 21, 1948

Marsh
Of Sov



Dr. Samuel Chiles Mitchell

Dr. Mitchell, Ex-President Of USC, Dies

Succumbs While Asleep During Visit to Son; Funeral at Richmond

Atlanta, Aug. 20 —(AP)— Dr. Samuel Chiles Mitchell, 84, for 25 years a professor of history and government at the University of Richmond, died in his sleep here today.

Doctor Mitchell's career in education spanned 60 years and included the presidency, at various times, of the University of South Carolina, the Medical College of Virginia and Delaware college, now the University of Delaware.

He retired in 1945 and, at the time of his death, was visiting his son, Dr. George Mitchell, head of the Southern Regional council.

A native of Centerville, Miss., Doctor Mitchell taught early in his career at Clinton college in Mississippi, Georgetown in Kentucky, [illegible] and [illegible].

In 1906 he became president of the University of South Carolina, [illegible]

year later, he was president of the Medical College of Virginia in 1913 and 1914.

From 1916 to 1920 he was president of Delaware college, now the University of Delaware. Then he returned to his first love, teaching, as professor of history and government for 25 years at the University of Richmond.

He retired in 1945 and spent his last years at Blue Ridge and Montreat, N. C.

Doctor Mitchell was a graduate of Georgetown college and received a doctorate in history from the University of Chicago.

Funeral services will be conducted at 3 o'clock Sunday afternoon from the University of Richmond chapel. Burial will be in Mollywood cemetery where his late wife, Mrs. Alice Broadus Mitchell, is buried.

In addition to George he is survived by four other children: Dr. Broadus Mitchell of the economics department at Rutgers university; Dr. Morris Randolph Mitchell of Clarksville, Ga., secretary of the Southeastern Cooperative league; Terry Mitchell, advertising manager of Trick company, Waynesboro, Pa., and Mrs. George Orr Clifford of Southport, Conn.

Doctor Mitchell regarded history as drama and taught it that way. He acted it out before the students.

He would set the scenes with a prologue-like introduction and then thunder the principal roles himself.

Much of his time and talent was devoted to the Civil War, not so much the battles themselves, but on the causes and aftermath.

He delighted in asking the sons, grandsons and eventually the great-grandsons of the Confederacy:

"Who won the War Between the States?"

And the unwary would rise to the

continued on page 13, column 6

The State: South Carolina's Progressive Newspaper

COLUMBIA, S. C., SATURDAY, AUGUST 31, 1963

DR. S. C. MITCHELL

Dr. Samuel Chiles Mitchell, who almost 60 years ago sparked the flowering of the larger University of South Carolina, with the entire state as its campus, was a man of inspiring, energetic leadership, whose imprint is left upon the lives of countless students who came under his influence.

A veritable dynamo of activity, a grand speaker, a man of ideas, Doctor Mitchell believed there was a great future for Carolina, but he felt it could get nowhere until its student body was larger. So, soon after his arrival on the campus in 1900 to become president, he set a goal of 500. The enrolment was about half that number. Being a state institution, size, he argued, would affect the appropriations, and Carolina was sorely in need of more and better facilities. He did not see his dream quite come true, in so far as numbers were concerned, but the half-thousand mark materialized the year after he left Carolina. However, to him may be credited the expansion idea, upon which much of our subsequent growth has been bottomed.

A man of individual characteristics, Doctor Mitchell was what might be called picturesque. He wore a goatee; he dressed with dignity, the cut-away being neither unusual as his attire; while his staccato speech, delightful and impressive, also provided the students with a field day in mimicry.

In the days of Doctor Mitchell's regime, our roads were poor. He thought the university should pump the good roads fight, and he brought speaker after speaker to the campus to espouse the cause. He wanted the students to hear the leaders of thought in various fields, and so he imported them for addresses and lectures. He wanted the alumni to take more interest in their alma mater, so he encouraged their return to the campus, especially for Founders' day, over which he made much. And so on, there could be recited instances in which he proved his far-flung outlook and his desire to make Carolina greater and her graduates well-rounded men and women.

Doctor Mitchell was a man who made personal friends. In his latter years he kept contact with many of his former students who made no bones of [illegible]

[illegible] a few years [illegible] state. We shall leave it to [illegible] comment on his work elsewhere, [illegible] the man, will be [illegible] he served and by all who [illegible]

December 10, 1957

Dr. and Mrs. George S. Mitchell
Glencoe
Argyll
Scotland

Dear Alice and George:

How delightful it was to hear from you and to learn of your construction project on the Scottish moors. I envy you the mental relaxation that is obviously yours, but I am not at all certain that I envy the physical effort which you are called upon to render in building a croft!

I am sending along a copy of our most recent Newsletter so that you may be brought up to date on the new look at SRC. I will see that each subsequent issue is sent you so that you may keep abreast of developments here.

You asked about the various state organizations. We now have nine which are staffed and functioning properly. They are: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, and Virginia. This makes three out of our original twelve, which leaves something to be desired. Mississippi has never been able to reform a functioning Board. Mrs. Lyells has been retained on a part-time basis as Executive Director and her salary and the office rent are paid entirely by the Mississippi group. We have a pleasant, though sporadic, relationship with them. The Louisiana Council Board came unglued and they were the only group which did not apply for further aid from SRC at the end of the three year period. Milton Vigo is no longer employed by them and the office is temporarily closed. A group in New Orleans, led by Al Dent, Rabbi Leipziger, Florence Syts and Mary Raymond, will pull itself together about the first of the year and apply for modest help from SRC. We plan to give this help to them. We thought it wise to have a decent interval between the demise of the Louisiana Council (October 1st) and the birth of the new group in early January. The Tennessee Council at last has a well functioning Board, led by the indomitable Dr. A. C. Miller of the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention. They are in the process of finding professionally qualified staff.

Dr. and Mrs. George S. Mitchell December 10, 1957

The NAIRO annual meeting was held in Kansas City, Missouri, this year, and your devoted servant was elected Vice-President of the organization. The meeting was one of the best I have attended. Rather than have prepared papers at each session considerable time was given to free and open discussion of the problems confronting the various agencies and individuals in attendance. We were fortunate at the end of the meeting to motor out to Indpendence to the Truman Memorial Library, and the old man himself spoke to us about the progress made during the decade since his committee put out its famous report "To Secure These Rights". He was in excellent health and lambasted the current administration for its poor handling of the situation in the South. He said that he would have had Faubus at the White House the day after he made his first statement about being unsure of the wisdom of integrating Central High School. Several of us in the audience felt like shouting "Give 'em hell, Harry". He was in rare form, to say the least.

I have just returned from New York where I attended a Conference of twenty-seven Episcopal clergymen at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine. This was called to discuss the knotty problem of the role of the church in the tense situation in the South. Episcopal leadership thought it wise to get the priests out of their own environment, let them breathe free air, and discuss in a friendly atmosphere their Christian concern for action. Coming from a High Church diocese I genuflected "rather deeply" on entering the pew in the cathedral. This had a rather startling effect on some of our Southern brothers who are low churchmen. But it had considerable good effect on the Bishops present.

I spent this weekend in Birmingham with Bob Hughes and family. Bob is just recently out of hospital where he went as a result of his ulcer acting up. The situation in Birmingham is unbelievably tense, caused to a considerable extent, no doubt, by the recent election of Bull Conners as Police Commissioner. It would appear that the young lady to whom Thurgood Marshall once referred did not do a sufficiently adequate job.

I have been under fire from the state of Georgia as the result of attending a weekend conference at Highlander. Things here in Georgia, at least on the level of the state government become progressively worse. I showed a copy of the Georgia Commission on Education's report on Highlander to the editor of the Capetown (S.A.) Times and he said "Even the current government of South Africa would be ashamed to put out such a document". I am enclosing a copy of it for your reading. I regret that it is such a battered copy, but like so many things down in Georgia it was made of inferior material.

I am glad to hear that you are all well and that you, GSM, have found relief from the wheezies. Strangely enough I too have been less prone to wheezies this year than heretofore. Like you I don't have central heating in my loch-side croft. I don't know if there is any relation between sleeping between cold and damp sheets and breathing frigid air and a no-wheezy condition, but there might be.

Dr. and Mrs. George S. Mitchell December 10, 1957

I have the extremely good fortune of having a most competent secretary who I share with Emory Via. She is from England and was an audience researcher with the BBC. She is the sister-in-law of Mrs. Lawson, who was with us before as you will probably recall, and the sister of John Lawson, who is teaching out at Emory. Not long ago we had a British M.P., the Conservative Mr. Rippon, and Faith served us afternoon tea and Mr. Rippon, in the best of British chivalry, said it was good because "it was made by fair English hands". You would enjoy our afternoon teas and certainly would take pleasure in conversing with Miss Lawson.

This covers most of the news and views here at Tara, except to tell you that things go generally very well. Harold is doing a remarkable job and has won the respect of the professionals in the field and the lay people throughout the South.

Warm regards to you both and to the daughters.

Merry Christmas to you all.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

Glencoe
November 22, '57

Dear Fred,

Laying a storm of bricks on my new house I often find myself reflecting on the hon. Fred Routh, andhis qualities and great usefulness in this time of special atress. The particular knowledge you have is needed as never before, and I am sure you are finding many opportunities to spread the practice of the things you know about. All success to you; and warm remembrances to the various young 'uns you and I started out on proper paths. Scratch me down, sometime, some account of our various outfits; which have survived, and which guys, and with what funds. Virginia going? Tennessee moving, yet? Arkansas, and South Carolina, and Florida, and the others?

Please to praise Margaret Price for me for the admirable production on the Negro Voter. Accurately and not heavily done, and with interest-items enough to keep it lively, and yet leave it with some weight of research. There must at various times have been mimeod lists of counties and figures as to their proportions of Negro registered voters: I would be grateful for any sheaf of these that might lie about handily.

And please to remind Ruth Alexander that I await her promised long letter; I admire her spunk, and would like to hear from her.

We keep a'building. Alice has taken on, and finished, the job of building a septic tank, to the approved specifications of the local County Council, and I doubt not it will pass inspection. We are up with walls about head-height, all around. Window frames are on the job, though not yet erected. Interior lining boards, four feet wide, of compressed straw, a la Sweden, are on the job, also, and being carefully kept dry in the garage. You make the roof out of the same stuff, and thereafter hope that no twisting Scottish gale blows them off. But to safeguard this point they require us to anchor the roof to a concrete found, with eight wire howsers. The old Highland method was to sling ropes over the thatch and hook boulders on to the ropes; modern improvement may be handsomer, but the old 'un 'as cheaper.

We settled in a Glen that asyou know has special reason not to like the rest of Argyll, and to spite the rest they held on to that rarity among Scottish religions, the Piskies. This sect is by the others scathingly referred to as "the English Church". We are better churchgoers hereabouts than in Atlanta, there being not much else to do in a 300 person village on a Sunday. Main problem is to get used to the queer dirge-like hymn-tunes in use in this country; you hit some pleasant familiar words, and hon. organ tinkles out something quite unknown.

Charlotte is having struggles with Latin and French and HIstory, trying to get into the University. Takes exams in March, 1958. If she flunks 'em I don't know what the poor gal can be persuaded to do by way of more education, but maybe she'll up and pass 'em; as she luckily did the two she took last August. Miss Ellen is back at William and Mary, and running a brave course in Government, under a guy with whom I was an undergraduate at Richmond College. She had a lecture or two from one Tillich, of Harvard, of whom I had not heard, but she said hon. T. was a red hot. AskHarold about him?

We continue to like Scotland, andthe people. Drawback is that they work their women too hard, cold, narrow, seepy sculleries, primitive plumbing, fires (which I tend), no furnace in the village, as far as I can learn, and we all heat driblets of hot water in copper boilers sunk at the back of open fireplaces, burning coal. Weather is better than we had thought; not yet really cold, the bloomin' Gulf Stream really does work, and the sun shines once in awhile. Weather man on the radio says "a cloudy day, with sunny intervals". Try and catch an interval.

But I remain over my wheezles, though we both once in a while feel a twinge of rheumatism, described by the docs as the "climatic curse of Scotland". Good food, plenty of sleeping, plenty of work outdoors.

Turn up on this side, carefree bachelor, and give us a hand. We'll find you a bed, and give you as much to do as you can take. June's the best month, but all summer long there is something to do. Roof-raising in May, we hope.

Best,

L.

January 3, 1958

Dr. and Mrs. George Mitchell
The Lodge
Glencoe
Argyll, Scotland

Dear George and Alice:

Not much news from the Vias other than that we have been busy and are gradually getting settled in our house in Decatur. A proper ramp has been built and there is even a smidgen of furniture, although in the furnishing line the place of honour is still held by one grand mahogany table over which hangs the madam's major work of art. The Vias and Johnsons conclaved in Macon at Christmas time. You perhaps did not know that Mr. Johnson has been at Battey Hospital. However, he has tested negative ever since his first days there and he looked better at Christmas than at any time since I have known him.

The enclosed clip is a review of "The Face of the South" which I thought you would like to have. Somewhere in my belongings is a photograph of my lady at the new electric stove cooking away for family enjoyment - clearly in view is the heirloom coffee pot inherited from that branch of the family now residing in what is apparently remotest Scotland. A copy of this photograph will be enclosed if it can be found in time.

Best wishes to you both for a happy and successful (in your terms) New Year.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

Enclosure.

EFV:fcl

Copy

Mailed to Dr. Mitchell - 5/13/58

HCF

30 rue Barbès
Montrouge, Seine, France
~~23 January~~ 12 February 1958

Dear George,

I forget from when and where I last wrote you, but since the Hungarian fighting I have been here in Paris with my Hungarian wife.

Spent the year writing and rewriting a book about things seen and heard in those parts, but it seems that what with the cold war and all, publishers are only interested in printing their respective half-truths.

Anyhow, I'm reverting to the white problem in the USA, which has the advantage of being less complicated and compromised. It would help if you would put me on your mailing list. 'Twould also be good to hear from you.

Best regards to all,

Stetson Kennedy

What does one miss about America after five years?
--Negro spirituals, and Mitchell ham&biscuit parties.

I'm enclosing a copy of a piece I have just written for the Pittsburgh Courier, which has taken me on as correspondent again. I'd very much like to have your reaction to the contents. It would also be helpful if I could receive SRC publications. And if I can write anything for you, let me know.

OK RHA

This letter received May 12th. Original & attached article mailed to Dr. Mitchell on May 13 '58.

VIA AIR MAIL March 14, 1958

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Glencoe, Argyll
SCOTLAND

Dear George:

Please forgive this seeming inattention to your letter of January 27. It wasn't wholly egligence; your letter took about a month to arrive (slow boat, instead of plane, I guess) and I've been alternately laid up and out of town since. At any rate, by this time the forms sent by Ruth should have arrived -- not too late, I hope.

We;re sending you by slow mail a copy of the annual program report, which I finally got done, and a few other things that tell where we stand. All told, not a bad year, considering we were Mitchell-less. But Lord knows the end's not yet in sight. The shore seems more dimly seen all the time. It's encouraging, though, that the hard core of decency doesn't appear to be shrinking any. Particularly among the clergy, it is expanding a bit.

Money-wsie, we continue to get along. One of the things I'm sending separately is our budget and income forecast for 1958, which will show you our ambitions and the sources from which we expect to realize them. Since that was prepared, we have received word of two $5,000 grants from foundations not shown -- The New York Foundation and the Chace Fund (a Quaker enterprise) in Philadelphia. As you

might suppose, Frank Loescher was critically important to the latter (he's on the board!)

Frank himself has just returned from South Africa, where he lined up a potent sponsoring group for the S.A. - U.S.A. exchange program he is working up. The program now has enough funds and sponsorship to start rolling, and Frank will hold the executive reins. He tells me Guy Johnson may be among the first batch of USAers. Among other things, Frank hopes to negotiate (for money!) the SRC's services as the Southern arranger for the South Africans who visit these parts.

Dave Freeman is now a full-time staffer for the Rockefeller Brothers Fund - before which we have a request for $40,000 pending.

As Fred or others will have written you, we are now duly expanded onto the third floor, with much more space and pleasant surroundings for all. We finally had our day with the building's Trustees, beat down all the evil charges, and got a bill of health which I hope will be permanent. As you expect, we are deeply indebted to the Methodist women for the mighty support they gave us through the days of uncertainty preceding the Trustees' decision.

Your letter to Mr. Silberman was gratefully received and mailed on. I have since written him our usual annual letter. If he comes through again, we will have your thoughtfulness to thank.

I'm enclosing a couple of clippings that demonstrate that the Mitchells are far from forgotten on this side. "The Face of the South" continues to grow in currency and popularity.

We look forward with eagerness to each progress report on the house a'building. I hope the weather will permit an early house-warming, and will yield us a handsome photograph of the finished product with you and Alice proudly decorating the front stoop.

The very best to you both from all of us.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

P. S. Just had a visit from Mr. Byrd. Shades of the past!

File 2/17

Glencoe
January 27, '58

Dear Harold,

Many thanks for report of annual meeting, etc. But you didn't send the mimeod dope on your own report as head man.

I write letter to David Silberman, enclosed. I have not his address, and would thank you for the kindness of forwarding it, if you think it useful so to do. If not, skip.

Errand for Ruth Alexander, if she kindly will. I will have to fill out U S income tax blanks for 1957. Such blanks are hard to come by on this side, though in pinch could be got from Consulate in Glasgow or Embassy in London. Will Miss Ruth, at her practicable convenience, drop by Mr. Milton's or anybody's Bank, and catch up about three copies, and mail them to me? I guess what I will need is the one for an income over 5000 and under 10,000, with the insert sheet about sales or losses on property. N t that I touched these figures on 1957 income, but what with what I did make on the house I come into that bracket, I guess.

Thank Emory for kind letter, and most gratifying picture of Margaret all a'cooking.

Thank Fred for long, helpful letter.

We do all right, love the life, and still enjoy Scotland, even when it snows and the North Wind blows. You and Jane and the young 'uns come see us.

Best,

George

VIA AIR MAIL

March 20, 1958

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Glencoe, Argyll
SCOTLAND

Dear George:

I wanted you to know at once that the good man, David Silberman, has come through already with a contribution of $400. No letter, just the check -- which speaks eloquently of the friendship you built so well.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

March 24, 1958

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Glencoe
Argyll, Scotland

Dear George:

Thanks for your card asking about the chap who teaches the Workshop at the University of Michigan. We have correspondence from two people there, but the one I believe you knew best was Fred G. Walcott. The other chap is Allen Menlo. Either one can be reached at the following address: Co-Director of the Workshop in Human Relations, School of Education, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. It was Fred Walcott to whom you promised your Scottish address.

I trust that you and Alice are either about to or already have moved into the new croft. We here at the Council would appreciate a progress report on how things are going and of course would welcome any pictures you might take.

I am sending with this a copy of Pop's article in the New York Times and also an article from the Wall Street Journal on the high cost of segregation. Both of them are well done and have proved to be helpful program materials.

The state Councils still continue to perform worthwhile and courageous efforts in the field. The Arkansas Council has just received a three year grant at $8,000 p.a. from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. This is the first state group to secure such sizeable outside aid. The Virginia Council now has roughly one thousand members. It is the largest of the groups. The Florida Council is doing well in the Dade County area and also in Gainesville, Daytona, Tampa, and Tallahassee. I am mailing you separately, by slow boat, pur most recent Newsletter.

Continued . . .

Dr. George S. Mitchell March 24, 1958

As Harold mentioned in his letter "The Face of the South" is enjoying wide circulation. I used it at the AFL-CIO State meeting at Old Point Comfort at the end of last month. Many of the people at the meeting were from Southside Virginia. I was amazed at how well they received my frontal assault on segregation. I tied the pro-segregation crowd and the anti-labor crowd together in no uncertain terms, and this impressed them. They were equally, or even more, impressed by the film, so it would appear that GSM, like John Brown -- "his faith is marching on".

All good wishes to Alice and you.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

Enclosures.
FBR:fcl

Glencoe Mass. '58

Dear Fred.

What's the name, and workable address, of the old boy who teaches something or other at the U. of Michigan, and runs the summer show in human relations? I promised to write to him, and I haven't.

Best,

G.

March 24

RHA
F.Y.I.
H.

Dear Harold,

Many thanks for recent long letter, and for note in re David Silberman. Some time when you happen into Chicago hunt him up, and he will give you a mighty fine luncheon at some Club or other that he goes to. And he has a most delightful family. Good guy, just to send the dough!

Cheerful news about the Trustees, and the new space on the thrid floor. Lord knows it was needed.

We are almost through with the bricklaying, and should achieve a roof witin a couple of weeks. Will collect some friends and have a genuine "raise the roof" party. Queer straw flats the roof is to be made of won't take a real rain, andyou have to put 'em on and put on a couple of layers of tar-paper on top of 'em, all in one day.

I have had a notion a'running through my head, of a recipe for race relations. If I can achieve it into typescript I will sendit to John, for his usual scrupulous consideration. If no go, chuck.

Thank Ruth for her forms, all duly and promptly received. I found I owe 'em no tax, and the rascals owe me the $190.00 that Ruth rightly withheld. Be glad to get it! I await a letter from Ruth, when she shall have had time.

Best to all at home,

G.

Glencoe
April 2, '58

Dear Harold,

I sat down to-night and read through the First Annual Report. My warmest congratulations, on a job in every way admirable. Never before did we contrive to put so winningly the case for what the Council does. Each sentence is accurately judged, and each sentence hits hard.

I thought theparagraphs about the Consultants' business perhaps the ones best put. There's a goldmine in that method.

Also it was delightful to see Emory's stuff so well in hand. And Mrs. Tilly's. And Fred and the States. All in all, praiseworthy in every way; a notable year under your good management.

Ben Sissel sent me some weeks ago the (rejected) version of the movie, and I was toldto-day of a projector nearby on which we may see it run off. AndCharlotte is here, for her Easter holiday, and will see it.

We do all right, and the weather is opening pleasantly, and staying dry, so that we get ahead with the house. All four walls nearly up, the chimnies a'building, and we expect rather soon to get a roof on, after which plain sailing. It now gets light at 5.30 a.x., and stays light till 7.30 in the evening. Before long it will be light from 3 till 11.

We wait for a rest-interval for you and Jane and the young 'uns. And Bill Gordon is coming over, to take up an African year, early in May, and will come to see us.

Best,
G.

July 29, 1958

VIA AIR MAIL

Miss Margaret Knight
Labor and Manpower Division
USRO/US Embassy
APO 230, Postmaster
New York, New York

Dear Miss Knight:

I am glad to have your letter and its news of the Kornbluhs and the Mitchells.

Enclosed is a biographical data sheet on George Mitchell which gives the formal background information in which you are interested. If you should need more detailed information about him, don't hesitate to call on us.

As you will see, George has an unusual and varied background. I should think he could make a most valuable contribution to the EPA program.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HFC:ls
enc. biographical data sheet on George S. Mitchell.

Margaret Knight,
USRO/US Embassy,
APO 230,
Postmaster,
NY, NY

July 23, 1958

Mr. Harold Flemming,
7 Regional Council,
63 South Auburn St.,
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Flemming:

Hy and Joyce Kornbluh are currently passing through Paris on their way back to the U.S. after their Fulbright year in England.

Recently, they saw Mr. and Mrs. George Mitchell in Scotland, both of whom are fine they report. The Kornbluhs, having become somewhat acquainted with the program of the European Productivity Agency (which the U.S. supports and with which the office I am in has a liaison responsibility), feel that Dr. Mitchell could be very helpful in some of the EPA work. There are, for example, management education activities, trade union education programs, and a large number of activities for the underdeveloped areas which include pilot demonstration zones, with emphasis on community development, etc.

The proposal made by the Kornbluhs is that you could supply us with some bio-data on Dr. Mitchell which would help us if we are able to propose him as someone available for lectures, seminars, etc. It would be very helpful to have information on his various degrees, jobs, and the books and articles he has written, in order, when talking with the EPA staff people, to give them a good idea of his experiences and interests. The Kornbluhs think I can get this information better from you than from Dr. Mitchell himself.

I would appreciate very much any help you can give.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret Knight

Margaret Knight,
Labor & Manpower Division

September 8, 1958

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Glencoe, Argyll
SCOTLAND

Dear George:

Scarcely a day passes without multiple considerations of the question, "What is the news of the Mitchells?" At last I am facing up to the fact that, if we would hear, we must must be heard from.

Here then is some recent evidence that SRC's flag still flies. Appropriately, the enclosures deal with (1) program, (2) finances and, (3) attack and defense.

Though the situation in the South appears to worsen steadily, SRC continues to wax; perhaps that's cause and effect.

You'll note from the audit that we finally made the grade with Rockefeller Brothers -- $40,000 a year for three years. Of course, we're expected to deliver a series of miracles for the money, but it was ever so. I think I wrote you that Dave Freeman is now snugly berthed with the Brothers Fund.

Mr. Dabbs has given birth to his book ("The Southern Heritage"). It's enjoying a good press, as it should. Doubtless you've received a copy, since Mr. Knopf himself wrote us for your address.

But, if not, let me know and we'll send one when we acquire our modest supply.

Staff-wise, we continue much the same. All of us would rejoice in an account of the new house and the Mitchells' activities therein -- or thereout, if so be it. (Some speculation that you may be called in to consult on London's Notting Hill troubles.)

Warm regards to you and Alice and the young ladies.

Yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

September 24, '58

Dear Harold,

Excellent idea to exhange news: I commend that one.

Item: Knopf wrote to ask me to write him a book (which flattered) I sant him a sample of my Uncle Remus style, saying that I doubted so reputable a publisher would lend his imprint to it, but he wrote and said the stuff was OK, and when I might settle down to writing it, let him know. Apparently the Rabbi (Mantinband) had sicced him on me.

Item: So no mention of Dabbs' book, and I would be delighted to have a cherished opy from SRC's stock, when, as, and if any. Many thanks. Sent

Item: Fine news about Rockefeller Brothers, and they also helped well in Arkansas. I see you collected some funds also for Mrs. Tilley, which praiseworthy. (In our house, bereft for the time being of electricity, we use a pressured parrafin lamp, called a Tilley Lamp, hence the mispelling.

We have been living in our house now for some ten weeks. Roof on, most of the interior walls lined with the queer straw-board stuff (for warmth), some furniture built in, all plumbing connected, hot water, glass in windows, etc. Little progressas yet on the house for the gals, but that can be much later. So far we have spent on the house about 1,500 pounds, and we will reach eighteen hundred, whereas we had hoped to hold it to 1,400; but we still live decently. Car still runs, though less blithely . Charlotte has been here for several weeks, after two months in France at a home found for her by some En Famille Agency; dear in money, but she learned French. The family turned out to be high-steppers, going every night to the casino (St. Malo), and loun ging all afternoon on the beach. C. they fussed at as hardly being up to the standard of prettiness required of succesful gals in France, but the Tita kept her level head, re-did her hairdo, and kept learning French.

Ellen finished at William and Mary in June of '58, making Phi Bete in the process. Took a summer job near Morris' spot in Putney, Vermont, teaching French in some camp, found she liked teaching, and applied for a job in a private school, and got one (started in mid-September) at something called the Bement School, in Deerfield, Mass. That's not the fancy Academy, but does. Says she is poorly paid, but esteem being only 98 miles from Boston, and she lives in, and teaches hard - mostly art, about which she doesn't know a lot. We hope she will use the year's experience to break into the public school system of Mass., and take in enough dough to let her come over here for a visit.

Alice is well, and I stay dewheezled, and delighted. House is pleasant, particularly now that we have inside jobs nearly all day (except sawing wood, and Charlotte helps on that).

The Notting Hill business caused few ruffles in Scotland, though Ken Little (whom SRC will remember as having been about five or six years ago) did get me to help him revise a pamphlet for the Fabian Society, on the Colour Bar. And your friend Yarmolinsky wrote me from Doubleday's, and asked me to do a book for them on it. But I am apoor book-writer, and wrote him that I knew from you that he was one hell of agood guy, and it gave me the more pain not to do what he wished. But it would be impertinent for me to go about asking questions on this ticklish subject, and Ken Little's the guy to do it - so I sent him the dope on Ken Little.

Tell Ruth I still hope for her long newsy letter; so long promised. I found opportunity months back to write fully to Licille and to Jimme, so I am current. And Houston, I hear, continues in this world, and well. But I still need all the bits that Ruth will some day send me. Guess she's busy keeping track of all the dough you contrive to rake in. Congrats on the fine

Midsummer Report; all supremely well-judged.

Alice has accepted the job, as a volunteer, of being Librarian to the Village of Glencoe. In volves opening the Library for half an hou each week, now on Wednesday n ights. This was a Library night, anddown we went in the rain, and splashed around considerably. Notwithstanding the rain the library had good patronage. N w that the bed-and-breakfast season is about over the V llage turns in to read books (mostly fiction), and revives its own life in other ways. They take us in pleasantly, and we are pleased with the neighborhood. Joy os Scotland, at last in the Highlands, is that one man's as good as another.

Handsome of Virginius Dabney to climb down: I am sureit must have taken some high-powered writing to get him to straighten it out.

Best to Jane, and Gary and Adam. Warm wishes also to Morris andJane, and Grace and her husband, and all good friends, of whom so very many. All are to tunrnup some sweet day in Scotland, and in Glencoe; fine pub a mile away, named The Clachaig, with a washed deal table in the bar, and al l the comforts. Ladies infrequently vis it pubs in Scotland, but for any ladies that will arrive from Atlanta I'll tote 'em in, proudly.

I never worry about SRC, knowing that you are running the works.

Best

G.

First fold here

BY AIR MAIL

PAR AVION

AIR LETTER

AEROGRAMME

Harold Fleming

SRC

63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.

Atlanta 3

Georgia

USA

Second fold here

Sender's name and address: G S Mitchell
Glencoe, Scotland

AN AIR LETTER SHOULD NOT CONTAIN ANY ENCLOSURE; IF IT DOES IT WILL BE SURCHARGED OR SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

To op

November 12, 1958

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Glencoe, Argyll
SCOTLAND

Dear George:

You may have experienced a ghostly twinge yesterday as the calendar turned up November 11. The annual meeting did take place. This is to give you some account of it, as well as to carry out my official instructions to convey to you the warm greetings and good wishes of the members assembled.

For someone as far removed as Scotland you were a very real presence throughout the meeting. We had an informal dinner Monday night. A number of new members, good fellowship, first-rate round-the-table discussion. Afterward, a viewing of the "Face of the South," which most of the board was seeing for the first time. The acclaim was loud and unanimous.

At the formal session Tuesday, inter alia, there were several tributes to GSM and general acknowledgment that we were there as SRC only because of your efforts and determination through the difficult years. Thanks to your last letter, I was able to give your many friends a fair report on the progress you and Alice have been making on house and community assimilation and the proposed book for Knopf.

Otherwise, you would have enjoyed the meeting. A high level of participation by the members, rousing discussion and state aid, program, budgets, and all the rest. Regretful note of Emory and Margaret Via's departure for the University of Wisconsin in January, where Emory will take up a posh position with the School of Workers. They hate to leave, but it was just too good to pass up. You'll probably be hearing from them eventually.

I'll forgo further details of the meeting, with the promise that you'll be getting the minutes one of these days. As evidence of our material well-being (relatively), enclosed are the financial reports, ably prepared and presented by Ruth and Paul.

All the best to you and Alice.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - Financial Report, 1958
Proposed Budget, 1959

P. S. Much speculation about the nature of the proposed Knopf book. Let us know sometime when it's convenient. Rabbi Mantinband rejoiced that his suggestion had borne fruit.

HCF

December 1 All Staff HCF

Dear Everybody,

This small blob on the large mountain on the big rock that is Scotland is where those Mitchells are hanging out.

It is hard to believe that it will soon be two years since we left Atlanta! We think of you more often than you know - but our days go racing by, being occupied from 7 a.m. to 11 p.m. (yes! Even Papa George, and with never a nap! But it takes coffee at 7 a.m., tea at 8 a.m. tea at 12:30, coffee at 4, tea at 6, coffee at 9, to keep us going.) We saw wood every day to keep our two fireplaces going, and after we've done our daily stint on the wood, we face to on building the house! George is presently occupied with building closets and cupboards so that we can soon bring over things from storage. I'm trying to paint the ceilings — a very difficult job, since the exposed joists are rough-cut, and make slow but greedy inroads on a bucket of paint. Maybe in another five years we'll be a finished product.

Our girls thrive. Ellen loves teaching in

Deerfield Mass. and Charlotte is having a gay time at St. Andrews as well as getting some studying in, I think.

My nearly two-year search for some African violets is about to bear fruit. I hear I am to have a leaf very soon, so perhaps by the time you come, Ruth, you will see a plant. I hope you dont wait until I get a window free.

Love to all, and a Merry Christmas. We continue to be proud of the job you're doing.

Alice Mitchell

VIA AIR MAIL

February 9, 1959

Dr. Morris R. Mitchell
Director
The Putney Graduate School of
Teacher Education
Putney, Vermont

Dear Morris Mitchell:

It was thoughtful of you to let me know that you have suggested George as a possible choice for president of Antioch. George has so many friends and admirers in so many fields, including higher education, that it should be no trick at all to refer the committee to suitable persons. Do let me know if the matter progresses to that point.

You and I are in complete agreement that George's talents should not be buried indefinitely in Scotland. My guess is that he would be more attracted by a teaching opportunity than an administrative (and fund-raising) one, but that is for him to say.

In any case, do let me know what develops.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE PUTNEY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF TEACHER EDUCATION
Putney, Vermont

January 27, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

While I was in Mexico recently I met Antioch College's contingency there. I understand that they are planning to develop centers in various parts of the world rather than indefinitely enlarging the plant at Yellow Springs, Ohio. I believe they have made a start in Canada also.

I was told by the Mexican representative that Sam Gould is leaving Antioch and that a committee has been formed to find a new president. George Mitchell came to mind and I wrote to my friend, Morris Keeton, at Antioch asking that he suggest George to the committee. He wrote that he would gladly do so and would mention the matter to several of the members individually. I had a letter from John C. Sparks, Chairman of that committee, saying that their deliberations had barely begun but that he was glad to have the suggestion and that George would certainly be considered.

I wrote George asking if he would be willing to be considered and haven't had time to hear. I don't want to press the matter too far without reason to believe that he would consider it. But I did write Rex Tugwell, knowing of his and George's mutual esteem, and suggested his writing also.

I wonder what you think of the idea. It has seemed a pity to me for a person of George's ability to retire at 56 when there is so much to be done. If you do think well of the idea, will you be turning over in mind persons who might be helpful to the committee in judging George's fitness to be of service to Antioch. Incidentally, I did mention to Sparks George's film "The Face of the South."

Best wishes to you in your work.

Cordially,

Morris R. Mitchell
Director

mrm:bm

I'd write a pin of George is agreeable.

February 16, 1959

Mr. Morris Mitchell
The Putney Graduate School of
Teacher Education
Putney, Vermont

Dear Morris Mitchell:

I am glad to have your further letter and to learn that "Barkis is willin'" -- or at least not unwilling.

Enclosed is a list of those persons who occur to me most readily as qualified to advise the selection committee on George's capacities. Of course, the list could be expanded almost indefinitely, and there may well be more suitable choices than these. I know you will not hesitate to eliminate and add names at will.

I will be most interested to hear of further developments. Meanwhile, the very best to you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (List)

L I S T

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
President, Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
President, Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Miller A. F. Ritchie
President, Hartwick College
Oneonta, New York

Mr. William Howland
Special Assistant to the President
University of Miami
Coral Gables, Florida

Dr. Frank Loescher, Director
U. S. - South Africa Leader Exchange
Program
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York

Dr. Frank P. Graham
United Nations
New York, New York

Mr. John N. Popham
Executive Managing Editor
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Mr. James McBride Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE PUTNEY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF TEACHER EDUCATION
Putney, Vermont

February 10, 1959

Dear Harold Fleming:

I do have a letter from George in which he says: "Many thanks for exertions about Antioch. I am merely willing if the lightning should hit; not anxious." That is as much as I could have hoped for. Please do send a list of those who could be helpful to Antioch in knowing about George as a prospective president of Antioch.

Best wishes to you.

Ever cordially,

Morris R. Mitchell
Director

mrm:bm

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

If you wish please send this list to me I may add one or two on & will send the list on to Antioch. I presume your name would be on the list, which I judge should not be too long.

Rcd 6-26-59

Failte Bhlath
June 22, '59

Dear Harold,

Sometime when you happen to be writing to South Carolina friends ask somebody the name of the guy who ran the South Carolina show for some years, a while back. Was a Juvenile Court judge, lived in Greenville. I have a book I'd like to send him. Better get address too, if can. Mrs. Spearman never liked him, because he was in association with the guy who had defended labor cases, and had done poorly in the lynching trial.

We do all right. Charlotte's still in St. Andrews, but Ellen's coming over this summer, arriving hereabouts July 14, and doubtless C. will appear about then. Child neglected to pay some exam fees (just didn't see the notices) and can't get credit for her exams, most of which she took and passed. So she'll have to take 'em over in September.

Best,
G.

I continue grateful for New South; all the news I get, but it's pretty good news.

Answered by hand
7/2/59
HCP

Richard Foster
Cust Market Bl
Res 46 Partridge Lane

via air mail

September 21, 1959

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Glencoe, Argyll
Scotland

Dear George:

As you know, annual meeting time will soon be upon us. As before, members will all be asking, "What's the news of the Mitchells?"

Could you find time to jot down those things that will be of greatest interest to your many friends? I will be as interested as anybody. For example, I heard sometime ago that you had agreed to do a book for Knopf; what sort of book, and does it go forward? How far have you gotten into the stack of groaning, unread books? Of course, word of further progress on the house is always in order.

If you could do us a modest screed of this kind, we would present it to the annual meeting and also share it with your many other friends who inquire periodically.

Speaking of houses, Jane and I have sunk all of our worldly goods and most of our energy in recent months into a bigger, older house in Ansley Park. Paul Rilling has not only assumed Fred's old duties -- most efficiently, too -- but also his lakeside dwelling in Clayton County. Fred gets inaugurated as NAIRO president at the October convention in San Juan; none of us will be there to cheer him, however, as Puerto Rico seems too remote physically and programmatically to warrant the travel expense.

As your mail will have indicated, we have spent the summer grinding out reports by the gross. Good ones, we think, well publicized and well used. Benjamin Muse is poking around for us in Southern power structures and finding a promising amount of receptivity. (This is the project financed by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.)

I'm about ready to break out my tin cup and start on the Fall campaign to raise the balance of next year's budget. It's at times like this that I envy you most.

The very best to you and Alice and the girls from all of us.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Put on Complimentary New South
Sent Separately:
Voting Study
Private School Pamphlet
Background Report
"L" Reports

September 25, 1959

Miss Ellen Mitchell
Graduate Women's Hall
420 Temple Street
New Haven, Connecticut

Dear Ellen:

It is good to hear from you and to find that you have a surviving interest in the Southern Regional Council.

SRC does have associate members outside the South. But, if I may, I'd like to add you to the complimentary list for New South -- and you may regard yourself as a complimentary member also! We're sending you separately a few of our more recent publications.

We hear from your mother and father occasionally, though not often enough to satisfy all of their inquiring friends. The whole Mitchell clan is much missed here.

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Hi! - thought you might like to answer

Ellen Mitchell
Graduate Women's Hall
420 Temple Street
New Haven, Conn.

September 18, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED SEP 24 1959

Dear Sirs:

I would like very much to become a member of the Southern Regional Council, and to have a subscription to the New South. I would appreciate your sending me the appropriate information.

I have just fully realized that Daddy's having been so much a part of the SRC does not make me automatically a member!

Thank you.

Sincerely
Ellen Mitchell

September 25, '59

RECEIVED SEP 28 1959

Dear Harold, and Jane,

In re. book. I did undertake for Knopf to do the map speech, and will, when and if I get permission of the Northern Presby guy to print the speech. Took the precauxtion of sending Knopf a sample or two of my English, saying it had departed so far from normal that I doubted and respected publisher would print it. Knopf said he read the samples to a couple of associates, and they found nothing to object to. So I will do it, but feel under no pressure. And meanwhile am busy house-builing.

Had both gals here this summer (Ellen came over on some student job, cheap-rate (she hadn't earned much teaching last year, private school in Mass.) But E. has a scholarship thisyear at Yale, and will go there, studing Government. Will I suppose end teaching in some dinky Southern College. Bessie Tift? Forbid! Made the two gals build their own house, which they nearly did. About ready for the roof, if it will ever stop raining. Much nicer to have roof; then you can work under it all winter, and do inside finishing, which is the tough part, anyway.

C's all right, Had to re-sit some exams at St. A's, and studied all summer for them, but luckily passed 'em. Hadn't been told that you have to register some months before the exams. Likes it at St. A's; had thought the pace would be stiff, but actually finds time enough left for much morning coffee.

We have been in this house for over thirteen months; but only had the plumbing hooked up for a year, and the local man who wired her, for power some day!, took a year to do the job.

Highland people are not famous for speed. Said to be the last pre-industrial people in the world; and the beasts of the crofters come before anyone else's needs.

Extrahouse is added on to this one; and will have only alving-room, bed-room, and bath. Trouble is the people who live in it will be expected to saw up their own firewood. So you and Jane come on over, and we'll introduce you to the joys of a cross-cut saw.

Saw the good article on Virginia in the current New South, and wondered about the man Rilling. Good Fred, being Pres. of NAIRO. San Juan is too far, I admit; but the man ought to have some rooters. Fred Wale, good egg, is still thereabouts, I think.

Ansley Park is pleasant, and the old houses will be the good ones. Man told me they every now and then find askeleton in the Park, of some poor guy who couldn't find his way out.

Best to all of many friends.

G

via air mail April 28, 1960

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Failte Bhlath
Glencoe, Argyll
Scotland

Dear George:

Many thanks for your note, and for the kind words about my New York Times piece.

I'm afraid Josephine speaks for more than herself when she confesses to being a poor correspondent. Certainly I fall far short of my intentions to send you and Alice an occasional word of the non-official goings-on here.

At the moment, we're all nursing hopes that you two will be back in Atlanta soon, at least for a time. The reports -- which I haven't been able yet to get fully confirmed -- are that you will put in a teaching year at Spelman. Is this the straight dope? If so, it is deeply pleasing. And I forthwith urge you to set aside SRC's annual meeting day, expected to be November 9.

We are happy for Ellen, and even more so for her prospective husband. She sounds like a chip off the old block (and he a fitting son-in-law) on the refusal to conform to Pisky ritual requirement. Does the young man's place of origin mean that they will live in Africa? Not South Africa, I hope.

Frank Loescher has been in S. A. for some weeks -- arrived shortly before the shooting broke

out. I'm anxious to see him on his return, which should be presently, and hear his account of the convulsion there. Reading about it makes me thankful that SRC is here instead of there. We're getting more foreign visitors than ever, and a fair number of them are from that troubled land -- whites, non-whites, Englishers and Afrikaners. They all envy us our troubles.

I'm poor at recalling the personal items that you-all would find particularly interesting. But it occurs to me to wonder whether you've heard about John Griffin's move to Florida State University, where he heads up promotion and public relations. The man who sought him out for that important job -- FSU President Strozier -- recently died, which I expect hit John pretty hard. But, with luck, the successor will be a decent guy, too.

The staff has suffered no major change since I last wrote you. There were some anxious and difficult weeks for Mrs. Tilly not long ago, when Mr. Tilly went through a critical operation and touch-and-go convalescence. But he seems to have come back astonishingly well.

Jane and the boys are fine. Our domestic focus, like yours, continues to be getting hearth and home molded to the heart's desire. I must admit that Jane's zest for yard work exceeds mine, but that's nothing new. She raises plants and I raise money; a fair division of labor, I guess.

SRC is busier than ever; Parkinson's Law at work. The sit-in protest movement has generated all kinds of new interest, problems, and demands.

I run into friends of yours constantly, and the inquiries about your well-being and current pursuits continue undiminished. So you and Alice may expect to be in lively demand when you get back to Atlanta.

My best, as always,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Rec'd 4/22/60

April 18, '60

Dear HCF,

Josephine sent me the good article from the N Y Times, and said you had been unduly modest about it, and she had sicced Dabbs onto you. Excellent artcile, which will do good.

Josephine said she's a poor writer of letters, and hardly writes to anyone. But when you shall see her, give her our best, and say we were glad to have (even official) word from her. Alice stays well; and works perhaps too hard, sawing wood, and digging in the garden. And we always have the extra house to build; and Ellen will turn up in Scotland this June, and marry some guy she met at Yale. Wedding will be at our house, and we had a hard time getting somebody to do the ceremony. Piskie man said he had to sign a form, saying they were good Christian people; and as neither has been baptised and (neither would be) he couldn' sign it. But the local presby man said he'd do it, at 2 o'clock on July 15; and offered no obections.

Guy lives in Southern Rhodesia; daddy works for the S African Gov't, as a forester. Runs their research. Scotland's a neat half way to Rhodesia; hence they'll come here.

5.

Failte Bhlath
May 3, 1960

Dear Harold,

Quite true I'm a'coming back. My brother BRoadus telephoned a former Columbia associate, Harry Carman, who has something to do with the John Hay Whitney fellowships for ex-professors, and asked him whether I would be eligible. The Committee, he put it up to, unanimously said I was eleigible, so they'll pay me 8,500 a year to teach at Spelman for 1961-62. I've thanked Harry for the good news, and written Manley, and said I could only show up if by good fortune they paid anything for September, and the man would air mail me any September check; and how long did the term last, on account of I was supposed to get back in time for C's graduation at St. Andrews.

But that puts me back in Atlanta for hon. annual meeting- noted to be November 9th. Change it if you need to. Used to be a'running into Nov. 11, which had been armistance day, and interfered with the voting.

E. will show up here June 15, plenty of time to comply with the anti-Gretna Green law and get married legally.

Best, until Sept.,

GSM

June 15, 1960

Dear George,

I have just learned that you are not going to be able to do the stint at Spelman this coming year. I don't have to tell you how disappointed I am, as all your friends will be. And I'm deeply distressed by the problems of health that made the change in your plans necessary.

It's good to know you're back in the States for a time and that you're getting the best of medical and family attention. It would be a treat to see you and soak up some of the Scottish lore that you have accumulated.

Until then, you and Alice have my very best and affectionate good wishes.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
P. S. -- I'm not up to date on the wedding plans, but do give Ellen my wishes for every happiness.

Dr. George S. Mitchell
c/o Mr. Morris Mitchell
Putney School
Putney, Vermont

April 3, 1961

Mr. & Mrs. George S. Mitchell
Glencoe, Argyll
Scotland

Dear Alice and George:

Your recent letter was a joy, and I am this long in replying only because I have been travelling so hard lately. That is wonderful news about Ellen's expectations and your impending grand-parenthood. I do hope you won't have to wait too long to see the new offspring after he or she arrives.

As you will see from the enclosures, I am about to follow in George's footsteps once more and, in my terms, make way for a very able fellow. George knew Leslie Dunbar; in fact, once propositioned him to become SRC's field director. He has done a first rate job directing our research program.

My next job, of course, will take us to Washington. But first we have to let Gary finish this school term and sell our house in Ansley Park, which we have just finished fixing up to suit our hearts desires. We like what we know about Washington, however, and are looking forward to trying a new situation after almost fourteen years in this one. My new work will be very much in accord with SRC's spirit and philosophy and will

keep me in close touch with the South, the Council, and race relations in general.

As soon as we know where we are going to be up there, I will write you again. Meanwhile, I still have some days to put in here at SRC, and then will be commuting pretty frequently between Atlanta and Washington until we make the family move.

Your many, many friends here think and speak of you both often. It's good to know that the two of you are enjoying a pleasant and simple life in that pleasant country.

I will tell all and sundry what a serviceable gift the raincoat turned out to be.

Most affectionate regards to you both.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 2.

February 27. 1961

Dear Harold,

We are being showered with clippings from the N.Y. Times about a man we used to know! And we couldn't be more pleased and proud of you if you were our very own. It does prove that Papa George knew what he was doing when he said it was time for him to clear out and make way for you.

George tried over and over again last summer to buy railroad tickets to Atlanta to get there for your annual meeting. I was perpetually thinking up reasons why he couldn't, and got on that boat for Scotland with the greatest relief. It would never have done for him to get there, but I want you to know that he tried! And how grateful I am now that he left the Council when he did, just a few more months and he would have been asked to leave, and that would have been a real tragedy.

We get along very, very indeed, staying healthy and strong burning wood every day that the weather permits. We

have had a very mild but very wet winter, and spring is not far away now.

Ellen is happy living in Salisbury Southern Rhodesia, and is going to make us grandparents in late July, if all goes well. I find it very exciting, even at long distance!

Charlotte will finish St. Andrews in June, and then I hope she will head for home, and a job, and ultimately a nice U.S.A. husband!

I asked George if he had any messages for you, and he said tell you were doing all right, and that the raincoat all of you gave him has done a great job. It has indeed! He has lived in it except when we have to send it off to the cleaners. Which doesn't happen often enough, because they take 6 weeks when they get hold of it!

I can't even imagine how big your boys are now - But hope they are fine and Jane too.

My love to you all, and greetings to all our good friends.

Alice & George Mitchell

April 12, 1962

Staff of Southern Regional Council
Room 201
5 Forsyth St, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear SRC.

I want you to know that George died this morning.

I am as yet uncertain what I will do and where I will be, though it is obvious I cannot stay on our mountainside without my man. So perhaps you had best take us off your mailing list for a while, and if I get back to my own land once more, I will try to get New South again and keep up with your good work.

Until then I wish you all success in all your undertakings.

Sincerely,

Alice Mitchell

file:
(Mrs.) Geo. S. Mitchell

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

Cable sent 4/13/62

Mrs. Alice Mitchell
Glencoe
Argyll
Scotland

Deeply saddened to learn of the death of George Mitchell. He shall be greatly missed by all of us who knew and loved him. His long years of devoted service will forever remain. He will endure in our memory.

(signed)
Southern Regional Council

Recd 4/17

File?

4/16/62

To Southern Regional Council:

The atta ched information concerning George Sinclair Mitchell is provided for your use in preparing an obituary notice for The New South, or to supply to the Atlanta newspapers, as you see fit.

Sincerely,

Abbott L. Ferriss

Abbott L. Ferriss
2307 Valley Drive
Alexandria, Va.

[Letter Address to Executive Secretary]

Dr. George S. Mitchell Dies; Directed Southern Council

Dr. George Sinclair Mitchell, 59, former executive director of the Southern Regional Council, died Thursday in Glencoe, Argyll, Scotland.

Dr. Mitchell became associated with the council in 1945 as director of veterans' service and two years later was named director. He retired in 1957 to move to Scotland.

Born in Richmond, Va., he was the son of the late Samuel Chiles Mitchell, a Southern historian who served as president of the University of South Carolina and the University of Delaware.

Dr. Mitchell was a graduate of the University of Richmond, received his Ph. D from Johns Hopkins University and was a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford University.

He was an instructor in economics at Columbia University from 1929 to 1935. He then joined the Roosevelt administration, serving as director of labor relations in the Resettlement Administration in 1935; as assistant administrator in the Farm Security Administration from 1939 to 1943 and in the U.S. Foreign Economic Administration from 1943 to 1944.

From 1944 until he joined the council's staff some months later, he was Southeastern regional director of the CIO Political Action Committee.

In the field of race and labor, Dr. Mitchell was the author of "Textile Unionism and the South," "The Industrial Revolution in the South" and "Black Workers and the New Unions."

He was a member of the Episcopal church, the Kappa Aupha social fraternity and Phi Beta Kappa.

Survivors include his wife, the former Alice Love Armstrong, and two daughters, Mrs. Philip Craib of Northern Rhodesia and Miss Charlotte Mitchell, New York.

Atl. Const.
Apr. 14, 1962

George Sinclair Mitchell died April 12, 1962, after a long illness, at his home in Glencoe, Scotland, to which he retired in 1957.

He is survived by his wife, and two daughters: Mrs. Philip Craib, Kalulushi, Northern Rhodesia, and Miss Charlotte Mitchell, New York City.

From Who's Who in America, Vol. 30, 1958-59, page 1937, Mitchell, George Sinclair, economist; born in Richmond, Va., Sept. 9, 1902; S. Samuel Chiles and Alice Virginia (Broadus) M.; student The Tome Sch., 1916-18, Newark (Del.) High Sch., 1918-19; U. of Del. 1919-20; B. A. U. of Richmond, 1923; Ph. D. Johns Hopkins U., 1926; student Oxford U., Eng., 1926-29; M. Alice Love Armstrong, June 10, 1933; children, Ellen Armstrong, Charlotte Sinclair; Instr. economics, Columbia U., 1929-35; spl. asst. office of Sec. of the Interior, 1934-35; dir. labor relations Resettlement Administrn., 1935, spl. asst. to adminstr, 1936, regional dir., 1936-39; asst. adminatr. Farm Security Adminstrn., U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, 1939-43, U. S. Foreign Economic administration, 1943-44, Southeastern Regional Director, CIO Polit. Action Com., 1944-45; dir. Veterans Services,

Southern Regional Council, 1945-47, exec. dir. 1947-1957. Awarded Rhodes scholarship. mem. Am. Econ. Assn., American Soc. Pub. Adminstrn., Kappa Alpha, Phi Beta Kappa. Democrat. Episcopalian. Club: Cosmos (Washington). Author; Textile Unionism and the South, 1930; The Industrial Revolution in the South (with Brodus Mitchell), 1931; Black Workers and the New Unions (with Horace Cayton), 1940;

via air mail

April 18, 1962

Mrs. George S. Mitchell
Glencoe, Argyll
SCOTLAND

Dear Mrs. Mitchell:

The Council wired its sympathy last week. I would like to add my personal good wishes to you. I didn't know Dr. Mitchell well, but we met and talked a few times; five years before I came to work at the Council he offered me a position. I had the greatest admiration for him as a thinker and as a man of courage and deep resolve. I am far more fortunate than he in that SRC now has greater stability and has not recently known the old, anxious moments of financial distress. But I am always mindful that we have this relative good fortune today only because of the integrity and plain cussed endurance of George Mitchell.

Please let us hear from you when you get back to the States. We shall want to know where you are and how we can keep in touch with you.

With very best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

TELEPHONE LOG

DATE	CITY	WHO CALLED - SRC	
4/4	Miami, Fla.	H. Franklin Williams	B. Patterson
4/4	Little Rock, Ark.	Nat Griswold	"
4/4	Cheraw, S.C.	Andrew Secrest	"
4/6	Washington, D.C.	Oscar Jaeger (AFL-CIO)	"
4/9	Bloomington, Ind.	Phi Delta Kappa	"

Atlanta Constitution

2/1/57

Dr. Mitchell Realizes Dream of Many Years

Dr. George S. Mitchell, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, has retired and will carry out a dream he has nursed since his days as a Rhodes Scholar. He will go to a small town, picked out many years ago in the Scottish highlands, and there spend the rest of his years. Except, of course, for travel.

Dr. Mitchell, who was born in Richmond, Va., is the son of Samuel Chiles Mitchell, a noted Southern historian who also served as president of the University of South Carolina and of the University of Delaware. Dr. Mitchell himself is widely regarded as one of the nation's foremost authorities on race problems in the South in their broadest aspects, social, educational and economic.

The Southern Regional Council is composed of clergymen of all faiths, business men, labor leaders and representatives of the professions in 12 Southern states. Under Dr. Mitchell's direction the council earned a reputation for sound, constructive research and publication of factual material.

In 1953 the Catholic Committee of the South gave him its annual award.

The Southern Regional Council has no connection, direct or indirect, with the late Southern Conference for Human Welfare which, after an honest start, was taken over by extremists. Because of the similarity of names, critics have sometimes charged the Southern Regional Council was the successor to the other. It is not.

We wish Dr. Mitchell and his family a long life and a happy one in Scotland where Dr. Mitchell will catch up on his reading and do a little gardening.

* * *

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

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ESTABLISHED 1888
BArclay 7-5371
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
165 Church Street - New York

ASHLAND, VA.
HERALD PROGRESS
W. 3,550

APR 19 1962

Dr. Mitchell Death Noted

, George S.

Dr. George S. Mitchell, 59, retired executive director of the Southern Regional Council, died last Thursday in Glasgow, Scotland.

A native of Richmond, Dr. Mitchell had lived in Glasgow since 1958, a year after his retirement.

The Southern Regional Council was set up to improve race relations in the South and has its headquarters in Atlanta.

He is survived by his wife, Mrs. Alice Armstrong Mitchell, formerly of Ashland; and two daughters, Mrs. Philip Craib of Northern Rhodesia and Miss Charlotte Mitchel lof New York City.

Dr. Mitchell was the son of the late Dr. S. C. Mitchell, widely known professor of history at the University of Richmond. He attended the University of Delaware, received his BA degree at the University of Richmond and his Ph. D. from Johns Hopkins University.

He was a Rhodes Scholar and former economics instructor at Columbia University. An Episcopalian, he was a member of Phi Beta Kappa and Kappa Alpha Order.

Federal posts he held before becoming director of the SRC included:

Special assistant at the office of the Secretary of the Interior; special assistant to the administrator and regional director of the Resettlement Administration and assistant administrator of the Farm Security Administration.

Dr. Mitchell also served in the United States Foreign Economic Administration, was southeastern regional director of the CIO political action committee and director of veteran services for the SRC.

He was given the Catholic Committee of the South's biennial award in 1953 for his work as executive director of the council.

Dr. Mitchell was co-author of "The Industrial Revolution in the South" and "Black Workers and the New Unions."

PA ✓
MS

George S. Mitchell

The country owes a note of appreciation to George Sinclair Mitchell who died recently at his home in Glencoe, Scotland, to which he had retired a few years ago after a life of active and exceedingly useful public service in the United States. A Rhodes scholar, a distinguished economist, the author of three books on the industrialization of the South, he served for a number of years in the Interior and Agriculture Departments and, during the war, in the Foreign Economic Administration. Perhaps his most notable public service was rendered, however, as director of the Southern Regional Council from 1945 to 1957. His fervor for justice together with his sympathetic understanding of the South made him an extraordinarily effective catalyst in the field of race relations. He served in no small measure as midwife to the birth of a new era. The country, North and South, is indebted to him.

Editorial, The Washington Post
Monday, April 23, 1962

No. Southern Regional Council: This is to supplement the material I sent you recently, for use in a New South write-up.
A. Fenn

FAV
RHA
MJ-file

Fauite Bhiath
Glencoe, Argyll
Scotland
April 29

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

I thank the Council for the cablegram, and you for your very kind letter. It does indeed help to know that George's friends appreciated him and remained interested, even after we removed ourselves so completely from our former scenes of action.

I am going to stay here this summer, and hope to visit our grandson in Northern Rhodesia in the fall. But sometime in '63 I shall be back in the States and hope to keep up with what the Council is accomplishing!

Meantime my best wishes, and deep appreciation to each one of you.

Sincerely,

Alice Mitchell

RECEIVED
MAY 4 1962
RECEIVED

June 13, 1962

Mrs. George S. Mitchell
Glencoe, Argyll
SCOTLAND

Dear Mrs. Mitchell:

At its regular meeting on May 30, 1962, the Executive Committee directed me to send on to you the attached Resolution. I am very glad to do so.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Resolution)

A RESOLUTION

of the

Executive Committee
Southern Regional Council

George Mitchell brought a gay heart and merry speech to scholarship. He was an executive who kept alive and quick his compassion for people. He gave himself and whatever he had to act as the tragic history of his South proposed, as his scholarship directed, and as his moral persuasions confirmed; his was no divided life.

As Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council from 1949 to 1957, George Mitchell held the Council true to the permanent interests of the region and nation. He never succumbed to the style of thinking which puts the institution ahead of its cause. He knew that his mission, during years of political passion and primitivism, was primarily to keep the Council strong in principle, and only secondarily to make it strong in popular esteem. As a result, we who administer the Council's affairs in brighter times lead an organization which has never lost its self-respect or the respect of others of good will.

George Mitchell was our fellow-worker and our mentor. He was our friend. It is to each of us a great sadness that he has gone.

James McBride Dabbs
Rufus E. Clement
Miss Josephine Wilkins
Albert W. Dent
Marion A. Wright
The Rev. W. C. Brooke
Paul R. Christopher
John A. Griffin
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Rabbi Jacob Rothschild
The Rt.Rev. Msgr. Alexander Sigur
H. Franklin Williams
Stephen J. Wright
Joseph F. Haas

John H. Wheeler, Chairman

May 30, 1962

June 13, 1962

Mrs. George Clifford
Glen Maples
Putney, Vermont

Dear Mrs. Clifford:

Under separate cover we are sending you the requested copies of New South, and copies of the enclosed resolution.

Your check is also enclosed. We could not think of accepting it.

We share your loss and hope you will call on us if we can be of any possible help.

Sincerely,

PA:bp
enc. (2)

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

Glen Ingles
Putney, Vermont
June 10th, 1962.

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia -

Dear Sirs,

I enclose my check for $2.00 for which please send me ten copies of New South for April, 1962. The tribute to my brother, George Sinclair Mitchell, by Paul D. Williams is one which all of the Mitchell family deeply appreciate.

Sincerely,
(Mrs. George) Mary Mitchell Gifford

file
Geo. S. Mitchell

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

MEMORANDUM June 13, 1962

To: Members of the Board

From: Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

-:-

At a recent meeting of the Executive Committee, the dates, November 19 and 20 were chosen for the 1962 Annual Meeting of the Council. Details of the meeting will be sent to you later. In the meantime, please reserve these dates.

We are enclosing a resolution passed by the Executive Committee. We thought you would be interested.

-:-

A RESOLUTION

of the

Executive Committee
Southern Regional Council

George Mitchell brought a gay heart and merry speech to scholarship. He was an executive who kept alive and quick his compassion for people. He gave himself and whatever he had to act as the tragic history of his South proposed, as his scholarship directed, and as his moral persuasions confirmed; his was no divided life.

As Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council from 1949 to 1957, George Mitchell held the Council true to the permanent interests of the region and nation. He never succumbed to the style of thinking which puts the institution ahead of its cause. He knew that his mission, during years of political passion and primitivism, was primarily to keep the Council strong in principle, and only secondarily to make it strong in popular esteem. As a result, we who administer the Council's affairs in brighter times lead an organization which has never lost its self-respect or the respect of others of good will.

George Mitchell was our fellow-worker and our mentor. He was our friend. It is to each of us a great sadness that he has gone.

James McBride Dabbs
Rufus E. Clement
Miss Josephine Wilkins
Albert W. Dent
Marion A. Wright
The Rev. W. C. Brooke
Paul R. Christopher
John A. Griffin
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Rabbi Jacob Rothschild
The Rt. Rev. Msgr. Alexander Sigur
H. Franklin Williams
Stephen J. Wright
Joseph F. Haas

John H. Wheeler, Chairman

May 30, 1962

Tree
Mitchell

June 22, 1962

Mrs. Ellen Craib
20 Geddes Cr.
Kalulushi, Northern Rhodesia

Dear Mrs. Craib:

I hope I was one of your father's "good eggs." I never had the opportunity to see much of him but I felt that I knew him well and hope he felt the same.

We are genuinely moved that you should think a contribution to the Council would be what you want to do in memory of him. Thanks so much.

I am glad you get good reports of SRC from those who have been here and returned to Central Africa. We get quite a lot of foreign visitors these days, many from Africa, and we learn a great deal from them while trying to do well by them.

Best regards. Please keep in touch with us. I am enclosing a copy of a resolution passed by the Executive Committee at its last meeting with instructions that the staff send it to members of the family.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures:
Resolution
Official Receipt

#25.00 CR 6/21/62
RHA

20 Geddes Cr.
Kalulushi, N.R.

RECEIVED
JUN 21 1962

June 12, '62.

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

Please accept this small check to the Southern Regional Council in memory of my father, George Mitchell. I feel this is the most appropriate thing I can do, though I wish it were a great deal more.

It is amazing how often one hears of the SRC here in Central africa. I have met many people who found it the focal point of their studies of race relations while on visits to the U.S., and several who remembered Harold Fleming especially well.

I never had the pleasure of meeting you but you must be one of Daddy's "good eggs" to be heading the S.R.C.

My best regards,

Ellen Crait

Memo from **LESLIE W. DUNBAR**

PA

Julia Bloch
June 27, 1962

Dear Mr. Hunter,

I do thank you for your letter today with the enclosed Resolution from the Executive Committee. If I had the gift of writing what I feel, as did the author of that resolution (do I detect the special flavor of Mr. Dabbs?) then I could express to you and to them how very deeply grateful I am, how proud Georgie's family will be, and how humble my man himself would feel to see that list of his staunch friends and true affixed to such fine words about him.

I am glad, so glad, that the financial strain has eased for the Council, and wish it and each member that comprises it, a long and vigorous life.

Sincerely,

Alice Mitchell

RECEIVED
JUL 2 1962

20 Geddes Crescent
Kalulushi, N. Rhodesia
December 9. 1962

Mr. Leslie Plumbar, Ex Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr Plumbar,

I received yesterday the copy of the Resolution passed by the Council at its annual November meeting, and I am grateful to you for sending it, and of course, to the Council for its tribute to George.

It is fun to be at last acquainted with our grandson. If he should grow up to have as good a mixture of his two grandfathers mentalities as he has of their physiques he may prove to be a very interesting man.

With best wishes as always to all of you in the council.

Gratefully,

Alice Mitchell

open cut here

Mrs. George S. Mitchell
2300 East Grace Street
Richmond, Va. 23223

→ Noted RHA

19 August, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

A
12.00 Contribution
8/20/63
RHA

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

I am back in the U.S.A., with a place to live in Richmond which I move into at the end of this month, and a job as assistant librarian in the Varina High School starting this fall.

I have been lucky in all ways, but in one that I want name particularly, in that everywhere I have been lighting on friends and relations, I have found New South to read. Now that I am to have an apartment of my own I would like to get on your mailing list again, and I enclose a small contribution to the good cause as well.

I would always be happy to see any "Southern Regionals" whenever they come to Richmond.

Sincerely,
Alice Mitchell

August 21, 1963

JS MMJ

Janet,

We've just learned of Mrs. George S. Mitchell's whereabouts. Would you be kind enough to put her on COMPLIMENTARY NEW SOUTH at the address shown below?

Mrs. George S. Mitchell — file
2300 East Grace Street
Richmond, Virginia

thanx, mmj

Highlander Center 1625 Riverside Dr. Knoxville, Tennessee

6/26/65

Dear Mrs Johnson,

Thank you so much for sending me the information on Dr. George S Mitchell. It has been most helpful in preparing a statement for the press release announcing the George S Mitchell Scholarship Fund set up by the Highlander Board of Directors.

Sincerely yours
C. Conrad Bourne

LWD-fjr

File — Mitchell, Geo. S.

June 23, 1965

Highlander Center
1625 Riverside Drive
Knoxville, Tennessee

Gentlemen:

As promised today by telephone, I'm enclosing several pieces on Dr. George S. Mitchell which I think you can use in putting together a statement about him. I understand this will be used in presenting an award in memory of him at Fisk University.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosures - 3.

File - Mitchell, Geo. S. (Mrs.)

December 3, 1965

Mrs. George S. Mitchell
2300 East Grace Street
Richmond, Virginia 23223

Dear Alice:

Enclosed is our check for $40.00. I am certain you spent at least $6.00 more than your train fare.

In relation to what the Council got for its money, it's about the best investment we have made in a long time. All of us send our best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Check: $40.00)

See Mrs. Geo. Mitchell

October 18, 1967

Mrs. Alice Mitchell
2300 East Grace Street
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Alice:

Enclosed is a tentative agenda of our Annual Meeting. As in past years, we would be more than pleased to have you as our guest and, of course, at our expense. I do hope you can come.

There is a slight chance that for the Annual Dinner on November 2nd we will have the former directors -- Johnson, Fleming and Dunbar. It would be so good to have you with them.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

See Mrs Geo Mitchell

October 27, 1967

Mrs. George S. Mitchell
2300 East Grace Street
Richmond, Virginia 23223

Dear Alice:

I am so sorry you cannot attend the meeting as all your friends will be here.

With warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

22 October, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul,

Thank you for inviting me again to the annual meeting. I would love to come, and am, as ever, interested in all you accomplish - but this date falls on the meeting of the Virginia Education Association, to which my job commits me.

My best wishes for a good meeting, and warm regards to all my old friends,

Sincerely,

Alice Mitchell

file

October 31, 1967

file
Fed of Southern Co-ops

Mr. Joseph W. Knox
Joseph and Clayton
Tax Consultants and Accountants
840 Lynch Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Knox:

Thank you for giving Mr. John Lewis and myself so much of your time this past week to discuss with you the accounting and auditing problems of a number of cooperatives belonging to the Federation of Southern Cooperatives.

The Federation is very interested in beginning to try to solve the problems we mentioned to you. As it appears to me, they can be broken down into two parts. One, the problem of inadequate training among the persons doing the daily bookkeeping work of the cooperatives. And, secondly, poor auditing service on the part of the accountants presently employed to audit the individual accounts. How much the latter is dependant on the former is also a question to be considered.

The answer to the first part of the problem is obvious. Give the persons training. But how, what type of training, when, who will give it, etc. are just a number of the questions prompted by the obvious answer. In talking with you I was impressed by your understanding of a number of the unique problems encountered in teaching new skills to persons sometimes lacking a great deal of formal education. I would appreciate it very much if you would write down some of your ideas on how you would conduct a training session in the basic elements of what you consider good day to day bookkeeping practices. Also, would you give me some idea of what you would charge to run a day long session involving about twenty persons in the Jackson area? If we can agree on these several points I would like to suggest the dates of November 25th or December 2nd as possible dates for such a seminar.

The answer to the second part of the problem seems more complex. For example, it is probably not possible for one accountant to service all the books of the 22 member cooperatives in the Federation. Perhaps, equally improbable is the hope for a general set of bookkeeping practices for the varied type of co-ops in our group. I think that what is needed is to come as close to these goals as is possible, however. Perhaps, after I receive an answer from you it would be possible for us to visit several of the member co-ops and for you to have the opportunity to inspect their books and give recommendations for improvements.

Mj - Mitchell

MRS. GEORGE S. MITCHELL
2300 EAST GRACE STREET
RICHMOND, VA. 23223

23 July

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

8-12-69:5

Dear SRC,

I am about to move, so will you please change my address to:

325 B Shetland Court
Richmond, Virginia 23227

Best wishes to all,

Alice Mitchell

Rec'd 4/20
"Mitchell, George S."
The folder has been marked
"Mrs."

GEORGE SINCLAIR MITCHELL: A TRIBUTE

by

Paul D. Williams

George Mitchell began his career as a teacher at Columbia University, and without fully realizing it, he remained a teacher throughout his life. Give him an audience and George could create an electric, contagious atmosphere whether he spoke before a small, informal gathering or from the platform of a vast auditorium. What interested his hearers was not his oratory, George was always a little suspicious of oratory, but an indescribable mystical magic which seemed to capture people and pull them into his own world of ideas. ~~A true teacher thrives on ideas~~.

At Johns Hopkins University where he received his doctorate, George must have had some contact with the then President of the University, Isaiah Bowman who said, "All purposes and ideals fail if they do not include those timeless purposes of all education--to provide new impulses, to share a sense of discovery, to put inside a man the resolution to make some part of his work surpassingly good." George liked that kind of thinking. He would have also agreed with the words of Gerald Vann: "Education has as one of its

primary objects to teach us to stop and be still and look, how to concentrate our gaze till things begin to reveal their mystery to us. It must teach us to preserve and heighten our sense of wonder, which is the womb of poetry and philosophy alike; for otherwise, no matter what our book-learning, beauty and life will pass us by."

How many times did George Mitchell deliver his celebrated "Map of the South" talk and each time with new freshness? Fortunately this masterpiece is preserved on movie-sound track. Here again was the teacher par excellence with superb content, delivery spiced with colorful, idiomatic language and humor.

After leaving Columbia University George engaged himself in several executive posts of government and labor where he performed his services with customary distinction, but his name will be forever linked indelibly with the work of the Southern Regional Council. When elected executive director the funds of the Council were suddenly drying up, and George had to face one crisis after another to keep the organization alive. His faith in the Council never diminished even during the leanest years when the Council was on the verge of liquidation. Not too many people know this fact, but during one especially difficult period he unhesitatingly negotiated a loan on his life insurance policies. This sacrifice, rather a risk on his part, to a large extent prevented the collapse of the Council. Time and again the survival of

the SRC was due largely to the unflinching, stubborn dedication of George Mitchell. The flourishing health and respect which the SRC enjoys today was made possible by the miracle that was George.

George Mitchell was frequently annoyed by the shortsightedness of foundations which were always more interested in giving grants for projects rather than in support of the basic program of the SRC. "Everybody wants to inhale the fragrance of a rose," George would quip, "but nobody wants to water the stem."

Even some of his ardent supporters felt that sometimes George was a bit injudicious when appealing for funds. Perhaps it was because he refused to compromise concerning the basic program of the SRC. There were individuals and foundations that would have offered financial assistance provided George would water down certain convictions of the Council. When faced with such a dilemma, George more than once terminated a conference and serenely walked away like Cyrano, "too proud to be a parasite."

He loved the plain people, those in ordinary circumstances gallantly striving to better their lot in life. He agreed with Abraham Lincoln that God must have loved the ordinary people because He made so many of them. He had no stomach for shame or pomposity. He disliked the lofty, complacent, mediocre, pretentious, phony person scorned by Shakespeare:

Proud man, dressed in a little brief authority
Most ignorant of what he's most assured;
His glassy essence, like the hairy ape
Plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven
As makes the angels weep.

He loved the land. To him there was something sacred about the soil. He wanted to see a reasonable industrialization in the South but it should be blended with a healthy agriculture. In a real sense, rather than in a rhetorical one, he knew that the earth is still our mother and he could sing with Lousiana Dunn Thomas, Negro farm tenant mother of Greene County, Georgia:

We are tenants of the Almighty
Entrusted with a portion of His earth
To dress and keep
And pass on to the next generation.

He loved the South but it was not a blind and sentimental attachment. Like his illustrious father-historian, he was convinced that the South of yesterday, when faced with tremendous choices, frequently made the wrong decisions; that the South of today had to do deep soul-searching, come up with decisions geared to modern times in order to rise again in dignity and true leadership.

When the Council had achieved monetary independence and a new glory, George, at 55, retired from active life, as he always said he would, to follow his dream to Scotland accompanied by his courageous Alice and his two daughters who would have just as cheerfully followed him to the moon, so great was their devotion to him.

Dr. Samuel C. Mitchell

No one was ever quite the same after having met George Mitchell. Few people touched as many lives in the South and in the nation as did George and all were enriched by contact with him. There was about him a tenderness, an innocence and a gaity which somehow made the air a little fresher and cleaner and the day more wholesome. Teacher, benefactor, scholar, friend of the SRC, of the South and of the nation, we who were privileged to know and love him will ever keep green his memory. The name of George Mitchell will be frequently in our thoughts and always in our hearts.

MENTZEP RUSH AND
PUBLISHERS OF TEXTBOOKS
330 EAST CERMAK ROAD
CHICAGO 16, ILL.

AP 22 1962

AP 22 9 00 PM 1962

VIA AIR MAIL
PAR AVION

AIR MAIL
Special Delivery

SPECIAL DELIVERY

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

AIR MAIL
Special Delivery

Mr. Paul D. Williajs
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

SPECIAL DELIVERY

ATLANTA GA. FEDERAL INTERIM
AP 23 2 30PM
1962

2A

GEORGE S. MITCHELL AWARD

The George S. Mitchell Award is hereby instituted by vote of the Southern Regional Council at its 1963 Annual Meeting.

Purpose

The purpose of the Award shall be twofold: one, to perpetuate the memory of George S. Mitchell, second executive director of the Council, and his life-long interest and service to the South; and two, to help build the State Councils on Human Relations that were so dear to Dr. Mitchell's heart and help emphasize the grass-root ideal so central to his thinking.

Criteria for Selecting Recipients

The Award shall be presented annually to the State Council on Human Relations that has the largest, percentage-wise, increase in its membership during the preceding year, from ____ to ____, as determined by the records on file in the office of the Southern Regional Council. The State Council winning the Award shall be notified not later than October 1 of the year the Award is to be made.

The Award

The Award shall be in the form of a gift of $1,000.00 to be presented annually to a State Council on Human Relations, as provided herein.

Presentation

The presentation of the George S. Mitchell Award shall be at the Annual Dinner held during the Annual Meeting of the Council. A representative, chosen by the Council winning the Award, shall be invited to attend the Annual Meeting to receive the award, and the total expense of his trip shall be borne by the Council.

Mitchell

RESOLUTION

The Southern Regional Council, at annual meeting assembled on November 20, 1962, pauses in its deliberations to pay special tribute to the memory of George Sinclair Mitchell and to his years of devoted and inspiring leadership of this body.

The South and the nation are richer because of his many contributions to a fuller recognition of the dignity of all men.

He was prophet and poet, and more; he was a creative, imaginative man who saw a vision of a more democratic South wherein the false barriers of the past would no longer hinder any man from attaining a good education, a rewarding job, and a decent home.

We are all poorer at his loss. But this Council and the work it does is a living testimony to him. So long as men strive for freedom, so long as they revere liberty, the name of George Mitchell and the memory of the man will never die.

PA ✓
MA ✓

file
G. Mitchell
folder

undergoing diagnostic tests and was stricken suddenly about 10 A.M. He expired two hours later.

George and the writer, first Rhodes Scholar from Tennessee, were together at Pembroke for three years and, at one time, lived in the same staircase. He had previously attended Earlham College in Indiana and was appointed a Rhodes Scholar in his third year. It was while at Earlham that he first established a connection with the Keystone Company, having sold their stereoptican views to pay his way in college.

In the record of past Rhodes Scholars, George has these notations:

Pembroke	1904-1907, History 3rd class
1907-1911	Business and teaching
1911-1919	Assistant Manager D. C. Heath Co.
1919	Education Director, Keystone View Company

He became vice-president of the company in 1928 and was made president in 1945. While he was education director, he made a distinctive contribution to visual education. I was Commissioner of Education at the time and believed that daylight projection of pictures was the most effective form of visual education. George Hamilton proved the point by coming to educational gatherings and association meetings, showing his stereoptican views.

In athletics, George played on the Pembroke rugby team. He rowed in some college boat races but did not make the eight.

His strongest point, I think, was his ability to adapt himself to the English, even down to the use of language and pronunciation. He was a creditable Rhodes Scholar and was popular with everyone. He deserves a real tribute from all of us.

JOHN J. TIGERT
(*Tennessee and Pembroke,* '04)

GEORGE SINCLAIR MITCHELL

(1902-1962)

George Sinclair Mitchell (*Virginia and Balliol,* '26), who died this year at Glencoe, Ballachulish, Argyll, Scotland, was a principal in the movement which, one hundred years after the Emancipation Proclamation, must inevitably result in the actual emancipation of the American Negro.

I met George Mitchell, then the Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, when I returned to Georgia in 1948. Many young southerners who wished to see the South adopt a national viewpoint on the race issue would never have undertaken concrete steps in this direction had it not been for the catalyzing spirit of someone like George Mitchell. He radiated a sense of security and supplied the facts with which one could complement his emotional

feeling that segregation was wrong. Moreover, there was an integrity about him. I never knew him to cut a corner, to betray a trust, or to override a conscientious conviction. He had faith in the people, a firm conviction that the white Southerner could be led and encouraged toward social justice; and he based this conviction on historical foundations. To him the long period of race baiting was an aberration and did not represent the stream of Southern history. Thousands of people heard his "map talk", an essay of words and chalk, in which he explained how the South got into such grave difficulties. Without doubt, George had been deeply influenced by Howard Odom and other sociologists of the region, of whom one of the most remarkable was Dr. Will Alexander who, after the Civil War, established the first interracial activity in the South of any consequence. But George Mitchell added an ingredient which was distinctly his own by collecting about him an able staff and scores of dedicated disciples. No one could challenge his identity as a Southerner in the tradition of Lee and not in that of the irresponsible politicians who, in the General's name, degraded his high principles.

Though a scholar, George spoke the language of the people. He was folksy, humble, and courageous; and he obtained a maximal result with a minimum of money. Even so, in the late 40's and early 50's not even the paltry sums he needed for his work were available. This man of modest means borrowed money on his own life insurance from time to time in order to pay the salaries of his co-workers in the Southern Regional Council.

Despite his reputation for absolute truthfulness, none of us really believed his oft-repeated statement that when he was fifty-five, he intended to retire and go to Scotland and live amongst the plain people in the Highlands. But as the day approached, it became obvious that this was his set purpose and leave he did, having first trained an able successor.

In deference to formality, George Mitchell was an economist, born in Richmond, Virginia on September 9, 1902, the son of Samuel Childs and Alice Broadus Mitchell. His father was at one time President of the University of South Carolina and later taught at the University of Richmond. George graduated from the University of Richmond in 1923 and subsequently attended Johns Hopkins University. He received a Rhodes Scholarship and was at Balliol from 1926 to 1929. He was an instructor in economics at Columbia University, but soon entered government service as special assistant to the Secretary of the Interior. After holding a number of other Federal posts, he returned to private life as Southeastern Regional Director of the CIO-PAC. From there he went to the Southern Regional Council.

Finally, an indispensable part of this story is George's marriage in 1933, a union which produced two daughters. Alice Mitchell was a perfect complement. She made George's life her own and their home was virtually a second headquarters for the movement which George headed and to which he gave his enormous talents and quiet energy.

George Sinclair Mitchell will never be forgotten by those he influenced and the South will never be the same because of his work.

MORRIS B. ABRAM
(*Georgia and Pembroke,* '39)

WILLIAM FRANCIS RANEY

(1890-1962)

In an affectionate farewell to William F. Raney (*Nebraska and Hertford,* '10) on the occasion of his retirement after thirty-five years' service as a member of the faculty of Lawrence College in 1955, the *Lawrence Alumnus,* after referring to his personal and professional passion for accuracy, quoted him as having said of himself: " 'Nothing spectacular has happened to me. I've never had anyone faint in class [but have] had some of them go to sleep; . . . not so many, though.' For William Raney is an accurate man."

An accurate man he was indeed! Precise in his use of language (German, French, or English), scrupulously recognizing and meeting all obligations, a man of conscience in conference. Whether a dullard ever dozed in one of his classes matters less than that the students among them found their minds alerted to the fascinations of scholarship and the responsibilities of citizenship.

Those of us who knew Raney and his family when they lived in Madison while he worked on his *Wisconsin, a Story of Progress* (Prentice-Hall, New York, 1940) remember him as he then was in the full physical vigor of mid-career; and this is a vigorous, masculine piece of work, very much a man's book. Some of the substance of his first publication, an article in the early "twenties" in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* based on his doctoral dissertation at Wisconsin on "crimping" or recruiting in Canada for the federal armies during the American Civil War, must have found its way into this book. While a graduate student of history in the University of Wisconsin, he spent two summers in Ottawa gathering material for his dissertation.

Some of the older members of the Wisconsin faculty remember Raney fondly and well, as a graduate student. He was always notable for his warm friendliness, his earnest sincerity of purpose, and integrity of mind and character. As a contemporary of Professor Paul Knaplund, he studied here and worked as teaching assistant under such famous teachers as Professors Westermann and Dennis.

Raney was a linguist as well as an historian. While overseas he studied not only at Oxford but at Leipzig and Grenoble. At Wisconsin, French was his minor field and the celebrated Professor Giese was one of his teachers. He taught French, in fact, at Wisconsin and Louisville and, on a part-time basis for his first two years at Lawrence College. He had also a reading knowledge of Latin (required then for entrance at Oxford), Spanish and Italian. It was

AIRMAIL

August 8, 1956

Hotel Morrison
Chicago
Illinois

Gentlemen:

Please reserve a single room with bath or shower for the arrival of Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Friday, August 31. Mr. Fleming will be participating in the scheduled meeting of the American Psychological Association at your hotel.

Please confirm.

Cordially,

Sec'y to Mr. H. C. Fleming

October 8, 1956

Mr. Jack Mullen
Jerry Fairbanks Productions
219 Majestic Building
San Antonio, Texas

Dear Mr. Mullen:

Thank you for your letter of October 2nd expressing interest in our survey of desegregation.

Several films dramatizing the experience of St. Louis, Baltimore, and perhaps other communities have been completed or are in process. We don't have the resources to finance the making of the films ourselves, but we are eager users of those which appear.

I would be happy to see you when you are in Atlanta.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

Jerry Fairbanks Productions
OF CALIFORNIA
THEATRICAL, COMMERCIAL AND TELEVISION MOTION PICTURES
1330 NORTH VINE STREET
HOLLYWOOD 28, CALIFORNIA
HOLLYWOOD 2-1101

PLEASE REPLY TO
219 MAJESTIC BUILDING
SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS
CAPITOL 4-8641

October 2, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
2892 Ridgemore Road N. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

The attached item from the Kansas City Star confirms something I had long believed, but was without proof until your survey.

I am interested in the problem from both a business standpoint and personally, and I honestly believe a motion picture to illustrate what your survey indicates to be true would go a long way toward bringing about peace and harmony between the two races.

The type of picture I have in mind would tell in a dramatic and graphic manner how integration already has been achieved in certain sections of this country and how it can be brought about in other areas. If properly produced with top writing and acting talent, such a picture would be in demand by churches, schools, civic and luncheon clubs as well as television stations and theatres.

If you feel this idea has merit, I hope you will permit me to call on you the next time I am in Atlanta.

Sincerely yours,

Jack Mullen

JACK MULLEN
Southern Representative

November 29, 1956

Miss Susan L. Mosher
Chapin House
Smith College
Northampton, Mass.

Dear Miss Mosher:

Many apologies for this delay in answering your kind letter, but I have been trying to figure out some possibility of my filling the speaking date you suggested.

I am to be at Arden House, Harriman, New York on March 25-26. This might make it possible for me to run up to Smith at a minimum expense to your group, if one of the adjoining dates would work for you. Otherwise, I am occasionally in New York, but I seldom know more than a week or two in advance when such a trip is coming up.

Please let me hear from you about the March possibility.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

Nov. 14, 1956

Dear Mr. Fleming,

Your name has come to me by a circuitous, but very helpful route, and I wished to write to you, asking if you would consider speaking to Smith College on the segregation issue in the south.

The Christian Association, of which I am head of program, is the sponsor, and we feel very strongly that we need to know a great deal more about the present situation in the south. The negro point of view, north and south, has been heard on campus, but most of us are completely ignorant of the problems facing the white person

in the south today.

Of course it is asking a great deal of us to make a trip to the north, but we are making our plans around the evening of March 11th, and perhaps knowing this far in advance, might make it possible for you to visit Smith.

We usually offer a twenty-five dollar honorarium and try to cover as much as we can of traveling expenses.

Thank you for your consideration, we certainly would appreciate your speaking to us.

Sincerely,

Susan Moshu
Chapin House
Smith College
Northampton
Mass.

S. L. Mosher
Chapin House
Smith College
Northampton
Mass.

NORTHAMPTON
NOV 15
5 PM
1956
MASS.

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3
Georgia

Dec. 20, 1956

Susan Mosher
Director of Program
Christian Association
Smith College
Northampton
Mass.

Dear Mr. Fleming,

It was so kind of you to write us and express your interest in speaking to Smith College on the Integration issue. Unfortunately Smith starts its spring vacation March 21st, and consequently the dates you will be in the north, Smith will not be in session. We are all so sorry that this has hap-

pend, but we do wish to thank you for trying to fit a trip to Smith into your plans. We know you must be very busy without adding another engagement to your schedule.

Perhaps in the future we can ask you to speak to us when our dates co-incide

Thank you again

Sincerely,

Susan Mashu '57

December 29, 1956

Dr. J. Kenneth Morland
Randolph Macon Woman's College
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Dr. Morland:

The Southern Regional Council is conducting a quick survey to determine what Southern cities have desegregated their buses. We have discovered, in contrast to Tallahassee, Birmingham, and Montgomery, that a number of cities have quietly and effectively ended bus segregation.

It has come to our attention that Lynchburg is one of these cities. However, before issuing a public statement to that effect, it is obviously wise to check with a person in that community.

Could you, in the midst of this busy season, give us information on the Lynchburg bus situation? We are concerned with the time any desegregation efforts took place, who prompted or began such a move, the reaction of city officials, the bus company and the white community, and the amount of remaining voluntary segregation which may still be practiced. Most important, however, is a simple confirmation of the current situation. Please don't go to undue trouble or time to secure the details surrounding the present condition. An immediate reply will be of more value than a detailed report.

The central office staff has asked that I express their sincere best wishes for the season.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Information Service

PA:mm

cc: Miss Taylor

February 5, 1957

Mr. and Mrs. Robert H. Moench
312½ 27 3/8 Road
Grand Junction, Colorado

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Moench:

It was extremely kind of you to assist the Council so promptly after learning of our work from Miss Taylor. The fact that your gift was unexpected makes it all the more welcome and appreciated.

It is pleasant for us, too, to hear from people who are as deeply interested in our work as you are. I am enclosing several documents that deal with the history of the Council, our current activities, the newly approved plan of staff organization, and a special summary of consultant activities during 1956.* Separately, I am sending several of our publications that bear somewhat on the work of the Council and extensively on race relations developments in the region.

I fear I am sending too much rather than too little, but if this material leaves you with further questions, do feel free to put them to me. I am placing you on the mailing list to receive our monthly publication New South and such other publications and special releases as we issue from time to time.

With appreciation and good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

*Also enclosed are brief identifications of our staff members and a similar list of consultants that we have used for internal purposes.

HCF/eab
Encls.

MEMBERS OF CENTRAL PROFESSIONAL STAFF
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director -
Native Georgian, 34-years-old, graduate of Harvard, Phi Beta Kappa, veteran of World War Two; joined SRC staff in 1947 as director of information; later assistant director. On central staff of Ashmore Study of Bi-racial Education in the U. S. sponsored by the Fund for the Advancement of Education. Author of various magazine articles and booklets on race relations. Succeeded Dr. George Mitchell as SRC director January 16, 1957.

Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director - Floridian, 33-years-old, A.B. and M.A. at University of Miami, studies toward Ph.D. completed at N.Y.U. Center for Human Relations Studies. Veteran of World War Two. Taught human relations at University of Miami, and summer instructor at University of Michigan, N. Y. U., University of Sorbonne, and University of Heidelberg. Contributor to various professional journals. Officer of National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials. Joined SRC staff as Assistant Director for State Organizations in 1954.

C. H. Parrish, Associate for Program Development - Native Kentuckian, fiftyish, Ph.D. University of Chicago, formerly Professor of Sociology at Louisville Municipal College, then first Negro on faculty of University of Louisville, upon integration of that institution in early 1950's. Has contributed to many professional journals and has participated as consultant and field worker in various race relations projects. Joined SRC staff as part-time senior staff member in 1954.

John Hope II, Chief Consultant - Native Georgian, mid-forties, son of the distinguished first Negro president of Atlanta University. A. B. from Morehouse College, M. A. from University of Chicago. Field staff member, Southeastern Regional Office of war-time FEPC. Director, Industrial Division, Race Relations Department, Fisk University. Conducted studies in employment opportunities for the Committee of the South, National Planning Association and for labor unions. Author of several books on employment practices. Joined SRC staff in 1955 to direct consultant program.

John Constable, Director of Information - Native North Carolinean, 31 years old, A. B. University of North Carolina, M. A. School of Journalism, University of Georgia. Instructor in journalism at University of Georgia, edited Georgia country weekly. Served on news staff of the Atlanta Constitution for three years. Joined SRC staff in 1955 as managing editor of New South.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Director of Women's Work - Native Georgian, granddaughter of a leading Georgia planter, graduate of Wesleyan College (Macon, Ga.), advanced studies at University of North Carolina and Garrett College. Numerous positions with the Woman's Society for Christian Service, North Georgia Methodist Conference. Secretary for Christian Social Relations of S. E. Jurisdiction, WSCS. Secretary of Economics Committee of the Women's Division of the Methodist Church. Member of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, 1947. Joined SRC staff in 1940.

Miss Florence Irving, Research Assistant - Native North Carolinean, A. B. Spelman College (Atlanta, Ga.), M.B.A. University of Chicago. Formerly Instructor of Business Administration at Agricultural and Technical College, Greensboro, N. C. Assistant to manager of Irving-Swain Press, Inc., Raleigh, N. C. Business economist, Office of Price Administration, Washington, D. C. Joined SRC staff in 1955.

Emory F. Via, Labor Consultant - Native Virginian, 32-years-old, A. B. Emory University (Ga.), M. A. University of Chicago, requirements for Ph.D. p partially completed at University of Chicago. Field Program Leader, Georgia Workers Education Service; Executive Secretary, Atlanta Labor Education Association; Field Program Leader, Labor Education Division, Roosevelt University (Chicago). Joined SRC staff in 1956.

(Administrative staff members -- Mrs. Ruth H. Alexander, Secretary-Treasurer, and Paul Anthony, Administrative Assistant -- and clerical staff are not included in this summary identification of program staff.)

Mrs. Robert H. Moench
312 1/2 27 3/8 Road
Grand Junction, Colorado

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Reginnal Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Ga.

January 30, 1957

CR #40.00
rha
(Have put on list for New South)

Dear Mr. Fleming:

$40.00

Through Miss Katharine Taylor, of Cambridge, Mass., my husband and I have heard of the work of the Southern Regional Council and feel very strongly that it is something which we should like to support. Therefore, we hope that you will accept the enclosed check as a contribution toward helping in the job you are doing.

Miss Taylor has told us something of how you operate, by sending field workers into small communities, where they work toward getting whites and Negroes together on common problems. We should, however, like to learn more about your organization - what sort of people are your field workers, how they are trained, what, specifically, they do to bring the two races together, what you feel you have so far accomplished, what are your plans for the future, what is your administrative set-up - in other words, details on all aspects of your organization. If you have a regular publication, we should like to receive it; if not, I hope it will not be too much trouble for you to answer our questions. And we should like to be kept in touch, somehow, with the progress of your work.

Most sincerely,

Robert H. and Sarah S. Moench

Mr. and Mrs. Robert H. Moench

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . .

~~(1) Progress Rept~~

~~(1) History~~

(2) Last N.S. – (2) Next Steps – (2) Changing Pttns

~~(1) Orgn Chart + job descrip.~~ (2) Integr

(2) Promotion Leaflet (2) P.A. Pph.

~~(1) Consultant Rept~~

(1) With letter

(2) Sep.

April 29, 1957

Miss Marjorie R. Moon
82 Riverside Drive
New York 24, New York

Dear Marge:

I had a phone call from Wynne saying that you had been in the hospital and I was greatly distressed to learn this. I had meant to write you immediately, but the call came the same day I left on a trip for Texas. I am just back from that trip. Hope this finds you much recovered from the operation and that you will quickly be well again.

A good friend of mine and the Southern Regional Council's, Miss Josephine Wilkins, is going to New York and will be there for about six weeks. I have asked her to look you up, because I feel that two such delightful people should know each other. She is on our Board and our Executive Committee and comes from an old and fine Georgia family. She is a truly liberal gal. I suggested to her that Lou Bacon would be a good person for her to see. But the main reason I wanted her to meet you is personal.

Drop me a note and let me know how you are doing. GET WELL SOON!

Love,

July 22, 1957

Motion Picture Laboratories
1672 Union Avenue
Memphis 4, Tennessee

Dear Sir:

Please send us an additional copy of the film "The Face of the South" as soon as possible. Bill the Southern Regional Council and address the bill to Mrs. Ruth Alexander, Secretary-Treasurer.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lcc

Encls: "South of Promise"
Congressional Record
Grey folder - SRC.

October 18, 1957

Mrs. Carl L. Moser
316 Juniper Lane
Falls Church, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Moser:

I appreciated your recent letter greatly - much more than this delayed reply would indicate.

We in the Southern Regional Council are doing all we know how to play a constructive part in the present difficulties throughout the South. I don't know if it's possible for us to be the kind of decisive, organizing force that you so rightly feel is needed, though we would like to be. I have an unhappy feeling that the solution to our many and varied problems in the South are going to have to come piecemeal, through the efforts of many groups and individuals. We tend to think of the Southern Regional Council as a resource for these many different efforts, stimulating, servicing, and supporting their approaches in different parts of the region. I'm enclosing several pieces of material that will give you some idea of what we are trying to do.

There is a Virginia Council on Human Relations, as perhaps you already know. It was established as an affiliate of the Southern Regional Council, and we have been assisting it with funds and program services. I'm sure the Virginia Council would welcome an expression of your interest. The executive director is the Reverend John H. Marion, 1409 Chowan Road, Richmond 26, Virginia.

Again, my thanks to you for writing and kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

(4)

Mrs. Carl L. Moser
316 Juniper Lane
Falls Church, Virginia

RECEIVED SEP 20 1957

Sept. 18, 1957.

My dear Mr. Fleming.

I was very much interested in reading an article about you as a leader of the "Moderates" in our Washington Sunday Star - some time ago.

The shocking events in the newspaper and television lately - making many of us ashamed to be white - set me to thinking about it again.

Also I read an editorial by Wm French in the Sat. Eve Post, Sept 14 in which he quoted Senator Borah as saying. "This is a land of minority rule, where the few push the many." "There was a time when the greatest good

Mrs. Carl L. Moser
316 Juniper Lane
Falls Church, Virginia

was supposed to be for the greatest number in America. But that is not the ideal of the "neglected minorities" which have formed pressure groups to force their will on the unorganized majority." True he wasn't referring to the racial or federal authority issue, but I felt it could be applied to the great number of southerners and Christians who are not "haters" or do not approve of "massive resistance", but are unorganized. In Virginia for instance, about 10% of the eligible voters will elect J Lindsay Almond.

So - can't you be that great organizer? I do not know how far your Southern Regional Council extends but I wish it the greatest success and trust it will soon bring more "light" and less "heat" on this issue the world is watching.

Sincerely
Constance H. Moser

March 12, 1958

Mrs. Robert H. Moench
292 East Parkview Drive
Grand Junction, Colorado

Dear Mrs. Moench:

Thank you for your very kind note. Since my own memories of new offspring and a new house are still fresh, I can readily understand that you have had little free time -- or money!

I am chagrined that New South has not been reaching you. We have remedied this slip in the machinery.

I had a delightful note from Katharine Taylor the other day. As you probably know, she is as rewardingly active as ever. I very much hope that one of her various involvements will bring her South again soon.

Our best regards to you and Mr. Moench.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:fcl

Mrs. Robert H. Moench
292 East Parkview Drive
Grand Junction, Colorado

Feb. 26, 1958

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am thoroughly chagrined that a year has passed since we received your very nice letter and the acompanying material on the Southern Regional Council - and I am only now getting around to a reply. The arrival of your letter was very shortly followed by the arrival of our first child, and somehow life has not been quite the same since, especially as regards time for correspondence.

However, we have read with interest the material you sent us and are very glad to be able to contribute to the work you are doing. We hope to be able to send something more this year, but it will have to be a bit late on, as we have just bought a house and are presently somewhat broke.

In your letter you mentioned that you had put our name on the mailing list for your publication New South. Unfortunately, we have not been receiving it; perhaps you would check on this.

Wishing you continued success in your work, I am

Sincerely

Sarah S. Moench

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS
SOUTHERN STUDENT HUMAN RELATIONS SEMINAR
August 3-29, 1958

Duncan, Jerry
6120 Elmore Rd., Memphis, Tennessee
Southwestern University, Memphis, Tennessee ('61)

Elkins, Frank
Box 394, Bladenboro, North Carolina
Room 9, Battle, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill ('61)

Ellis, Dan
1102 W. Village Dr., S. Charleston, West Virginia
111 Stanley Ave., Apt. 2A, Maryville, Tennessee ('60)

Fellers, Doyle
3860 Park, Beaumont, Texas
Sayers Hall, Southwest Texas State Teachers College
San Marcos, Texas ('60)

Hafner, Johnny
Rt. 1, Box 311, Daphne, Alabama

Haithman, Gloria
416 Chatham St., Fayetteville, North Carolina
Hampton Institute, Hampton (?), Virginia ('60)

Henry, Tony
1917 Worm St., Houston 19, Texas
University of Texas, Austin, Texas ('60)

Jones, Charles
2112 W. Trade St., Charlotte, North Carolina
Johnson C. Smith University, North Carolina ('58)
(doing graduate work)

Moore, Art
Student Body President's Office, Florida State University
Talahassee, Florida ('59)

Morrison, Martha
2121 June Drive, Nashville 14, Tennessee
Box 96, Peabody College, Nashville, Tennessee ('59)

Oliver, Ed
2302 32nd Ave., Apt 393, Tampa 10, Florida
Florida A. and M. University, Tampa, Florida ('61)

Owens, Ann
2921 Izard St., Little Rock, Arkansas
Arkansas A. and M. University ('59)

White, Earl
XXXXXX 601 W. 149 St., New York, N.Y.
Dillard University, New Orleans, La. ('59)

Wingate, Alice
302 Pine St., Rutherfordton, North Carolina
Woman's College, Greensboro, North Carolina ('59)

Farabee, Ray
2313 9th St., Wichita Falls, Texas
University of Texas, Austin, Texas (School of Law)
3457 Chestnut St., Philadephia 4, Pa. USNSA

Ashby, Warren
Professor of Ethics, Woman's College
Greensboro, North Carolina

FROM
EDWARD P. MORGAN

Here's the September 10th per your telegram.

You may reproduce, as long as credit is given along the lines:

Excerpt from a broadcast by Edward P. Morgan, National News Commentator for the American Broadcasting Network.

Sincerely,

Johanne Curran

Johanne Curran

File

FROM: EDWARD P. MORGAN AND THE NEWS Wednesday, September 10, 1958
American Broadcasting Network

Out of the labyrinth of legal dodges to defeat equal rights for Negroes, emerges an impulsive development that everybody can understand. The superintendent of schools in Alexandria, Virginia, has fired a mother of eight as cook in a Negro school because she was one of the parents who joined in the court action to force the acceptance of their children in white classrooms. The superintendent called the move of 42-year-old Mrs. Blois O. Hundley a "slap in the face."

And there, I submit, you have, untarnished and uncomplicated by the high-flown double talk of lawyer's language, one classic posture of the prejudice of segregationists. They know -- although they may not admit it even to themselves -- that time is running out on them, that the narrow valley of unequal rights is coming to a dead end, as it must if democratic principles are to mean anything. With flowery phrases about fairness, they subscribe to due process of law as long as that pursuit provides them a stall. But when the law, supported by the slowly awakening morals of society, backs them into a corner they resort to their Stone Age weapons of violence or vindictiveness. And who will say that sheer violence is meaner than the superintendent's vindictiveness against Mrs. Hundley for daring to do nothing more than invoke the law to secure a decent education for her children? Ah, but she committed the unpardonable sin. She challenged the sacred if moldering doctrine of white supremacy.

There is some public pressure for the reinstatement of Mrs. Hundley as school cook, but whatever the outcome of this revealing and depressing incident, there are encouraging indications that in Virginia, as elsewhere, the tattered garment of phony respectability cloaking ugly, unreasoned prejudice is being torn away to reveal basic issues. In the court of Federal Judge John Paul on Monday, the superintendent of schools of Charlottesville, Thomas Jefferson's home, was begging for a further delay in classroom desegregation. "If deliberate speed means nothing --," he started to say. But the court cut him off. "It doesn't mean anything in Charlottesville," the judge snapped. "There hasn't been any kind of speed in Charlottesville, deliberate or otherwise." And the witness conceded that was true.

The likes of Judge Paul must be reckoned with increasingly in this continuing struggle. In the course of two days he has ordered the integration of schools in Charlottesville, and the only high school in all of Warren County at the foot of the Blue Ridge Mountains of Virginia in Front Royal (whose Negroes have had to travel 40 miles or more to school) and he has blasted the sanctimonious hypocrisy of the state Democratic machine controlled by Senator Harry Flood Byrd for its "massive resistance" to the Federal government on equal rights. Nor can the racists dismiss the 75-year old Judge Paul as a Yankee carpetbagger. He was born in Harrisonburg, Virginia, and was reared in the tradition of segregation but he has not allowed any personal prejudice to interfere with the upholding of law, despite the unpleasantness, as he revealed in court yesterday, of being at odds with his own state government. He lies awake nights, he said, worrying about the problem.

Such a responsible attitude, coupled with and supported by, albeit belatedly, the law enforcement machinery of the Federal government such as Attorney General Rogers revealed yesterday was at the disposal of Little Rock, these lines of approach can be used effectively to tether the troublemakers. Minds and actions of this kind will do much to fill the vacuum of leadership in which, as the Fund for the Republic survey has just disclosed, moderates have suppressed their law-abiding instincts for fear of losing their jobs. Whether they realize it or not, they have as much at stake as Mrs. Hundley, the cook, who wasn't afraid of losing her job for the principle of equal rights.

This is Edward Morgan saying good night from Washington.

HCE

Ed says ~~story~~ Storey already [since he talked with you] broken — by "others" — he has clarified some details, removing Atl. Council — with City editor —

Kay McCleod is here.

This was announced —

"off-the-record" will be honored.

E.T.V.

2121 June Dr.
Nashville 14, Tenn.
September 18, 1958

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn St.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Fred:

You know what I think I did on August 22? I think I told you in a letter of that date that I was enclosing a list of the Seminar participants and then didn't. Well, here it is. Almost a month late, but here it is. Pick the address you think is most permanent.

The Seminar continued to go well after you left us. All of us have profited very greatly from it, more so than we can know for a while, I think. If it is held again next year (keep your fingers crossed !), I hope that you can be one of the first speakers and do the same type thing you did for us. It was a good start for the Seminar, in several ways.

I'm thinking more and more seriously about applying for a fellowship for graduate work in the field of sociology-human relations. Elmer Paul Brock of the Delaware NCCJ, who was one of our speakers, highly recommended the University of Pennsylvania which has a fairly new program in this field. I'm waiting to get his address from Ray so I can find out more about this program. He has some material on it he is going to send me. So, I may be writing you before long for advice and/or a recommendation of some sort. O.K. ?

Until then, take care of yourself. Oh -- are you coming to the next meeting of the steering committee for the November conference? I've forgotten whether it includes only the sponsoring organizations or not, but I think perhaps it does. We may well want to use you as a resource person for this conference if you're free November 28-29-30. Hope to see you again soon.

Most sincerely,

Martha

Martha Morrison

November 3, 1958

Mr. S. Keith Anderson
Executive Secretary
Montana Taxpayers' Association
P. O. Box 577
Helena, Montana

Dear Mr. Anderson:

We are in receipt of your letter of October 14th, directed to Mr. Harold C. Fleming, requesting information on taxes levied in the state. Unfortunately, we are not able to supply this inform tion since the Council is a private organization which does not deal in matters of this nature.

Perhaps the information you seek can be obtained from the Department of Revenue of the State of Georgia, Atlanta.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

S. KEITH ANDERSON
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

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KOHRS BLOCK—HELENA, MONTANA P. O. BOX 577 PHONE HICKORY 2-2130

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DEER LODGE

October 14, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming;

In making some comparative tax studies based upon the most recent U. S. Census Bureau reports, we find that they report only those property taxes imposed for state purposes.

In order to make our studies complete, we must obtain the total amount of taxes levied on property in your state for all purposes. This amount should include property taxes levied for state, county, school, city and miscellaneous purposes. (Special districts, livestock, etc.)

We would like to have the total figure levied or collected in your state for fiscal 1957-58 or the last year available.

For convenience sake just indicate the amount on the bottom of this letter and return in the enclosed postage free envelope. Thanking you in advance for this information, I remain

Sincerely yours,

S. Keith Anderson

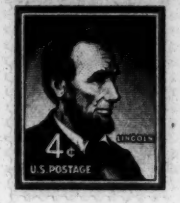
S. KEITH ANDERSON
Executive Secretary

SKA:eh

P. S. We have been requested to make this study and to date have the information from all but a very few states. If the actual figure is not available a estimate will be satisfactory for our purposes.

"THROUGH NON-PARTISAN AND NON-POLITICAL MEANS, IN THE INTEREST OF ALL TAXPAYERS IN THE STATE OF MONTANA, TO BRING ABOUT THE GREATEST ECONOMY IN THE EXPENDITURE OF PUBLIC MONEY CONSISTENT WITH THE EFFICIENT PERFORMANCE OF ESSENTIAL PUBLIC SERVICES."

AIR MAIL



BUSINESS REPLY ENVELOPE

PERMIT NO. 22, SEC. 384½ P. L. & R.

Montana Taxpayers' Association

P. O. Box 577 Helena, Montana

2121 June Drive
Nashville 14, Tennessee
December 16, 1958

Mr. Frederic Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Getting ready for the holidays? School is about over for this quarter and those two weeks with nothing special to do look awfully good. I did my student teaching this quarter, and it was quite an experience! It was very enjoyable for the most part, but I'm looking forward to being a student again myself.

Speaking of being a student, I'm goingto take advantage of the fact that we worked together on the planning of the Southern Conference and on the SSHRS this summer, and of your good nature, and ask you to write a letter of recommendation for me.

Elmer Paul Brock was also one of our Seminar resource men and he told me of a program of graduate studies at the University of Pennsylvania in the field of human and intergroup relations. I have received from them a catalogue of the graduate school and an application for a fellowship. Since summer before last my interest in intergroup relations has been growing and I would like very much to have the chance to enter this field as a profession. However, I do feel that I will need further study and preparation to go into it. I will also need finincial help if I am to do graduate work.

This particular program is for two years and leads to an M.A. The fellowship for which I am applying is called the Albert M. Greenfield Center Fellowship in Human Relations. The program prepares students for professional careers in intergroup relations and includes both academic work and work with organizations. It will also include some research and work with the University human relations center. The fellowship is quite generous, paying university and tuition fees and an additional $1500.

I would appreciaite it very much if you would be willing to write this letter for me. I think that you would be able to give a fairly comprehensive account of the phases of this type work which you have seen me in. The letter should goto Dr. E. R. Nixon, Vice-Dean, Room 103, Bennett Hall, Universtiy of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania.

Thank you and hope that your holidays are enjoyable.

Best wishes,

Martha

Box 96, Peabody
Nashville, Tenn.
January 10, 1958

Dear Fred-

The quickest way to do this is to send you the carbon of my original letter.

I do appreciate your writing this letter. Dr. Martin C..... (don't have the catalogue handy and can't spell his name!) doesn't receive the letters first, but I imagine they go to him for final evaluation.

I'll keep in touch now and then and will let you know when I hear anything.

Thanks again.

Warmest regards,
Martha

December 24, 1958

Mr. & Mrs. Robert H. Moench
Mt. Vernon Country Club
Route 3
Golden, Colorado

Dear Mr. & Mrs. Moench:

Thank you for your kind letter and contribution to the work of the Council. As you see, it arrived on Christmas eve -- perfect timing for so thoughtful and welcome a gift.

Your current address is properly shown in our records, so that New South and other general mailings should reach you. I hope it is evident to you from our materials that all is not discouraging in the South these days, although there is plenty to be distressed about. The closing of the schools in Virginia and Little Rock has shocked a number of Southerners -- notably parents -- into their first active protest against policies of "massive resistance." Belated though this is, it may mark a turning point. At least, from our point of view, it provides a large new group of people who are eager for information and positive leadership.

Again, our thanks for your interest and support, and all good wishes to you and Mr. Moench for the coming year.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Official receipt)

Dec 18

Dear Mr. Fleming,

Enclosed please find our contribution to the work of the Southern Regional Council for this year. We do wish it could be larger, especially at this time, when what you are doing is more vital than ever. But we hope it will help somewhat.

Please keep sending us your material, as we are much interested in the progress of your work, and I fear that our receipt of things has been a bit erratic, doubtless due to the fact that we fail to stay in one place!

$20.00 CR 12/24/58 rbo

Most sincerely
Sarah S. Moench
(Mrs. Robert H.)

Mt. Vernon Country Club
Route 3
Golden, Colorado.

January 8, 1959

Miss Martha Morrison
2121 June Drive
Nashville 14, Tennessee

Dear Martha,

Don't ask me how, but I lost the letter you wrote asking me to recommend you for graduate study in Human Relations at the University of Pennsylvania. Only a knucklehead could lose so important a letter and I accept the title without reservation.

We dug through the files and came up with your Nashville address. I assume you are either there or left in sufficient good terms with the people there that they will forward this to you. Please drop me a note again telling me to whom I should write and I promise 1) not to lose the letter and 2) to write a letter of recommendation to Penn. The Director of the Human Relations Center, Martin Choworowsky, has been a professional acquaintance of mine of some ten years standing.

I am sorry I goofed things up. Let me hear from you.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

January 12, 1959

Miss Martha Morrison
2121 June Drive
Nashville 14, Tennessee

Dear Martha:

Enclosed is a blind copy of a letter I have just written Dr. Nixon. I hope in some small measure this is adequate compensation for the delay in getting it off.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

B.C. Is Martha Morrison

January 12, 1959

Dr. E. R. Nixon
Vice-Dean
Room 103, Bennett Hall
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania

Dear Dr. Nixon:

Every once in a great while one gets the opportunity to recommend someone "special" for graduate study. As a former professor, this brings added satisfaction when it provides a chance to strengthen the field as well as to help a deserving student. As a white Southerner, I feel there is hope for my region when I find one of my fellow-provincials interested in the field of intergroup relations.

All of this is background for a recommendation for Miss Martha Morrison of Nashville, Tennessee, as a candidate for the Albert M. Greenfield Center Fellowship in Human Relations. (I held the Warberg Fellowship at NYU's Center for Human Relations Studies.)

Miss Morrison has been active with the National Student Association for a number of years, while a student at Peabody. These past two years I have come to know and respect Martha as she has helped plan seminars and conferences in the human relations area. I served as a resource person to the Southern Conference for Student Leaders sponsored by N.S.A. and saw her at work. She is very able; she is capable of original thought; she assumes responsibility and follows through; she is mature in judgment; she is democratic in her acceptance of people; she is a person of moral and intellectual integrity.

I believe, if she becomes the Greenfield Fellow, that the time will come when the Center and the University of Pennsylvania will be proud to claim her as their product.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

AIR MAIL AIR MAIL

Mr. & Mrs. Robert H. Moench
Mount Vernon Country Club
Route 3
Golden, Colorado

Dear Mr. & Mrs. Moench:

Thank you so much for your 1959 contribution to the work of the Council, and for the encouraging words that accompanied it.

It has been a good year for the Council, in many ways, though the gap between what is needed and what we can do still seems depressingly large. All of which makes your letter and gift the more welcome.

I am sorry for our lack of coordination in noting your address change; the necessary correction has been made.

More and more, we are impressed by the national scope of the problems with which we deal. It is not at all impossible that our lines of interest might one of these days reach to Colorado. If so, I will remember your offer to help.

With best regards and good wishes for 1960,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Return ltr for reply

December 26, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming,

Enclosed is the contribution from the Moenches for the work of the Southern Regional Council for 1959. We continue to read with interest the issues of "New South" that you send us, and we also note with pleasure more and more frequent allusions to the work of the Council in the newspapers and national magazines. You are doing an excellent job, and we wish that we could help you with actions as well as with our small, annual check.

MF - Pls note + also get changed upstairs if necessary (L Repts etc.) HCF

I hate to intrude administrative detail into what should be an uninterrupted paean of praise, but unfortunately your annual reports and other large things that you send to us in manila envelopes are still going to our old address at 312½ 27 3/8 Road in Grand Junction. Everything else comes here to the right place, so it is only a question of correlation.

We should be very happy to know if there is anything that we in this part of the country could do to help you.

Most sincerely,

Sarah J. Moench

Mr. and Mrs. Robert H. Moench

Mount Vernon Country Club
Route 3
Golden, Colorado

ck 40 PA

February 22, 1960

Mr. Irving Leos
Vice-President
Modern Community Developers, Inc.
84 Nassau Street
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Leos:

In response to your recent letter, I am enclosing copies of the Citizen Council for November, December, and January. March, 1960

We receive several copies of this publication each month, and I am perfectly willing to forward one to you. You would find it quicker and more convenient, however, to subscribe directly. If you are reluctant (as we are) to subscribe organizationally, you could do so through an individual who would receive the paper at his home or post office box.

Sent 4/18/60 mf

In any case, we will send further issues to you until notified to the contrary, and we will keep an eye out for comparable material in extremist publications.

With good wishes for your work,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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MCD
Modern Community Developers Inc.
84 NASSAU STREET, PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY
WAlnut 4-0701

February 16, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Can you help us keep posted on the materials published by some of those who are opposed to our program? The Citizens Council in Jackson, Mississippi has been putting out some vehement stuff, especially in connection with our subsidiary in Deerfield, Illinois.

We would be most grateful if you could arrange for us to receive copies of this paper regularly, and will gladly pay any costs involved. We also would be interested in getting other comparable papers.

Thank you for your kind consideration.

Sincerely yours,

Irving Leos

Irving Leos
Vice President

IL:eh

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MCD
Modern Community Developers Inc.
84 NASSAU STREET, PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY
WAlnut 4-0701

February 24, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. - Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Many thanks for the copies of the Citizens Council. I will try to arrange for a subscription of our own. In the meanwhile, we would be deeply grateful if you would continue to send us this and similar material.

I will try to reciprocate. Thanks again.

Cordially,

Irving Leos

Irving Leos
Vice President

IL:eh

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **JOHN CONSTABLE**

4/26/60

HCF:

I'M RELUCTANT TO INCLUDE THIS IN NEW SOUTH BECAUSE IT'S IS ONLY REMOTELY CON* NECTED WITH OUR SUBJECT. IF YOU THINK WE SHOULD THOUGH, I WILL.

Besides, we reach few teachers on a percentage basis;

JC -

Are you willing to do this?

HCF

HUGH MOORE FUND
51 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 2-2562

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RESEARCH DIRECTOR

A NON-PROFIT
EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION
DEVOTED TO
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ESTABLISHED 1944

April 13, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Editor
New South
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

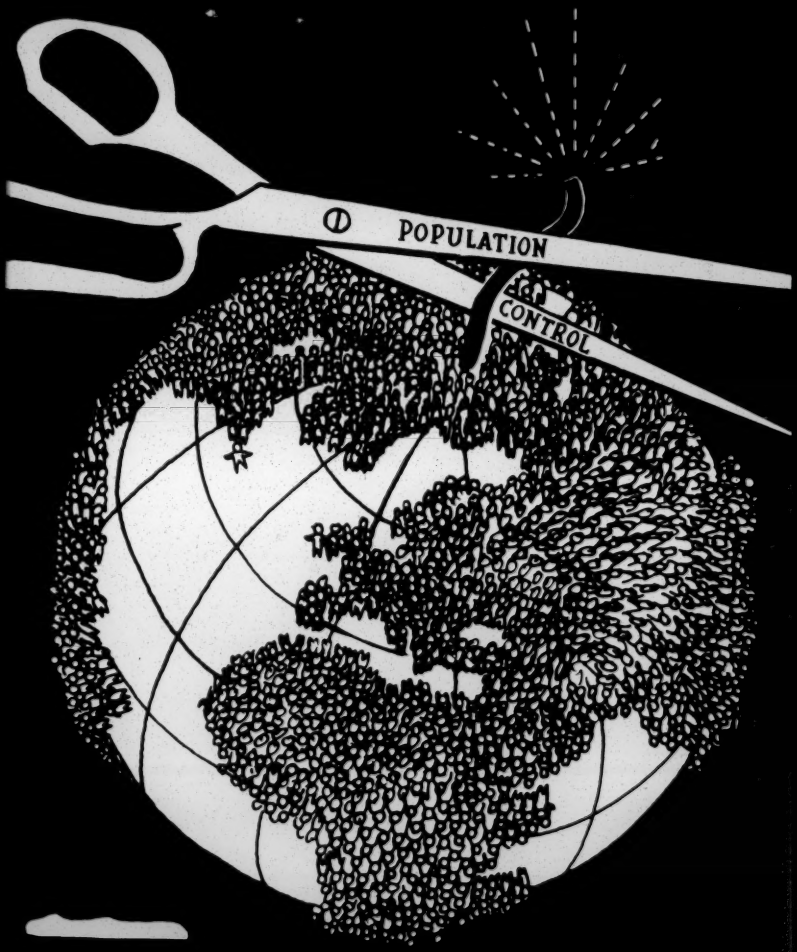
I would appreciate your putting a notice in New South that copies of the enclosed pamphlet "The Population Bomb" are available free of charge to teachers. Requests, indicating the number of copies desired, should be sent to the Hugh Moore Fund, 51 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N.Y.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh Moore

Hugh Moore



THE POPULATION BOMB

PA ✓

ARTHUR J. MOORE
BISHOP (RETIRED)
THE METHODIST CHURCH
1702 CANDLER BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

RESIDENCE
1391 NORTH DECATUR ROAD, N. E.

November 7, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Harold:

Your letter warmed my heart. If I have been able to serve the Southern Regional Council in the years gone, I am happy. I wish for you and the Council every possible success.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur J. Moore

Arthur J. Moore

AJM:vaw

October 27, 1960

Bishop Arthur J. Moore
1391 North Decatur Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Bishop Moore:

As you may know, the Southern Regional Council recently moved to new offices, the move being occasioned solely by space requirements.

The Executive Committee, as well as the staff, wants to express sincere appreciation to the Trustees and to you for the years of pleasant association we enjoyed in the Wesley Memorial Building.

The copy of our letter, enclosed, speaks for itself; but, on behalf of all of us in the Council, I want to add this special word of appreciation to you. No one realizes more than we that the attacks upon the presence of the Council in the Wesley Memorial Building took a heavy toll on your time and patience and energy. We deeply regretted this and wished earnestly that it had been in our power to prevent it.

The very fact that it occurred, however, gives us the more reason to be grateful to you for many evidences of friendship over the years.

Please call on me if I or the Council can be of any service to you, and know that you have our best wishes for the continued fruitfulness of your busy ministry.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

BC: Rufus E. Clement

December 28, 1960

Mr. and Mrs. Robert H. Moench
Box 537-A
Route 3
Golden, Colorado

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Moench:

You are very kind to remember the Council at this season with a further contribution. Our warm thanks.

The kind of encouragement your note gives us is especially welcome just now, in the face of the New Orleans troubles and the unresolved sit-in protests in Atlanta and elsewhere. We have to keep reminding ourselves that nobody ever expected the breaching of the Deep South to be easy or painless.

The very best regards to you both, and best wishes for a rewarding New Year.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

December 20

Dear Mrs. Fleming

The new address of the S.R.C. seems to have been lost under the piles of Christmas, and the typewriter developed ulcers, so I am forced to use pen. However, enclosed please find our contribution to the work of the S.R.C. for 1960 and accept our compliments for some excellent work during the past year, as revealed in the fascinating reports you have sent us.

Congratulations, and keep it up!

Sincerely

Mr. and Mrs. Robert H. Moenat

Box 537-A
Route 3
Golden, Colorado

#40.00 CR 12/27/60
RHA

IRVIN C. MOLLISON
201 VARICK STREET
NEW YORK 14, N. Y.

June 5, 1961

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W. - Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

The New York Times of Wednesday, May 31, 1961, carried some excerpts from a special report issued by your that day on the Freedom Riders.

I would appreciate it very much if you would send me the whole report referred to, and any other reports you may have issued on the subject.

Very truly yours,

IRVIN C. MOLLISON

please send with publications list
mailed 6/7/61

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

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LESLIE DUNBAR,SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 5 FORSYTHE ST ATLA

ARRIVING WEDNESDAY 11:20 AM. WILL TELEPHONE YOU FROM AIRPORT.

REGARDS

BETTE MOORE.

Contributions

December 12, 1961

Mrs. Robert H. Moench
Box 537-A, Route 3
Golden, Colorado

Dear Mrs. Moench:

Please accept my deepest appreciation for your letter of November 29, and the contribution of you and Mr. Moench to the Southern Regional Council. Your continued interest in the Council means a great deal to us.

Certainly events do provide us with innumerable reasons for both encouragement and depression, but generally the trend is clearly on the side of progress. Shortly I will complete our annual report for our members and friends in which you will find some specific accounting of our progress and lack of it.

Our mutual friend, Katharine Taylor, spent last week with us here in Atlanta. Needless to say, she remains her uniquely energetic and perceptive self.

Again, we are most grateful.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:jl
Enc.

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe St, N.W.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Box 537-A, Route 3
Golden, Colorado
November 29, 1961

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

12/4/61 R HA

Enclosed herewith please find a check for $40.00, continuing the annual contribution of my husband and myself to the work of the S.R.C. We continue to read with great interest all the reports which you send us, and are alternately depressed and encouraged, as you probably are, too, by the long way there still is to go and the progress that is being made. We wish you continued success with all our hearts.

Sincerely yours,

Sarah H. Moench

Mrs. Robert H. Moench

April 13, 1962

Miss Flora Belle Ludington
Librarian
Mt. Holyoke College
South Hadley, Massachusetts

file

Dear Flora Belle:

I am enclosing a statement issued from Miles College on April 7 which I think may be of general interest to you. I am, however, sending it particularly because of the marked statement on page 3. As you can see also from the enclosed circular of Paul Anthony's, Miles College desperately needs books for its library. This is one of the many Negro colleges in the South which has little reason for continued existence. It happens, however, to have as its new president one of the truly remarkable men I know. Lucius Pitts has, by the grace of something or other, all the right educational ideas and he has such an unbeatable sense of calling that he will either make a decent school of this or kill himself in the effort. I don't want the latter to happen. And so, if you have any friends who could send him books or if Mt. Holyoke could spare a few, I would be most grateful and the donations would have been supremely worthwhile.

I still owe you that long letter. I hope you are well. What are your plans for next year.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures 2.

August 21, 1962

Miss Judith Howard
Assistant Secretary
Community Relations Division
American Friends Service Committee
160 North Fifteenth Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

Dear Miss Howard:

In his absence, Leslie Dunbar has asked me to respond to your inquiry concerning Mrs. Elizabeth Moore of Sarasota. We are familiar with this situation and Mrs. Moore does need help and support. She has written an article of her experience, "White Man, Black Man" that is a rather thorough record of the situation and her reactions. You might write Mrs. Moore to determine if a copy is available.

In this regard, too, I feel certain Mrs. Moore would appreciate hearing from persons who appreciate what she has done. It might be especially helpful if you know of people in the Sarasota area, who might get in touch with her.

On the matter of writing the Florida Real Estate Commission, you should know that Mrs. Moore's Attorney has strongly criticized this suggestion, feeling that such action may harm rather than help. The attorney points out that the Commission is a legally established body, presently considering a case before it, and writing at this time is akin to writing a court during the course of deliberations.

We do not have a recent report on this situation, but I think Mrs. Moore would be happy to respond to an inquiry from you, and would appreciate knowing of your interest.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:nm

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HAROLD EVANS
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

RECEIVED
AUG 9 1962

August 7, 1962

PA
file
handle.
Josephine
should
be
informed
Jim

Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Friend:

We have received today from James Dombrowski the enclosed material describing the case of Mrs. Elizabeth Moore, real estate broker from Sarasota, Florida, who is evidently in a difficult situation as a result of her decision last fall to sell a house to a Negro physician.

We are wondering if the Southern Regional Council is aware of this situation, and if you have fuller information which would help us in responding to James Dombrowski's suggestion that there is literature and written encouragement which the Service Committee could send to Mrs. Moore.

Any fuller picture of Mrs. Moore's difficulties which you - or any of your colleagues in Florida - could give us will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Judith Howard

Judith Howard
Assistant Secretary
Community Relations Division

JH/eb
cc: Barbara W. Moffett
Charlotte Meacham

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La.

AUG 9

May 18, 1962

FACT SHEET in re: Mrs. Elizabeth Moore

A Florida realtor sold a home to a distinguished Negro orthopedic surgeon in an all-white neighborhood. The physician was accepted, but the realtor is threatened with the loss of her license and economic disaster.

Here are the salient facts:

1) In October of 1961 Mrs. Elizabeth Moore, a realtor of Sarasota, Florida, sold a home in all-white Whitfield Estates to a distinguished Negro orthopedic surgeon, Dr. John Chenault.

2) October, 1961 - A meeting of a group of realtors with Mrs. Elizabeth Moore and Dr. Chenault "voiced disapproval of the sale and tried to preserve the all-white status of Whitfield Estates" (Sarasota Herald Tribune, October 14, 1961).

3) October, 1961 - The committee on ethics of the Sarasota County Board of Realtors, Mr. L. C. Siver, chairman, recommended disciplinary action against Mrs. Moore.

4) December 14, 1961 - The Committee on Ethics made its report.

5) January 30, 1962 - The Sarasota County Board of Realtors voted to expel Mrs. Moore.

6) Mrs. Moore filed a suit against the Sarasota Realty Board and the chairman of its Ethics Committee for $100,000 in damages.

Mr. L. C. Siver, chairman of the Committee on Ethics, was reported to have said, "The code of ethics of realtors is above the law, far higher than the law. A realtor has sold up down the river--has sold a house in Whitfield to a Negro."

7) April 3, 1962 - The Florida Real Estate Commission filed an INFORMATION against Mrs. Moore charging her with unethical practices in three transactions involving twelve counts. The charges are sustained. Mrs. Moore's license will be revoked under the provisions of Chapter 475 Florida Statutes.

8) May 3, 1962 - Mrs. Moore, through her attorney, filed an ANSWER charging that the information in the investigation are based on technicalities and are merely a means of disciplinng and penalizing the defendant, Mrs. Moore for the sale of her property to a Non-Caucasian.

9) Dr. John W. Chenault has staff privileges at Sarasota Memorial Hospital. He holds a B.S. Degree from the University of Minnesota, 1923, and an M.D. in 1931. He held three year fellowships in orthopedic surgery at the University of Chicago and the University of Iowa. From 1936-1954 he was on the staff of the Veterans Hospital at Tuskegee, Alabama. Before moving to Sarasota County, Dr. Chenault was administrator of the Florida A.&M. University Hospital at Tallahassee. He is a member of the Unitarian Church.

10) In October of 1961 Mrs. Moore served as a member of the executive committee and treasurer of the Sarasota County Board of Realtors. She was one of four persons nominated as "realtor of the year." After she sold the home to Dr. Chenault, her name was withdrawn.

11) In selling the home to Dr. Chenault, Mrs. Moore had only one motive. She did what her conscience told her was right. This is the way she put it:

> "I feel he has a right to a decent home. Both morally and legally he has a right to own and live in a home more in keeping with his professional status and fine character.
>
> "My friends have expressed concern for my personal safety if I made this sale, and my enemies have said the same thing, but I have been motivated by a strong feeling that this is the right thing to do and that it is in accordance with the realtor's pledge which I took when I entered my profession.
>
> "That professional vow states, 'I pledge myself to protect the individual right of real estate ownership and to widen the opportunity to enjoy it.'"
>
> --The Bradenton Herald
> October 13, 1961

12a) The Commission's charges do not mention the sale of the house to Dr. Chenault, but are based on alleged unethical conduct in three transactions. None of the persons involved in the three transactions came to Mrs. Moore to complain. Two of the cases are more than two years old.

12b) "The third case," stated Mrs. Moore, "is a technicality which the real estate investigator uncovered when he ransacked my office. It happened this year, but it involves good friends of mine who have no complaint whatever about my conduct of their transactions."

12c) This is the first complaint brought against Mrs. Moore before either the Board of Realtors or the Florida Real Estate Commission. In other cases, even when some member of the public was hurt in the transaction, if it was the first offense, the

penalty was either suspension of the license for a period from a week up to two years, or no penalty at all. In Mrs. Moore's case, the Commission is seeking to revoke her license.

For the information of persons wishing to express their concern, the address of the Commission is: The Florida Real Estate Commission, Mr. Sylvan Maxwell, Chairman, Winter Park, Florida.

The address of Mrs. Elizabeth Moore is: 3211 North Tamiami Trail, Sarasota, Florida.

Return to PA

Elizabeth Wolfe Moore
3211 N. Tamiami Trail
Sarasota, Florida

10,000 words

WHITE MAN, BLACK MAN

Selling real estate in Florida is a challenge, an opportunity to make money, or a one-way ticket to heartbreak, depending on who is talking. A flood of cars, buses, trains and planes flow down the main arteries from the North bringing thousands every week who want to live out their remaining days in this pleasant land of flowers and sunshine.

Some 25,000 men and women have been licensed by the State of Florida to help these people find the home of their dreams. Laws have been passed to stamp out fraud, and a professional organization sets standards of ethics to put real estate brokerage on a par with the professions of law and medicine. On the whole, the results of this powerful effort to protect the snow-birds from being clipped are successful.

When a man and wife bundle up their worldly goods, pick up their savings books and head for new territory inspired by the million color shots of a beautiful girl in a bathing suit on a

white sand beach, there is bound to be a little readjustment necessary somewhere along the line. It usually falls to the real estate salesman to help this couple mould their dreams into reality.

The salesman who learns how to do this well has an ever-growing circle of pleased clients who look at him as their first friend in a new and strange land. He learns to look at each new face before him and try to find the right place for the individual, a place where he can live and work and play happily. What can this couple buy within their means which will give them the right place in the right neighborhood among the right people to carry on their work, take care of their family needs and find satisfaction? The real estate salesman learns quickly that often people do not tell him what they want and need. They think they do, but actually they don't.

The man who has just sold a $35,000 house for $25,000 in Ohio is feeling such a financial pinch that he says, "I'm going to pay cash for a $10,000 house. Don't waste your time and mine showing me anything else." He looks at the $10,000 house. His wife studies the cramped kitchen and the tiny bathroom. He looks over the cheap construction and the small rooms. Grim expressions settle over their faces. This is the right time for the salesman to begin his song about a charming retirement home on the Bay.

Finally, the couple loosen up a little, face the fact that they have formed certain standards of living over the years and they can't be happy in a house which does not represent their self-chosen place in society.

In theory, a man has the right to choose his niche in a democracy, to stake out his claim, set his own ambitions and achieve them. The Constitution puts it, "The right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Where theory gets snarled up with practice is when your pursuit of happiness gets in the way of my pursuit of happiness. Believe it or not, some people can't be happy even to see other people near them.

One spring day a client was sitting across the desk from me. He picked up a pencil and began writing down figures on my scratch pad. "I'm going to give you a chance to make some money," he announced.

This is usually the opening gambit for the presentation of a risky speculation. The proposition began to unfold. Stated briefly, he was trying to sell me a house he had been stuck with for a couple of years. Since I had already made every possible effort to sell it for him, I had little reason to think I could sell it if I owned it myself. I listened with the polite reserve a salesman must show a client, buying or selling.

"I'll even give you a prospect," the man said, "there's a colored doctor who wants to buy it."

I just sat there and stared. "Then why don't you sell it to him?" I finally gasped.

"And have someone burn a cross in my yard? I'm too old for such stuff."

We talked on about the house and I said I would think it over. What I intended to think over was how to refuse the house and keep my client's good will.

As he got up to go, the words spoke themselves, almost without my volition. "What is that doctor's name?"

He pronounced it clearly and distinctly and then he left.

The name went round and round in my head. Questions crowded in beside it. Where did a man trained to antiseptic cleanliness live across the tracks in colored town among the old fram shacks with children, chickens and dogs tumbling about the streets deep in dust or mud? Would he have one of the new little concrete block houses which local contractors were beginning to build there? How would his yard look? Could he keep out the chickens and dogs? Did he care? A doctor of any color must have considerable education. He must be a man of culture and refinement. What did he think about living across the tracks in the poorest section of our bright, sunny city? Did he like it? Did he resent it? Did he really want this house near the Bay?

The questions tormented me until I picked up the phone book and looked for his name. Twice I reached for the phone and then drew back, hesitant to bridge the gap that lay between my office and his, between my world and his.

Finally, I had to have the answers. I dialed his number and moments later I was starting a conversation very like a thousand others in my business. I had heard he was looking for a home, I began, and I would like to help him. Because my words fell into the pattern I so often used, I began talking about the house near the Bay since it was the only one which came to mind in connection with him. Then I asked him if he were interested.

"No," he replied. "I'm too old for this kind of thing. I just want to sit back and live quietly."

My curiosity drove me on and again my words followed the familiar pattern. "Would you like to look at this house anyway? I'll be glad to take you through it."

Perhaps curiosity urged him along, too. He agreed. An hour later I was walking through the empty rooms with him, pointing out heating and air conditioning ducts, special features in the kitchen equipment and the vacu-flo system. As we stood in the spacious livingroom, looking out through the screened patio across beautifully landscaped neighboring lawns, I asked, "Do you like it?"

The doctor turned toward the setting sun and murmured softly, more to himself than to me, "How I would love to have a home like this!"

The longing in his words, the scarcely ventured hope, moved me to sudden determination. In that moment was born the desire to find a way to help this man realize his dream. I knew it was not going to be a simple matter of signing a deed and paying the money. The community must accept him as belonging there. It was clear to me that he should be in a place like this, but would anyone else admit it?

The next day I bought the house and called in a plumber, an electrician and a landscape architect to put it in good shape. The doctor said his wife was visiting relatives and he asked for a picture and a floor plan to send her.

The doctor and I talked for hours about race problems. He said there must be careful preparation for any new step. People

need time to get used to new ideas. I noticed as I talked to him that I lost any sense of color difference between us. I found we read the same books and magazines, we enjoyed the same plays and music. I noticed, too, that his reading and his knowledge of world affairs was broader than mine. His appreciation of music and art surpassed mine, although his opportunities for enjoying them were limited rather severely to magazines and TV. He had a social conscience motivated by deep understanding of mankind and surprising impartiality.

The question of building a social bridge between the doctor and his prospective neighbors gave me many hours of concern. It happened that I had sold a house in this locality to a close friend. One day while talking to this man, the question of racial prejudice came up. He said he had no prejudice whatever, that he had associated with Negroes, eaten with them and worked with them many times. However, he added, segregation was a social custom of long standing in the South and he thought such a deep-seated custom should not be disturbed.

I remarked that cannibalism was a social custom of long standing in various parts of the world, but no civilized person hesitated to wipe it out if possible.

The first victims of my crusade were my family. My husband warned me that it might ruin my business to make such a sale. Then he went on to ask, "How would you like it if a Negro bought a house next door to us?"

"If he were a man like the doctor, I would welcome him."

But I pondered this carefully. I asked myself whether this was a pose on my part. Did I really mean it or was it a bit of social rebellion which was insincere? My teen-age daughter had asked me to let her have a minor medical service and it occurred to me that this could be a test of my sincerity. I asked her if she would like to go to the doctor for treatment. She agreed and I took her to his office. I probed my own feeling about putting her in his hands. I found I could honestly say that I had no reservations on the grounds of color. The man's professional manner impressed me with confidence and the color of his skin just did not matter.

The next step was to bring together the doctor and my friend who said he had no prejudice and see what would happen. I invited about a dozen people to a steak barbecue beside my swimming pool and I included these two gentlemen. The other guests were members of my family and business staff and I warned them of what was coming

My social guinea pig was the last to arrive. As I introduced him to the doctor a slight reserve fell over the party. However, the doctor went right on talking and he was an excellent conversationalist. After the steaks, we went in the house to look at some slides from Mexico.

When the lights came on again I noticed the doctor and my friend sitting side by side and their conversation was about a bad knee and what could be done with it. Finally, my friend got up to leave and he said, "It's been a wonderful dinner and I certainly have enjoyed it. Next time I want you at my house," and turning to the doctor with a sweep of his arm, he added, "and you, too, Doctor. I want you to come to my house."

It began to look as though all this talk about color lines was a thing of the past. It just doesn't happen among cultured people, I thought.

Next, the doctor suggested that I talk to the minister of a nearby church and find out how he felt about the matter. The day I called, the minister met me in his garden and I got to the point at once.

He replied, "I'm afraid there will be some who will object, but my church has taken a very definite position in this matter and I intend to follow it right to the end. Any Negro who comes to my church is welcome. You can sell him the house next door to mine if you want to and I will be glad to have him for a neighbor."

My next visit was to another resident in the area. I called on him at his office. After a word or two of greeting, I put it to him bluntly: "Would you mind if I sold a house near yours to a Negro?"

He appeared to be stumped for a minute. Then he began to slowly choose his words. First, he wanted to assure me, he had no racial prejudice. However, neighborhood unity was an important thing. He had heard of a Negro doctor who bought a house in a white neighborhood and it just didn't work out.

"But this man is a personal friend of mine," I declared. "He holds three degrees from three of the biggest universities in the country. He is a specialist in orthopedic surgery and is a Diplomat of the American Board of Orthopedic Surgery and a Fellow of the American Academy of Orthopedic Surgery. He has had a long distinguished career as administrator and director of hospitals."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

"I beg your pardon," the gentleman said, "I meant no slight to your friend. In fact, I sent my son to a summer camp where there were two Negro boys and they were fine fellows."

We chatted back and forth for a time and then I left. I was aware that he wasn't exactly happy about it, but it seemed that time would wear away the rough edges.

About this time I took a vacation in Mexico and while I was there I probed the color question among our friends South of the Border. It was pretty clear that Mexicans do not admire us for our handling of racial incidents. I could understand that most other races of the world with more or less pigment in their skins think us inconsistent in our practice of democracy.

When I came back to Florida I began to try out the question of racial prejudice on almost everyone who came my way in casual conversation. The results were highly interesting.

A local businessman dismissed it with the comment: "Nobody minds Negroes any more. Why, I bunked with them in the Army."

But a retired Georgia school teacher almost blew a fuse. "They are dirty, ignorant animals. You can't teach them anything. They've got to be kept in their place. Give them an inch and they'll take a mile. They must be kept down, I tell you!"

"Do you think all Negroes are like that?" I asked.

"They certainly are and you damn Yankees make them worse. How would you like to see your daughter marry one?"

"Well, isn't there any middle ground?" I suggested. "Do I have to either marry my daughter to one or else treat them all like dogs?"

"You'll find out," she hissed.

"What is there about the color of a man's skin that sets him apart from everyone else?" I persisted.

"It's poison, that's what it is," she snapped. "You Yankees come down here and ruin the South with your crazy ideas. Tell me, would you want a great big black buck nigger to kiss your daughter?"

"I think my daughter will choose for herself the men she wants to kiss, and she can always say, 'No.'" I looked at the woman's contorted face and wondered at the hate she expressed. "Why all this talk about sex and the Negro?" I asked. "Southern white men of the so-called best blood of the South have been siring left-handed families among the Negroes for generations. What would you do about those of mixed blood?"

"I'd castrate them, that's what I'd do!" she exploded.

I gave up.

The problem seemed too difficult for me. I put the house in Multiple Listing and let my fellow realtors set the price. They told me it ought to move, for it was in excellent condition and freshly decorated. I had several prospects for it and a sale seemed imminent.

Then one day the doctor phoned me again and said his wife was back in town and he would like to bring her to call on me. I asked them both to dinner, without other guests this time. We had an interesting evening and became better acquainted. His wife was a charming woman, beautifully dressed, with a face and figure that defied classification. It would be impossible for a

stranger to say what blood lines had produced her, but she was lovely.

The doctor asked me to take his wife to see the house near the Bay. We walked through the rooms and then went out to sit on the patio. She did not seem to care much for the place. We talked as women do, but I did not push the question of the house. In fact, I was not sure what would be the best thing to do about it. The difficulties did not appear to be insurmountable, but I realized that there might be more to this than seemed apparent at that time.

These people were entirely at home with members of any race, but unquestionably they had faced many insults from time to time. I wondered what was best for their happiness. Certainly, they were culturally the equal of their prospective neighbors, perhaps their superiors. Would they be accepted on that basis? Or would their lives here be a succession of petty incidents intended to hurt them and humiliate them?

Their needs and desires were exactly the same as those of my white clients. They wanted a home which would symbolize the place in society for which they had fitted themselves. They loved beauty, order and gracious living. They belonged with people of similar tastes. I found social contact with these people stimulating and interesting. Their intelligence, quick wit and warm, outgoing nature made them delightful companions. I knew their neighbors here could not help liking them if they let themselves.

As we closed up the house, she turned to me and said, "I'll talk it over with the doctor." Suddenly I sensed that she had

made her decision. She was going to buy the house. And I was going to sell it to her.

The next day they came to my office and we settled the details About a week later a workman from the telephone company revealed to the neighbors that an order had been given for a phone by a Negro doctor.

My office staff knew nothing about the details of the transaction and I felt they could handle the questions best on that basis. I told them to refer all requests for information to the public records and make a list of any callers who wished to leave their names. The phone rang constantly all day long. My secretary and salesmen faced every kind of outraged caller.

My closest friends in the real estate business called me in horrified anguish to find out if the stories going around town could possibly be true. Most of them were not. A dear friend called late one night and said, "I can't stand not knowing any longer. Is it true that the NAACP gave you a bundle and you are leaving for Mexico in the morning?"

"My dear," I replied, "you know how much property I own in this town. Do you think it is possible that the NAACP would give me enough to make it worth my while to drop everything I have here and go to Mexico?"

Another broker called me and declared: "I've been telling people all day it simply can't be true that you have sold a house to a Negro. No decent real estate person would do such a thing!"

"He wouldn't?" I asked.

"You don't mean to tell me you did!" he demanded.

"I didn't say; but aren't you a strange person to be talking about decency?" Memories of a recent news item linking his name with a young girl, too young a girl, came to mind.

"Maybe I'm no angel," he fumed, "but in business I play it straight."

"But you are not a member of the Board of Realtors, are you?" I couldn't help asking.

"I wouldn't join that lousy bunch," he shouted. "They're a hypocritical, lying bunch of bums." His voice dropped suddenly. "Whoever told you I tried to join the Realtors? Just name him and I'll call him a liar to his face."

"I saw your application, myself," I said softly.

There was a silence and I could hear his labored breathing over the wire.

"Does money mean anything to you?" he snapped.

"I suppose it does," I admitted. "What did you have in mind?"

"I'll give you ten thousand dollars to get me that application!"

"I wouldn't be interested," I told him.

"I was afraid you wouldn't be."

The demon of prejudice has many faces. I saw them all in the following days. There was the man who came to my house because he knew me well and talked to me for hours about the situation he felt I had created for him. He had put everything he had, all his money, years of work, his heart's blood, into a high class subdivision only half a mile away from the doctor's house. All his prospects

for profit lay in the last sites to be sold, he said. If this sale to a Negro went through, no one would want to live in that part of town. He would be ruined.

"Is there any guarantee that houses won't be sold to Negroes in any part of town?" I asked him.

"No, but since it has been done here," he said, "this whole neighborhood will be down-graded." He went on to tell me that he had always been fair in his treatment of Negroes. In Boy Scout work he had preached tolerance and justice. He wanted to be square with them and give them a fair chance, but this did not mean living next to them.

"Just what is so bad about living next to them?" I asked. "Are you always congenial with your white neighbors? When you find yourself living next to a white man you don't like, do you try to run him off, or do you go your way and let him go his?"

"It's not me," he insisted. "It's what other people think. I don't say it makes sense, but people are like that."

"Do you have to be that way, too."

"This is my bread and butter. I don't dare be any other way."

I asked him what he wanted me to do.

Would I listen to reason? Would I work out something else for the doctor? If so, he would come back the next day with an officer of the Board of Realtors and they would find a way to give the doctor a suitable home. I agreed.

They came for lunch at my house and spent four hours talking over proper housing for Negroes.

The doctor pointed out that he had many distinguished friends,

both white and colored, people he knew through his work, but he could not ask them to come to his home across the tracks; nor could he entertain them outside of his home, because there was no place acceptable to such men and women in a southern city.

He said, "The most ignorant, the most vulgar, the most offensive white man can walk into any restaurant or hotel here and as long as he conducts himself with some degree of decorum, he will be served courteously; but I am barred the moment they see my face."

The two white men agreed that it was unjust and something should be done about it. Would the doctor be willing to help them work out proper facilities, restaurants, motels and homes for Negroes? Yes, of course. But the talk was all in generalities. I did not hear a single word about how or when.

The doctor remarked that it was often a shock to find that the welfare of the Negro was closely linked with the welfare of the most fortunate class of white people. Negro maids live in hovels, draw their water from open wells, and their children play in mud holes contaminated by sewage. They are victims of all the diseases spread by filth and the parasites common to the South. The mother puts on a white dress, washes her hands and goes to work in the home of one of the best white families. Under her nails are the germs of disease and she carries them to the white children she cares for and the food she serves. It is not her fault. She does the best she can. But the white community which permits such conditions is going to suffer equally with the colored people who live with them.

The Code of Ethics of the Board of Realtors sets a fine standard. I am all in favor of it. I believe in it so much that I have worked for its objectives in every way I could for years. I have served in many offices of the Board, Treasurer, member of the Executive Board and as chairman and member of committees.

Just before this thing broke I found myself Chairman of the Nominating Committee for the annual election of officers. My fellow members of the committee nominated me to succeed myself as Treasurer for a third time. This would automatically make me a member of the Executive Board. Usually such a nomination means election. It had in my case in the past.

Just after the news broke about the doctor, I found that one of the nomin tions made by my committee was refused. I had to call another meeting. This was the first time I faced a group of my fellow realtors. The atmosphere was definitely strained.

When I opened the meeting, the man on my right said, "I move that we nominate a whole new slate since there seems to be a good deal of difficulty about this one." The motion was seconded promptly and passed. They proceeded to renominate the slate exactly as it had been before with two exceptions--the man who had refused to serve and me. They quickly found a substitute for me as treasurer and wrapped up the nomin tions. This was the opening shot in my battle with the local Board. Had I but known it, this was nothing to what they had in store for me.

The night of the election, as is customary, the president called for annual reports from the chairmen of all standing committees. The Chairman of the Ethics Committee went up front with a sheaf of papers in his hand. The usual report from the Ethics Committee is a few generalities about high standards and fine sentiments about sterling character.

This time we got something different. The gentleman named no names but he did refer to the woman who had "sold the Realtors down the river" by selling a house in one of the finest neighborhoods in town to a Negro. Since the local paper had published some brief comments on the sale and named me as the seller and there were no reports of any other such sales, it seemed pretty conclusive that he had me in mind. It seemed a strange use of an old slavery saying to talk about "selling down the river."

The gist of his talk was that he intended to clean up such unethical practices and definitely put an end to them. When he finished, someone in the back said, "I move that we give a rising vote of approval to the fine work of this committee." Almost everyone stood up. The same voice came again: "I move that we give a rising vote of approval and a round of applause." It was so done.

The room buzzed like a hive of angry bees. I sat there turning over in my mind what move I should make next. I knew they hoped I would get up and walk out. But I didn't. I stood up and walked forward to confront my critics.

The faces before me were tight and cold. I told them I would like to answer the attack made upon me and I wanted to talk to them

openly about the matter they were all discussing heatedly behind my back.

First, I told them about the distinguished accomplishments of the doctor in his chosen profession, one of the most highly respected of all professions. I described the efforts I had made to create a friendly acceptance of him in the locality where he was moving, far beyond what has ever been considered necessary in selling a family a house. I set forth my concept of real estate practice: My office is open to the public. To the best of my ability, I offer my services to solve any problem in real estate to anyone who comes to me. I have never turned anyone away. In common with all real estate salesmen, I have actively solicited business. Each person who comes my way I try to serve according to his need, in the spirit of the Golden Rule quoted in the preamble of the Realtor's Code of Ethics. I recalled the vow of the Realtor's Pledge, "I pledge myself to protect the individual right of real estate ownership and to widen the opportunity to enjoy it."

There was complete silence throughout the room. Not a chair scraped against the floor. Not a rustle could be heard. Even the tellers stopped counting their votes. I went back to my seat and sat down.

The first day I came back to my office, I was sitting at my desk when the phone rang and from habit I picked it up and answered it.

A male voice asked: "Are you the woman who sells property to Negroes?"

I hesitated briefly, questioning what this might be. "I did once."

"My name is Willie Smith," the voice continued. "I want a house on the Bay."

I began to doubt the sincerity of my caller. "Come in and we'll talk about it," I countered.

The voice became shrill and virulent. "You dirty nigger-lover! You stink!" The phone was slammed down.

I let my secretary answer first after this. When names given me to call back were strange, I usually ignored them, but one woman called several times. I noticed that her address was close to the doctor's house. Finally, I called her. When I identified myself, she began to sob.

"Our whole life savings are gone," she wept. "If you had only let us know you needed money, we would have helped you,"

This confusing statement left me rather blank. "But I don't particularly need money," I protested.

"Then why did you sell that house to a Negro?" she cried.

I struggled to recall the exact location of her home and was able to remember it as a large, new house on the water a block or so removed from the doctor. It must have cost $40,000.

"He won't bother you any," I assured her. "I doubt if you will even see him come and go."

"But it ruins the value of our property," she asserted earnestly. "We'll lose everything we have put in it and it was our whole life savings." She began to sob again.

It was a little hard for me to understand why this luxury waterfront home no longer had any monetary value. "Did you build your home to live in or for speculation?" I asked her.

"To live in," she declared. "It has everything we have always wanted."

"Then why don't you just live in it and enjoy it?" I was trying to picture a man and woman putting their last $40,000 in a house and, somehow, I couldn't.

"There's that Negro over there," she persisted.

"Wasn't your husband an army officer?" I asked.

"Yes," she replied, "A colonel."

"How did he get along with the colored officers in the Army?"

"Why, there was never the slightest bit of trouble," she declared. "They were gentlemen."

"This is a gentleman, too," I told her. "Just treat him like a colored army officer."

A curious off-shoot from the newspaper publicity was a series of telephone calls listing property for sale to Negroes in the best sections of the city. In each case I tried to discover the motive for such a desire to sell. A couple of them seemed to be genuinely inspired by the desire to give a Negro a fair chance to buy a home in a good location. The prices were just what they should be and their attitude was kindly.

Another group just wanted to sell and they did not care to whom, or how. As they put it: "We are leaving town and we'll get a good price. What difference does it make what happens after we are gone?"

The third and largest group was openly malicious. In an effort to spite their neighbors, they wanted to sell to a Negro because they thought it would hurt more than anything else they could do. It was clear that living at a top brass address does not insure community friendship or harmony.

When the Women's Council of the Board of Realtors held their annual dinner, the president called me up and asked if I planned to come. Since I was a past president, I had been going to these dinners for a long time. I said, "Of course."

"But, my dear," her worried voice continued, "I'm afraid for you. The girls are all saying they won't speak to you and I just don't know what will happen. They don't like you."

"They liked me all right last month," I observed. "I haven't changed."

"But all this Negro business is upsetting everyone dreadfully," she explained. "We just don't know what is going to happen next. People are saying that you are buying up houses all over town to sell to Negroes and every time we see one of your signs, we feel terrified."

"Tell them there is nothing to worry about," I assured her. "I have no plans for selling any more houses to Negroes. In fact, I haven't digested this one yet."

It is incredible the rumors that blossom from fear. People who are normally reasonable lose all sense of balance.

I went to the Women's Council dinner with my secretary. When we entered the diningroom of the Yacht Club, the girls did not avoid me as much as they had promised. We moved about and found enough conversation.

Then they played a little game which meant grouping three people together for charades. Since these people were drawn by lot, I got two other salesmen. Suddenly one member of my group called out loudly, "Will everyone who has Russia raise her hand?" I wondered why she called out the word to be acted out in the charade, but I raised my hand. "Oh, dear," she exclaimed, her hand over her mouth, "I've given away the word and disqualified us."

I looked at her in amazement. Was she afraid the black would rub off? Only a few weeks before I had nominated her for the Associate of the year and spent hours helping her get a plaque awarded for the honor. Was her memory so short? Or did she think she would lose her honor if it came from my hands? The demon of prejudice can transform normal, happy people into ghosts of their former selves.

The National Convention of Realtors met in Miami and I planned to be there. Six months before, the President of the Women's Council had asked me to share a room with her and we had made a reservation at the convention hotel. A few days before time to go, she called and asked if I was going.

"Why, of course," I answered.

"I don't know how to say this," she stumbled along, "but I've got to take my grandmother."

"To the convention?"

"No, that's not what I mean. It's a long story." And so it was. It never became clear to me and the more she said, the more involved it got. But I did manage to understand that she was not going to share a room with me. Again, there seemed to be danger the black would rub off.

I found a friend to go to the convention with me, a client. It is strange what alchemy enters into friendship at times like this. My friend was born in Georgia and I would have expected her to be bitter on the subject to Negroes. But she stood by me, and every insult brought her closer. We walked around the convention hotel together and every time we met a realtor from our town, the man or woman would develop a most urgent need to keep right on going. Most of them suffered serious blindness in all areas near me. They shuffled through papers, they quickly caught the eye of a friend across the room, or they just assumed that concentrated expression intended to indicate deep personal problems.

While I was at the Convention, the boys at home were cooking up a batch of just desserts for me. The Ethics Committee called me for a hearing on violating a section of the Florida Real Estate Handbook which says:

"Questions of Discrimination.--The so-called question of discrimination on account of nationality, race, color and religion has taken up a great deal of time and attention of politicians, agitators and others during the last few years, and sometimes intrudes itself into the dealings of real estate brokers. It is of no moment whether these matters arise out of what each side

of the argument calls the prejudices of the other, or whether there is a sound basis for the conclusions of one side or the other. There can be no doubt that the feeling exists among various groups of people which make it desirable either to live near those of like nationality, race, color or religion, or to exclude from the area in which they live, those of certain nationality, race, color or religion. It can be seen that, so many people having deep convictions in the matter, the value of the property in a community of one such characteristic will be appreciably affected by the intrusion of others of unlike nationality, race or beliefs. The deeds to many subdivisions contain restrictions of the character mentioned. The Supreme Court of the United States has rendered some remarkable decisions to the effect that such a restriction is valid and constitutional as between the parties to it, but the courts will not enforce it as to third persons who may buy the property. Those who desire to place people against whom the property is restricted in possession as neighbors of those who have bought in reliance upon the restrictions, are thus enabled to frustrate the personal desires of the other owners, and destroy what was once a considerable element of the value of the property, if they are enabled to induce a present owner to sell in defiance of the restriction which they had agreed to observe. Of course, the same depreciation in values occurs when a like condition is brought about where no contractual restriction exists. A real estate broker, whatever his views on racial or religious matters, ought not to look for or produce a purchaser or lessee from among a group that is interdicted by such a restriction, or when he knows that the feelings of the

residents in the area on the question are against the intrusion of a particular race or religion. It is not a question in which he ought to give vent to his own notions, but he should consider the welfare of the whole community. A nice question could arise, if the broker, with knowledge of such a restriction, or the views on the subject as an owner, against occupancy by one of African descent, for instance, should nevertheless produce such a person as a prospect, ready, able and willing to buy on the terms fixed by the owner, and should demand a commission upon refusal of the owner to sell to the prospect. Whatever might be the ruling of a court on the question, there is no doubt that in most areas in the South, the broker would suffer great loss in prestige and business. Brokers should strive to keep peace and good will wherever they do business and not do anything that will promote bad relations, whether political, racial, religious or otherwise." Florida Real Estate Handbook, Fourth Edition, 1958, pages 288-289.

The circuitous language in this section can be boiled down, of course, to this simple statement: "Don't sell real estate in white neighborhoods to Negroes in particular, or to Catholics, Jews, Mennonites, Cubans, or anybody else whose looks and manners are not acceptable to white protestants. If you do, you will be put out of business.

Now, I am a white protestant and I began to discover that I had committed an unforgiveable sin in betraying my own kind. One interesting angle of all this was that these people in Florida were just about all Yankees. Their ancestors fought and died to free the slaves, but the present generation was all on the side of continued domination and subjection of the Negro.

The Ethics Committee reported me to the Florida Real Estate Commission with the clearly expressed hope that my license would be revoked. Unfortunately for their objective, the Florida Real Estate Commission has given up trying to enforce this verbiage in their handbook.

The human element being what it is, there is no kind of business entirely free from human error. The real estate business is no exception. In my day I have seen almost everything. People have built houses on the wrong lots; names, numbers and descriptions get twisted around; minors sign deeds and men turn up with the wrong wives. The wonder is that out of all this mess anybody ever has a good deed to his property, but in spite of the human element, I have never seen a mistake go through my office which was not eventually straightened out without loss to anyone.

The Ethics Committee is composed of men no more perfect than average and their own propensity for error assured them that if they looked hard enough, long enough, they would find a way to put me in my place. Like the Negro, I had to be put in my place. Regardless of the law, I must be taught that white people don't sell property to the Negroes in the south.

Nobody could recall dropping a member of the Board of Realtors for any cause other than non-payment of dues for years, but where there is a will, there is a way. I don't know how it came about, but they got wind of a snafu in my office which got started when I was out of town at a real estate convention. A couple of my salesmen really put through a dandy. The fact that the affair was more than two years old and had bothered no one up to that time did not even slow the boys up.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

I got a notice of a hearing on the new charge, unethical conduct in the matter of my salesman's deal. It was said around town that they had a sure thing this time. I began hearing about it long before I got the notice.

About this time the installation dinner for the newly elected officers was coming up. It was held at a plush hotel on the Beach and I planned to go. Since I was the outgoing treasurer, in normal times I might have expected some slight part in the festivities.

There were around 180 people there. I knew at least 60 of them very well. I had served on committees with them, met them weekly at meetings and talked with them many times, in addition to having addressed them at gatherings on various occasions. Ordinarily, it would seem likely that a good many people would show me some sign of recognition. I say "ordinarily." This was definitely not an ordinary occasion.

These people looked through me, past me, around me and over me, but they just could not see me. Perhaps half a dozen spoke to me more or less briefly, mostly less. I went with a friend, the same friend I took to the Convention in Miami. Throughout the evening we might as well have been a thousand miles from home in a strange country.

These installation dinners, as anyone who has ever attended one knows, are arranged to give the largest possible number of people an opportunity to bask for a moment in the spotlight of recognition and applause.

The outgoing president began his eulogy of his fellow office-holders. He praised the long hours of devoted service given by the

Executive Committee, but he did not name them. He spoke of the tremendous accomplishments of the outgoing officers, but he did not name them, either. Then he began calling by name the Chairmen of Committees. As each one stood for applause in his moment of glory, the president smiled benignly. He worked his way through 21 committees. Then he asked all members of these committees to to stand. Apparently I was the only member of the Board of Realtors still sitting. Again, he seemed to be afraid the black might rub off.

I was feeling pretty low the next day. It is a soul-shaking experience to be socially ostracized. It does something to one that is not easily overcome. I remembered that the doctor and his wife were old hands at this kind of thing. Suddenly, I wanted to get their viewpoint to help me face this thing. I drove over to see them.

They were spending a lazy Sunday afternoon in their beautiful home near the Bay, resting and looking at TV. The gold and white furnishings of the gracious livingroom gleamed in the late afternoon sunlight. I told my story. "How do you handle these things, Doctor?" I asked.

"You keep right on going," he told me, "and after a while you make new friends to replace those who sway with every breeze that blows. Finally, you feel sorry for the little men. When you feel sorry for them because they are so small, they can't hurt you any longer."

That night I went to a mixed meeting held by a religious group First, a Negro professor was introduced. He spoke briefly on race relations. He suggested that members of both races try to arrange meetings so they could learn to know each other better. He pointed out that hate and fear are fostered by the separation between the races. There is no opportunity for each to find out how much they have in common. White people seldom see any Negroes except those who serve them and then there is no opportunity to find any other points of mutual interest except the service given and accepted. White people do not know or understand Negroes for this reason. The generalities they use in referring to them are not based on fact.

A white minister followed him. He apologized briefly for the many slights paid to Negroes. He was obviously sincere. He praised the efforts made to bring the races together in mutual understanding and agreed that the only way for them to know each other would be for the wall of separation between them to be broken down.

There was a period of questions and answers. A colored mother got up and asked what she should tell her children when white people seemed so mean, so unapproachable. No one had an answer for her. I could have told her that I understood exactly what she was talking about.

Three days before the hearing by the Ethics Committee, a reporter from one of the local papers called me and asked me to give him my point of view about the hearing. He said it was already decided that I would be expelled from the Realtors and

the trial was just an effort to make it look legal. He reminded me that his paper had been very fair with me in what they had already printed and assured me they would remain so. He asked only that I give him any news as it broke and remember he was my friend.

Both papers had called me repeatedly after the news broke the first time but the only news item printed was a strictly factual reporting of the sale, similar to the kind of thing which might be reported about any real estate transfer, and printed on an inside page. The editors of the local papers told me they had no intention of printing the rumors and gossip going around and the thing would not become news unless some other action occurred--like my being put out of the realtors or violence of any kind.

The Ethics Committee was anxious to discrédit me as a realtor but they wanted to do it in some way that could not be directly connected with my sale of the house to the doctor. If they could convict me of unethical conduct and publicize just that fact, it would prove, to their way of thinking, that no reputable broker would make such a sale and that the community could count on them to uphold white supremacy.

Although the trial would obviously be a farce, I went to the hearing. The chairman of the committee excluded me from the room while he heard the testimony of the complainant, a very old man to whom my salesman had sold a house two years before. I would not have recognized the man if I had seen him on the street, for I had met him only once, briefly, in my office at that time.

Since I could not question him, I could not ask him how it

happened that he made this complaint, why he did not come to me at the time if he felt I had wronged him in any way, and who wrote up the complaint for him to sign. Even a slight examination of that document showed that he had not written it himself, and it was directly contradictory to a letter I had from him. There was nothing in the charges to even indicate that the old man had been harmed in any way. The charge was unethical conduct in that the sale was not handled properly. In that, I must admit, they were correct, but there was nothing to be done about it, nor was the old man dissatisfied with his purchase.

Since the chairman had been in the real estate business for quite a few years, it was impossible he did not know that this kind of thing happens more often than any of us care to admit, but he pretended to be shocked and made every effort to blow up the charges into fraud, swindling, trickery and deception. In the best Perry Mason style, he stood up there and cross-questioned all of us again and again, seeking to make us contradict our statements and convict ourselves. He seemed to have forgotten that Perry Mason frequently states that the truth will come through any amount of deception and trickery.

It was no surprise to me when the Ethics Committee returned a finding that same afternoon charging me with unethical conduct. They probably had it written up in advance. They recommended that I be expelled from the Board. The newspaper reporter had his information right.

The next day I received their letter. Even though I knew it was coming, it was a shock when it came. I thought of my many friends among the Realtors who knew me well. It hurt to find not one voice raised in my defense.

A dreadful loneliness swept over me. This is what it means to be a Negro, I thought, to be told by the white man: "You can't sit next to me, you can't drink my water, eat my food, or touch me in any way except as a servant. On one ground only will I tolerate you--as a servile creature. My father may have been your father, too; perhaps we both inherited the same intelligence, the same skills, but I am the legitimate heir and you are the bastard. Don't you dare try to be anything else!"

I longed for a single friend, just one of my own kind to say I was right, to stand beside me.

Through the window of my office I saw a car drive into the parking lot and one of my former friends got out, a realtor, a man from the Bay area, a big property owner there; his lots, houses, acreage were all near the doctor's house. I cringed a little, wondering if he was coming to castigate me for ruining his investments.

He breezed in and we greeted each other like long-lost buddies. Leave it to a couple of real estate salesmen to put on a show. I asked for his family and he asked for mine. I wished he'd get to the point and have it over.

"Say," he began finally, "I don't know whether it has bothered you any the way they have treated downtown. You hold your head pretty high. Anyway, I just want to tell you that I'm

with you all the way."

It takes a lot to strike a salesman dumb, but he had me for sure. I couldn't readjust my thinking fast enough to answer him.

"The boys came around to me at the time," he continued, "and wanted me to put up a hunk of dough to buy the guy out. They said I had to do it to protect myself. Do you know what I told them? I told them that anybody who didn't want a man like the doctor for a neighbor could leave as far as I'm concerned, and it would be good riddance."

"This hasn't hurt me a bit," he went on. "I've been telling people that we are the first fully integrated community around this place. We have everything, Coons, Kikes, Catholics and Colonels!"

I began to lose my tension. A warm glow came over me. It was such a blessed relief, such a marvelous thing to find a friend in my own profession. If the biggest property owner in the area could joke about it, I knew the rest of them would come around to his way of thinking in time. The doctor would be accepted. There is nothing like a laugh to exorcize a demon.

December 6, 1962

Mr. Kermit Morrissey
Assistant to the President
Brandeis University
Waltham 54, Massachusetts

Dear Kermit:

I gather that you did send an application to George McMillan and George tells me that he will submit my name as a reference.

Inasmuch as my last letter included an endorsement of the man, anything else from me may well be superfluous. But, in case it is not, I do strongly recommend him to you.

From your standpoint, I doubt that anyone would contribute more of a stimulus to your seminars than would George. He can be a most provocative fellow. We have been close friends since 1952, and I know him about as well as I know anyone. He, unfortunately, sometimes does not finish what he starts, which has been the bane of his career as a writer. If he were a better organized fellow he would be at the very top of his business as a magazine writer and that, incidentally, is an opinion which a lot of editors also have. He is very, very good as a reporter, a writer, and an interpreter. He is extremely well read. He is also widely and warmly known by people, big and little, throughout much of the South.

George has done quite a bit of writing in the civil rights area, for us, for magazines such as Look, The Reporter, Life, The Nation, and for the Washington Post, to which he contributes articles frequently (we have a printer now reproducing a Washington Post October piece by him on the nature of southern violence). He ghost wrote within the

last year a monstrous thing for the Potomac Institute which is now a Defense Department manual on merit employment. A Tennessean by birth and a South Carolinian by long residence, he has an intimate and sure knowledge of the South and its racial relations.

In short, I think you would find him a fine asset to have around. He has several sound ideas for serious writing in this field and his stay at Brandeis could be the means of his getting these things completed and enriched by what he gains from you.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

GEORGE McMILLAN
P. O. BOX 299
AIKEN, S. C.
MIDWAY 9-4747

December 5, 1962

Dear Leslie:

Here's carbon of statement I submitted on my application for Florina Lasker Fellowship. My Virginia, who never spares me, tells me that this is not up to my usual standard of such statements. But I couldn't put other things aside at the moment to spend three or four days on the application.

At least I hope it doesn't do harm to my cause.

I really relied on the samples of my work of which I sent the LOOK piece, the LIFE piece, the pamphlet I did for you, plus some other things.

Thanks again for recommending me.

Best,
George

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

My special interest and experience in the field of civil rights is that of a journalist -- a dissenting southern journalist, writing from within the south as a southern native.

I think the enclosed examples of my work spell this interest and experience out better than anything I can add to them.

One, the article in LOOK, is a direct attack on Gradualism. Another, the article from the Washington POST, is an attempt to explode the myth that violence is an inevitable result of racial progress. And another, "The Ordeal of Bobby Cain," shows the cost of "deliberate speed," of token desegregation, in personal terms. It shows the price the tokens pay.

The virtue of being an independent freelance writer is that I have the freedom to say what I please. I cannot be punished in my own southern community by direct economic pressure.

The vice of freelancing in the way that I do it is that I seldom have an opportunity to collect my thoughts, to conceive and approach and undertake more serious work. Just to live and keep going forces me to do a variety of other more or less trivial, and distracting, kinds of writing.

I do pieces for HOLIDAY, for SPORTS ILLUSTRATED; I am now finishing THE GIANT GOLDEN BOOK OF HORSES, a children's book.

By coincidence I have been thinking, justx at the time this fellowship application arrived -- I should say, trying to think -- of how I might pull my fragmentary insights together into some more meaningful pattern.

The Florina Lasker Fellowships seem an ideal opportunity for me to do that.

I have been considering three or four ideas which might be shaped into a book. The Feloowship would give me the chance to settle on one of these ideas, to outline it, to do enough of the book so that I could get an advance from a publisher. And at the same time I could, while at the University, broaden the intellectual bas is of the whole work.

I have thought (to take one example) of doing the story of what has happened in race relations in the South since May 17, 1954, when the Supreme Court handed down its decision on the schools.

?And of calling it: The Story of Gradualism, 1954-1964: A Decade of Failure.

Thus this would not be simply another book about the South.

(continued)

Instead it would be an anecdotal, exciting book held together by a central theme and a dominating focus.

It would be a carefully-documented and objective attack on whq t has been the South's best defense: that it needs more time, that it will do something itself about the Negro if it is only left alone. This argument has had an astonishing persuasiveness, winning converts as important as Presidents Truman, Eisenhower and Kennedy and, in certain important cases, the Supreme Court.

The book would show how Gradualism has failed in school integration, in job integration, in providing equal housing -- it would cross the board, cover the range of fields where the Negro has been, and still largely is, denied his rights.

It will show how Gradualism failed, why it failed and why, in a paradoxical sense, what was called Gradualism was not really ever that anyway.

A footnote, somewhat personal. I don't know whether it is a point in favor of my getting the fellowship or not but I need a change. Sometimes (and now is one of them) I get the feeling that I am not so much intellectually isolated in my own community as I am surrounded. Strom Thurmond lives across the hill from me in the same neighborhood. Much of the temper and tone ofmy environment is set by his kind of thinking. I have many friends, live at the center of community life in many ways, find indeed that many people respect me for my ideas -- but still there is the abrasion of living and speaking forrthrightly against the grain.

One more footnote: I have no formal education above high school level. I graduated from high school in 1929, family circumstances and plain lack of money prevented my attending college.

I will be glad to furnish further information about myself if it is needed.

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December 11, 1962

Mr. Kermit Morrissey
Assistant to the President
Brandeis University
Waltham 54, Massachusetts

Dear Kermit:

I have been requested by Charles McDew to write in support of his application for a Florina Lasker Fellowship. I am glad to do so and recommend him to you highly.

I have known Chuck for a year and a half or so, during all the time in which he has been chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. He is one of the ablest chaps attracted by the student movement and in point of leadership qualities stands at the top. He is a most intelligent man whith a keen, though rather mordant, wit. He did not finish his undergraduate work at Orangeburg, choosing instead to work fulltime for SNCC. I hope some day he will finish because education will help his capacity for adult leadership, and I believe that he is one of today's student leaders who can move on to adult prominence. During his tenure as Sncc chairman he has travelled a great deal throughout the country, speechmaking and fund raising, and has learned to meet and hold his own with many people. He has served his times in jail.

I know and like Chuck personally. I and others on our staff have also found him a good co-worker in our agency relationships, particularly in connection with the Voter Education Project. It would seem to me that your fellowship would serve an especially valuable purpose by helping in the development of this man.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

December 8, 1962.

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Because of his unusually heavy schedule, Charles McDew has asked me to write to you and request a letter of recommendation in support of his application for the 'Florina Lasker Fellowship in Civil Liberties and Civil Rights' at Brandeis University. The letter should be sent to:

Director
Florina Lasker Fellows in Civil Liberties and Civil Rights
Brandeis University
Waltham 54,
Mass.

The following quotation from the brochure should acquaint you with the program:

"This memorial grant was assigned in recognition of 'a great and continuing need in our American social scene for more effective and scientific handling of problems of civil liberties and civil rights.' Its basic philosophy lies in the conviction that 'while the legal aspects of problems of civil liberties and civil rights have in recent years rereived considerable attention, it is now necessary to buttress activity within these fields by training individuals to function more effectively in the social, economic, political, educational and communal areas.'

"The Florina Lasker Fellows in Civil Liberties and Civil Rights will be selected from among men and women whose professional careers are directly or indirectly connected with the preservation of civil liberties and civil rights. Those whose lives are being devoted to the protection of our precious heritage will be given an opportunity to add depth and background for their future work."

Mr. McDew regrets that he was unable to make this request personally. Thanking you, then, for him, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Marjorie House

Marjorie House

File

BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY
WALTHAM 54, MASSACHUSETTS

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

December 11, 1962

Dear Leslie:

Thank you for your letter regarding George McMillan. I will inform him in another week or two that a Fellowship is available to him for next semester, and you can advise him of this. He is a most interesting free lancer, and I look forward to meeting him.

My warm regards, and season's best greeting to you and yours.

Sincerely,

Kermit

Kermit C. Morrissey
Director
Florina Lasker Program
in Civil Liberties and
Civil Rights

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

KCM/epk

December 21, 1962

Professor J. Kenneth Morland
Randolph-Macon Woman's College
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Ken:

Thank you for sending me recently your papers on the nursery school children of Lynchburg and your dual role as a citizen and a sociologist. I just finished reading them and found the first instructive. The second I found so interesting that I wish now you would send on page six which is missing.

Hope to see you next week in Nashville.

LWD:bp

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

April 5, 1963

Mr. Charles Morgan
736 Bank for Savings Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Chuck:

I had Maggie Long speak to George Leonard of Look Magazine; they are cousins or something. He expressed keen interest in the Huntsville story, and asks that you write him a letter outlining succinctly and briefly what you have in mind. I think this would be worth a try. The address is:

Mr. George B. Leonard, Jr.
Senior Editor
Look Magazine
625 Market Street
San Francisco 5, California

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

MV ✓
PAV ✓
MJ-file

"MO" Gen Corresp.

LAW OFFICES
OF
CHARLES MORGAN, JR.
SEVENTH FLOOR - BANK FOR SAVINGS BUILDING
BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA

TELEPHONE FA 2-2642

April 10, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Thanks for your letter of April 5.

We will be in touch with Mr. Leonard.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Charles Morgan, Jr. (gs)

Charles Morgan, Jr.

CM:jg

June 3, 1963

Dr. James A. Moss - on Cat. #8: all Purpose
831 DeCamp Avenue Wife gets N.S.
Schenectady, New York

Dear Jim:

I can write to you now with a clear conscience: Vivian Henderson's economic study is at last fixed and ready for printing, and we're putting it up for bids this week. It's good too, I think.

I hope all goes well with you. I hear that you are back at Union.

The year (almost) since you have been gone has been the busiest I've known. But an interesting one, and full of things to remember.

The office has changed, chiefly because we are just coming through a rather complete staff re-organization. Paul Rilling, as you may have heard, left in December, and Paul Anthony took his place. Only now have we replaced PA, and in doing so have shifted the emphasis of the job from administration to program, and charged the title to Assistant to the Director. Vernon Jordan -- remember him? -- has accepted the job, and began today. I won't bore you with all the other changes, but you may be interested in Research shifts. Montez is filling a new job -- Research Associate --, handling the bulk of information requests as well as special assignments. Barbara Patterson become Research Assistant. Joe Tucker is in charge of the files. Janet Smith moves to become Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, to help Ruth with the greatly enlarged load.

Let us hear from you again from time to time. With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (1962 Annual Report)

Staff (including VEP)

return to LD

RHA ✓
BOC ✓
R.E.B. ✓
LKV
WAB ✓
JL ✓
JM ✓
JW ✓
MM ✓
PR ✓
[illegible] ✓

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ETHIOPIAN AIRLINES
THE WONDERLAND ROUTE
INTERNATIONAL OFFICES:

ACCRA	TEL. 62656			KHARTHOUM	TEL. 77180
ADDIS ABABA	. 13300	CAIRO	TEL. 79770	LAGOS	. 24811
ADEN	. 2138	DIRE DAWA	. 69	MONROVIA	. 389
ASMARA	. 841	DJIBOUTI	. 407	NAIROBI	. 22180
ATHENS	. 624601	FRANKFURT	. 333220	PORT SUDAN	. 2368

Saturday Aug. 10.
Freetown, Sierra Leone.

Dear Les and Staff

I feel as though I'm a piece of clay changing shapes with every touch and push. In Kenya and the Rhodesias, I, as an American was met with a certain amount of open hostility by the Europeans. They feel that we are outsiders coming to peddle our race relations propaganda when we haven't sorted out our own difficulties. The Africans, for the most part in this section of Africa are begging for American Negroes with skills to leave the U.S. & come to help develop Africa. In Ghana, one senses that the Africans are even more insistent about their "brothers" coming home than are E. Africans.

I am now in Sierra Leone. This is a quiet, docile country very cordial and friendly to U.S., but the atmosphere is not one of aggressive and stimulating growth and development. I leave here to go back to Ghana for 3 days, then to the Sudan, Yugoslavia, Germany, Italy and home in about 4 weeks.

Two days ago I had the pleasure of dinner with James Baldwin and his sister here in Sierra Leone. It recalled to my mind the very timely gift the Office gave me - Baldwin's latest book "Another Country." Thank you all! A pleasant summer to Peggy and family.

Jim

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ETHIOPIAN AIRLINES

THE WONDERLAND ROUTE

Mr. Leslie Shenton, Exec Dir.
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Ga.
U.S.A.

BY AIR MAIL

Sender:

James A. Moss
U.S. American Embassy
Khartoum, Sudan

"Mo Gen. Corresp

September 19, 1963

Mr. Charles Morgan
~~Bank for Savings Building~~
Seventh Floor
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Chuck:

Here is another good editorial from a paper you will not likely see. But neither this nor Patterson equals your statement.

With very best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Editorial from Daily Times, Gainesville, Ga.: "Alabama Sees Tyrants' Yield")

Rec'd 9/18/63

LAW OFFICES
OF
CHARLES MORGAN, JR.
SEVENTH FLOOR - BANK FOR SAVINGS BUILDING
BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA

TELEPHONE FA 2-2642

September 17, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Thanks for the clipping from the Constitution. It was wonderful.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Chuck

Charles Morgan, Jr.

CM:jg

EDITORIAL PAGE

A Prize-Winning Newspaper
1963
Better Newspaper Contests

The Daily Times
Northeast Georgia's Newspaper
GAINESVILLE, GEORGIA

SYLVAN MEYER
Editor

LOU FOCKELE
Publisher

IN OUR OPINION

Alabama Sees Tyrants' Yield

Only a madman or a zealot convinced of his cause beyond the bounds of reason could set off a bomb in a church full of people, full of children, as was done in Birmingham this weekend.

Whichever it was that did this evil and senseless deed, the real blame rests squarely on those political leaders whose violent words, whose expressions bordering on insurrection have inflamed both the madmen and the zealot.

What is happening in Birmingham is what was the worst to be feared from the extremists who refuse to see that the Negro of 1963 is not the Negro of 1865 or 1890 or even 1940. They have refused to see that freedom cannot be utilized piecemeal at the discretion of those in power by those whom the powerful favor.

As the thoughtful and constructive people of Alabama bestir themselves and assume their obligations, which they seem belatedly to be doing, certainly this deed will become the pivot of their consciences.

We listened and read in near disbelief to what a minister told a group of students whom he was exhorting to continue their boycott of "integrated" schools. This man, asking youngsters to pray, called the bombing "ill-timed." He told Alabama youth that the bombing was against their interests in that it would mobilize public opinion against the unbending segregationist.

His words were blasphemous on their face. To use such language to refer to the murder of children reveals the mindless hypocrisy, the blind unreason of the speaker. When, we should ask him, would have been the right time for this outrage?

Such men, in their ignorance, might as well carry the bombs and the brickbats that rip the thin veneer of our civilization and allow the beasts to enter. To invoke God's name in such a cause at such a time shows us all too tragically what religion can become in the mouth of ignorance and prejudice.

Alabama can see now the price it has paid for allowing political power to rest in the hands of men like George Wallace, for tolerating growing support of men like John Crommelin and for the silence of its good people, a silence only now being broken.

All across the nation, men have known that intense violence is the certain fruit of the vineyard Alabama has been nurturing. The slaughtered children will be the martyrs, now, of Alabama's certain changes. We pray, not too hopefully, that their deaths will provide shock enough to generate the change and that no more must die before the object lesson is clear enough to the people of our sister state.

"Guess What! You're Almost Holding Your Own!"

WASHINGTON

Is Reds' Shoe-Pounding Era in UN Ending?

By Peter Edson

WASHINGTON — (NEA) — First tests on how much Soviet Russia may have changed its tactics if not its strategy for the cold war will be shown at the 18th United Nations General Assembly convening in New York Sept. 17.

Assistant Secretary of State Harlan Cleveland, in charge of international organization affairs, sees a few straws in the winds of change.

This may be an indication that the Kremlin finally has realized that the underdeveloped countries, the United States and the rest of the non-Communist world find much good in the UN. and see a future for it in a world of peace.

Up to a year ago, the Russians opposed everything about the United Nations. When former Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold was killed in a Congo plane crash, the Russians expressed condolences for the man, but had no good word for his office. Grumpily, they accepted U Thant as his successor.

* * *

The Russians thanked U Thant for his services, however. And for the past year they have refrained from criticizing him. They invited him to Moscow for the test ban treaty signing.

* * *

WHEN THE YEMEN CASE came before the Security Council earlier this year the Russians did not follow their previous standard operating practice of vetoing what was essentially another U.N. peace-keeping operation.

Change of policy may not have been the deciding factor in this case, though. Maybe it was just that the U.N. mission to Yemen was financed by the United Arab Republic and Saudi Arabia. It didn't cost the Russians a ruble.

In the more recent Security Council consideration of South African apartheid policies, it was noteworthy that the Russians refrained from their usual practice of beating the United States over the head for its racial problems.

Such an attack had been anticipated. Text for a speech had been prepared to answer the Russians if they should raise the issue.

It never had to be delivered. Chief Soviety delegate Nikolai T. Fedorenko didnt mention the United States even once during debate on charges of other African nations against South Africa.

One reason for this may have been that the Russians did not want to antagonize the United States while the nuclear test ban treaty was before the Senate for ratification. A more valid explanation given is that the Russians themselves are now concerned about the world-wide nature of the racial issue.

This has been stirred up by the Chinese Communists. In their dispute with the Russians, the Red Chinese have tried to propagandize the idea that they are colored people, too, and that the future struggle for world domination will be the colored races against the whites — including the Russians.

Readers' Exchange

. . .Where Northeast Georgia Neighbors Meet

School Idea Good; Need Library, Too

Dear Readers' Exchange,

I have read with much interest Phil Hudgins' articles on the upcoming school bond issue. The "whys" given for a new school might also be given for a new library. In the past two bond issues for a library, one being for an addition to the present courthouse, and one for a separate building, the voters have turned down these proposals although the amount of the bond issues was decidedly smaller than the proposed $900,000 for the new Junior High.

We need the Junior High, but we also need a new library. Good schools need the backing of good libraries.

The Junior High and High School students who use our library will soon be without study room due to our needing space for books; then our library will be of necessity merely a storehouse.

I am not against this bond issue, for we at the library are part of the educational system. I only hope that the voters will treat the library as kindly as the formal educational facilities called schools.

I read and weep over the many chances that Hall County was given to get adequate library facilities under Mrs. Pursell. Perhaps someday the library will be respected as an educational medium and we too can get a bond issue which will pass.

STANLEY CLARKE
WYLLIE, JR.
Director
Chestatee Regional
Library

Dear Mr. Wyllie,

Until then, many of us read and weep with you!

RE

* * *

Dear Readers' Exchange,

In regards to the letter printed in your column Monday, September 9, signed "Pedestrian," we would like to explain something to this very observant person.

It is impossible to put a forty-two inch stencil on a post that is only 40 inches high. Of course, the city could take the post up and put a taller one in its place, but this process would cost approximately twenty dollars and that is ridiculous.

If, however, this pedestrian would be kind enough to donate, to the city, a set of stencils with smaller letters, we would be more than happy to paint the full name on the post at the intersection of Green Street and Washington St.

CITY EMPLOYEES

Dear City Employees,

The letter from Pedestrian referred to the fact that the sign post at that intersection read "Wash. St."

I appreciate hearing from you.

How about painting the post to read "Washington" without "St." That would have fit.

RE

BERRY'S WORLD

"You take the garbage out . . . I'm chicken!"

About Today

By United Press International

Today is Monday, Sept. 16, the 259th day of 1963 with 106 to follow.

The moon is approaching its

WORLD PRESS

Life of Ease? Frustrating

The geriatricians (that's what they call themselves, honestly) advise the middle-aged to develop hobbies to ease their transition to retirement and to comfort them during "the Golden Years."

And, despite the pomposity of the title and the saccharinity of the phrase, the advice is good advice. Too many Americans grow old and jobless with no leisure-time interest to sustain them until they finally die of boredom. As the geriatricians maintain, they ought to "prepare." This has its hazards, of course, and sometimes involves prohibitive expense. The man who has worked all his life for a substandard wage can't suddenly become engrossed in polo or auto racing, or even coin-collecting. Serious gardening, floral or vegetable, comes with a price-tag attached, and nobody we know ever made a profit from writing letters-to-the-editor.

Reading is an obvious pastime, but the trouble with reading is that it stimulates, in men of any age, an urge to "do something" and what they normally do is frequently disastrous. We offer no solution to this problem, suspecting that the answer varies as the man varies and that it ranges from therapeutic fishing to ogling the passing throng from a park bench. — One fellow we know solved it in a hurry: He ran for the legislature. Constantly. — (The Asheville, N.C., Citizen)

their obligations, which they seem belatedly to be doing, certainly this deed will become the pivot of their consciences.

We listened and read in near disbelief to what a minister told a group of students whom he was exhorting to continue their boycott of "integrated" schools. This man, asking youngsters to pray, called the bombing "ill-timed." He told Alabama youth that the bombing was against their interests in that it would mobilize public opinion against the unbending segregationist.

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All across the nation, men have known that intense violence is the certain fruit of the vineyard Alabama has been nurturing. The slaughtered children will be the martyrs, now, of Alabama's certain changes. We pray, not too hopefully, that their deaths will provide shock enough to generate the change and that no more must die before the object lesson is clear enough to the people of our sister state.

Thanks, Jim Sayer

Gainesville City Engineer Jim Sayer departs next month for an upward step in his career with the gratitude and best wishes of Gainesvillians who understand what competent, fair and straightforward service mean to a community.

Mr. Sayer knows his business. He realized the importance of impartial attention to and enforcement of building codes, zoning and subdivision ordinances and other regulations related to the development of the city. He made them stick, he was fair and his keen eye for detail noted attempts to evade the rules.

He was the on-the-ground boss for construction of the first installations that came out of the downtown plan and the evidence of their efficiency is apparent.

Roanoke will gain from his service there, as we did from his tenure here.

SYLVAN MEYER

Nothing Worse than Smug Know-It-All

Defiant, well indoctrinated with all the things wrong with their own country and not at all informed on what's right with it, several American students visited Castro's Cuba against State Department wishes.

The State Department doesn't care a hang whether this collection, or any other, of psuedo-intellectuals tours Cuba. But State hopes to isolate Castro and to avoid the damage that might be caused by ill-informed Americans displaying sympathy to his regime. State also knew full well that radical elements in this country would be waiting to pounce on the students and use them.

Demonstrations by these misled young people and their agitator buddies at sessions of the House UnAmerican Activities Committee in Washington only bear out State's worst apprehensions. The troubles watched on TV recall the doctored film published a couple of years ago by the committee for the purpose of endorsing the committee's tactics. Remember "Operation Abolition" and the pictures of students being evicted from a San Francisco hearing?

If the HUAC is supposed to be studying legislation designed to battle internal communism, is it finding out anything from the students or is it merely goading them into revealing their foolish immaturity?

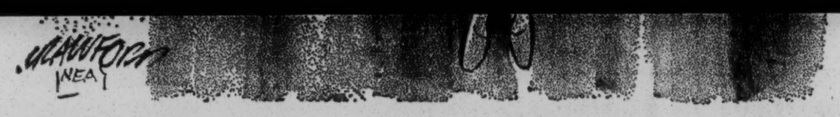
The students themselves remind me of a young man from Philadelphia. I met him in British Guiana. White with a blond, unkempt beard, he kept ideological company with a small troup of Guianese beatniks who were suspected of being more bolshevik than even the Soviets would admire.

They sat around a coffee house, surrounded by very bad abstract paintings. They picketed the American consulate-general the day after the Cuban blockade began. I ran into them at the airport where they began conversations with Americans. They used smug, snide and superior expressions to support their broad accusations against American motives, manners and methods. They discoursed rather than conversed, and smirked patronizingly to show that not only do they think you are lying, they think you are a dupe, as well.

A closed mind accompanied by self-righteousness is about the most frustrating, aggravating trait one human can confront in another. The Philadelphian had it. The British Guianese beatniks had it.

To a considerably degree the House committee has it and certainly the students who visited Cuba so rebelliously have it.

These ingredients were destined to evoke the deliberate lack of understanding that is obvious in the recent events at the committee hearings.



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* * *

WHAT THE RUSSIANS REALLY WANTED was their "troika" principle of neutral, non-Communist and Communist administration in the U.N. to be substituted for a one-man secretary generalship. They wanted three undersecretaries in control of ever U.N. agency, giving the Communists veto power over all programs.

When only a few non-Communist countries supported the Communist bloc on this reorganization plan, the Russians abandoned it. But they still opposed U.N. peace-keeping efforts in the Congo and elsewhere, and they boycotted all such operations financially.

In recent months, however, the Russians have changed their tune. Russia's Chairman Nikita Khrushchev proposed that U Thant and the U.N. organization verify removal of Russian missiles from Cuba. It was Cuba's Fidel Castro who blocked that.

The Russians thanked U Thant for his services, however. And for the past year they have refrained from criticizing him. They invited him to Moscow for the test ban treaty signing.

* * *

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PARENTS ONLY

Fear Comes from Yesterday

By MRS. MURIEL LAWRENCE
Newspaper Enterprise Assn.

Dear Mrs. Lawrence:

Last summer when my sister and her family were visiting us, our neighbor's boy turned the hose on my 7-year-old niece. My sister made such a fuss over this that the child would not play in our back yard again. My sister and her family are here again and this child won't go outside to play. She sits around the house all day under everybody's feet because she is still afraid of this boy. She won't even go out on the front porch.

ANSWER: It may not work but I think that your niece could do with a reminder of the truth that time has passed for this boy as well as for her. It has made them different from the children they were last summer.

So why don't you consider the idea of saying to this scared youngster who believes she's the same person she was last summer, "Look at yourself! You are not the girl Billy doused with the hose last summer. Look at yourself! You're taller. Your hair is longer. This fall you'll be going into the third grade instead of the second grade! You're different from what you were last summer when Billy turned the hose on you. All right, he's different, too. How can you be sure that he still wants to turn the hose on you? Why don't you go right out in that front yard and find out?"

We relieve a child of fear by leading him to see it from a fresh viewpoint — not by trying to destroy that fear.

It's the peculiar power of fear to stop time for us, to lock us in the past moment of shock, hurt or helplessness when the boy next door turned the hose on us, a friend insulted us or our car collided with another one. It insists that we cannot move past that moment, that we cannot grow or develop a new point of view about the bad thing that happened to us. But fear is a liar. Boys outgrow their desire to douse us with water. Friends begin to miss us and regret our absence. And the exact circumstances which brought us into collision with another car are never going to be duplicated again.

This is the truth, and a child who is locked in some past moment of helplessness is sometime able to recognize it if it is declared to him.

By reminding your niece of the changes time has made in her and the boy next door, you won't destroy her fear of him. But you may help her to sustain it instead of yielding to it.

THE DOCTOR SAYS

Bland Diet's Purpose: To Soothe Stomach

By Wayne G. Brandstadt, M.D.
Newspaper Enterprise Assn.

Q — I had a barium X-ray taken and it showed pylorospasm. Since there is no ulcer, why do I have to continue on a bland diet?

A — Since this condition is usually recognized in childhood, you have probably had it in some degree all your life. The muscular control of the outlet of your stomach is abnormally strong. As a result, your stomach is slow to empty.

After a heavy meal this condition may be associated with heartburn, bringing up of sour stomach contents into your mouth, or even vomiting. If you take frequent small feedings, these symptoms will bother you less.

Your doctor wants you to take a bland died because such a diet leaves the stomach more readily than does a diet that contains much spice and roughage. Antispasmodic drugs sometimes help.

If the condition is severe, an operation to cut some of the excess muscle at the outlet of the stomach must be performed.

* * *

Q — When I eat fresh tomatoes my teeth hurt at the gumline. It then takes several days of going without before this sensitiveness disappears. Is there anything besides not eating tomatoes I can do about it?

A — As we grow older the gums begin to recede below the enamel crown. This exposes the sensitive dentin. Dentists have used many preparations to desensitize the dentin.

One of the best is a mixture that contains sodium fluoride, kaolin and glycerin, but no desensitizer will prevent continued erosion by such foods as tomatoes, citrus fruits and sugar.

For this reason your dentist should search for factors that cause the erosion, in addition to the dietary factor. Prevention of further erosion combined with desensitization should help you.

* * *

Q — What is a hemangioblastoma of the cerebellum? What is the cause, the symptoms and the chance of a cure?

A — You do not say that you are the one who has this disease and I sincerely hope that you are not.

This is a blood vessel tumor of the lower portion of the brain. It runs in families, but no cause is known. It may cause dizziness, difficulty in walking, and headache depending on how big it is and how fast it is growing.

It is not a cancer and can be cured by removal.

treat the library as kindly as the formal educational facilities called schools.

I read and weep over the many chances that Hall County was given to get adequate library facilities under Mrs. Pursell. Perhaps someday the library will be respected as an educational medium and we too can get a bond issue which will pass.

STANLEY CLARKE
WYLLIE, JR.
Director
Chestatee Regional
Library

Dear Mr. Wyllie,

Until then, many of us read and weep with you!

RE

* * *

Dear Readers' Exchange,

In regards to the letter printed in your column Monday, September 9, signed "Pedestrian," we would like to explain something to this very observant person.

It is impossible to put a forty-two inch stencil on a post that is only 40 inches high. Of course, the city could take the post up and put a taller one in its place, but this process would cost approximately twenty dollars and that is ridiculous.

About Today

By United Press International

Today is Monday, Sept. 16, the 259th day of 1963 with 106 to follow.

The moon is approaching its new phase.

The morning star is Jupiter.

The evening stars are Jupiter, Saturn and Mars.

On this day in history:

In 1639, the Massachusetts Village of Shawmut changed its name to Boston.

In 1893, the Cherokee Strip in Oklahoma was opened to homesteaders.

In 1920, a bomb explosion on Wall Street killed 30 persons and injured at least 100.

In 1945, the Japanese surrendered Hong Kong.

A thought for the day — The American novelist Mark Twain said: "There are several good protections against temptations, but the surest is cowardice."

"You take the garbage out . . . I'm chicken!"

WORLD PRESS

Life of Ease? Frustrating

The geriatricians (that's what they call themselves, honestly) advise the middle-aged to develop hobbies to ease their transition to retirement and to comfort them during "the Golden Years."

And, despite the pomposity of the title and the saccharinity of the phrase, the advice is good advice. Too many Americans grow old and jobless with no leisure-time interest to sustain them until they finally die of boredom. As the geriatricians maintain, they ought to "prepare." This has its hazards, of course, and sometimes involves prohibitive expense. The man who has worked all his life for a substandard wage can't suddenly become engrossed in polo or auto racing, or even coin-collecting. Serious gardening, floral or vegetable, comes with a price-tag attached, and nobody we know ever made a profit from writing letters-to-the-editor.

Reading is an obvious pastime, but the trouble with reading is that it stimulates, in men of any age, an urge to "do something" and what they normally do is frequently disastrous. We offer no solution to this problem, suspecting that the answer varies as the man varies and that it ranges from therapeutic fishing to ogling the passing throng from a park bench. — One fellow we know solved it in a hurry: He ran for the legislature. Constantly. — (The Asheville, N.C., Citizen)

DICK WEST

His Zip Code Secret Out

WASHINGTON (UPI) — As one of the last holdouts against the digitization of the human race, I have refused to tell anyone what my zip code number is.

But now I am beginning to see the folly of these obstructionist tactics.

Despite my efforts to maintain secrecy, several mail order houses have been able to learn my zip number, presumably by kidnapping my mailman and torturing him until he squealed.

As a result, this year's Christmas gift catalogs are being delivered anywhere from 24 to 36 hours ahead of last year's crop.

For a person who likes to do his Christmas shopping early, as I do, every minute counts. So I suppose I should apologize to the Post Office Department for having been such a sorehead.

As usual, the catalogs are filled with wonderful gift suggestions, and I can hardly wait to get at the order blanks.

One item that caught my eye is a "beer can launcher." Using a .22 caliber blank for propulsion, it will hurl an empty beer can as far as 100 feet.

The catalog touts the launchers for target practice, but I see them as splendid gifts for motorized drinkers who are always throwing beer cans from car windows.

The launchers will enable them to litter suburban lawns that are presently beyond their range. Should make beer can disposal infinitely more satisfying.

Another attractive item is a box of "magic birthday candles . . .huff and puff with all your might but you can't blow them out."

Imagine the fun you can have watching your child get blue in the face trying to extinguish the candles on his birthday cake.

As a companion gift, I recommend a mouthpiece advertised in one catalog as an aid in mouth-to-mouth resuscitation.

And here's a nifty! An ice tray that freezes just enough cubes for one drink! Just the thing for your friends who are solitary drinkers!

Or how about father-and-son money belts. Helps teach a lad to be as miserly as his old man.

Having these suggestions on hand now gives each of us a big jump on Christmas. And we owe it all to zip code.

Birmingham Bombing

'This Is My Sister, And She's Dead...'

By WILLIAM K. HANDEL

BIRMINGHAM (UPI) — They stumbled coughing and crying from the terror of the bomb, the stone and plaster dust in their eyes, down the steps of the 16th Street Baptist Church.

"My God, a church. Oh Jesus, they bombed our church," cried a Negro woman.

Sirens shut out the cries of the Negro churchgoers pouring into the street as police officers and ambulances rounded Kelly-Ingram Park.

The stone dust still was settling from the dynamite blast that took four lives as police and Negro ambulance attendants ran down what once were basement steps at the church, now covered with rubble.

"My baby is in there. She was putting on her robes. She's in there," A Negro man screamed and tried to run into the church. He was held back by police officers.

Gunpowder Smell Strong

The smell of gunpowder was strong and the crowd was panicky as police officers began throwing up ropes around the church.

The old red brick neo-Romanesque church, with its tall stained glass windows, once the pride of the congregation, looked like a war scene.

At the rear of the church basement there was an ugly hole which hours before was a door. Two cars sitting just outside the church were shattered wrecks. One had a door caved into the back seat from a chunk of stone, and holes big as footballs pierced it.

Other debris was hurled across the street, and amid the watermelon-sized stones was a twisted handrail for what were once steps. About 10 other cars with windows, hoods and roofs smashed were crazily parked where the blast had blown them.

Bring Out Bodies

They brought out the first shrouded body of a little girl and the crowd went wild.

"Let me look, I think—oh God — think it's my sister," said one Negro. They let him look.

"This is my sister, and she's dead," he said. The head was severed from the body. The dazed young man was led to the same ambulance.

The crowd, minutes before inside the church for a Sunday school lesson on "The love that forgives," was a solid face of hate.

"Let me at 'em, I'll kill 'em. I'll kill those whites," a man shouted. Other cries, born of bewilderment, sorrow and hate came from the crowd, aimed at the clump of white policemen, firemen and newsmen by the church.

Another body, and almost immediately, two more, came from the church under white sheets.

Rev. Charles Billups and the church pastor, Rev. John Cross, got on police megaphones. Cross began the Lord's Prayer: "Our father, who are in heaven. . ."

"Go home and pray for the men who did this evil deed," said Billups. "We must have love in our hearts for these men."

Glass Keeps Falling

The stained glass from the church windows kept falling onto the sidewalk with a tinkling sound. Across the street, a woman leaned against the door of a tablishment; a piece of wood had crashed through the window, hitting a patron quietly eating scrambled eggs and side meat. He was taken to the hospital.

From two blocks away came a well - dressed Negro who complained to police the blast had shattered the window in the Black Muslim temple.

"Look what it did here," said an officer. "You were lucky."

The Muslim went on down the street and got into a philosophical argument with another Negro. He told him: "See what these whites will do. And you—you want to integrate."

Negro Starts Shooting

The other Negro said: "Look over there. This is no time to get in an argument."

From down the street came the boom of a shotgun and then the crisp chatter of a machine gun or carbine.

Reporters began running down the street but were stopped by an officer who said: "You guys stop. There's a Negro shooting at everybody down there. They have run him off into those houses."

By this time, the dust had settled and the Negro crowds had disappeared. But the emotions lingered for hours.

A Negro woman spat in the street in the direction of police. She shouted "You whites better not be here when it gets dark. You better not."

White Mob Beats Negroes At Library

ANNISTON, Ala. (UPI)—A mob of white men jumped two Negro ministers attempting to integrate the city library late Sunday, beat them with fists and ran them off in a hail of stones and soft drink bottles.

The Negroes, Rev. Lemrod Reynolds, 32, and Rev. William McClais, 25, were not severely injured and they said today, "We're not giving up any efforts to integrate the library."

The City Commission offered a $1,000 reward for the arrest and conviction of the person or persons responsible for the attack. There were no arrests made at the scene as police dispersed the crowd.

Reynolds, pastor of 17th Street Baptist Church here, and McClain, pastor of Haven Methodist, were stopped by a lone white man as they left their car in front of the Carnegie library.

They moved on toward the library and several other white men came up and began pummeling the Negroes with their fists, knocking them to the ground. They got up and ran for the car amid a shower of stones and bottles, the mob following and catching up with them again at the automobile.

The Negroes then ran down the street and were picked up vy another Negro driving by, then taken to a hospital. Reynolds was treated for severe head lacerations but neither man required hospitalization.

McClain and Reynolds claimed a shot had been fired at them and passed about "two or three inches" behind their heads, but police said there was no evidence of any shooting.

Antebellum Showplace Falls to Fire in Gray

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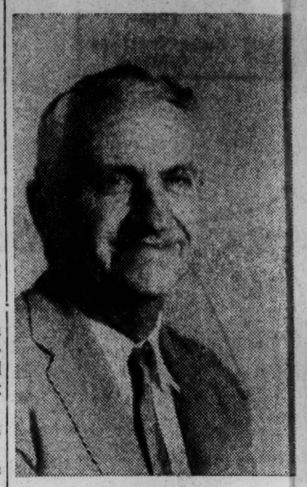
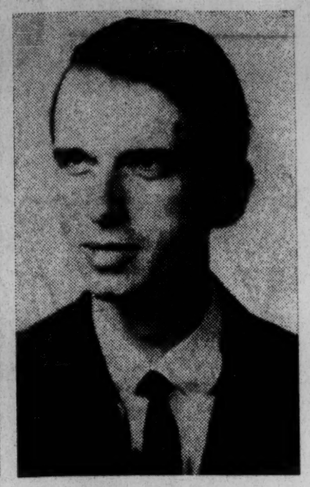
The residence of Mr. and Mrs. Frank Childs and their three children was destroyed in a fire that was discovered about 11:45 a.m. No one was home at the time.

Authorities sifted the debris for the cause of the blaze.

Businessmen from Gray who came to the scene of the fire said the home would be worth about



P.T. Barrett



William Dewsnap

Mrs. Frank O. Frazier

Byron Elmore

Six Join Teaching Staff at Brenau

Six new faculty members are on the Brenau teaching staff this year.

They are P.T. Barrett, Byron Elmore, James William Dewsnap, Mrs. William F. Coulton, Howard E. Wrench and Mrs. Frank O. Frazier.

Barrett, who recently retired as superintendent of Barrow County Public Schools, Winder; takes over the supervision of the elementary school training program. He relieves Dr. Guy Jones, who heads the Brenau teacher-education program, to concentrate his efforts on the supervision on secondary teachers.

Barrett has had more than 40 years of experience in the field of education, once serving as superintendent of Cornelia schools. He holds the B.S. and M.A. degrees in education from the University of Georgia, and has been a leader in civic affairs in Cornelia and Winder.

Mr. and Mrs. Barrett reside in Winder. They have two sons and eight grandchildren.

Dewsnap will head the drama department. He holds the B.A. degree from Bowdoin College in Maine and an M.A. in theater arts from Pennsylvania State University. His professional experience includes appearances with the Dock Street Theater in Charleston, S.C.; the Community Theater in Brunswick, Me.; and the Boal Barn Summer Playhouse in Boalsburg, Pa.

Dewsnap served three years in the Navy aboard the Destroyer U.S.S. Jonas Ingram as an Ensign, and was promoted to lieutenant in the reserves. He was also a reporter for the Charleston (S.C.) Evening Post covering education, medical and cultural news. Married, he resides with his wife and child in the new faculty apartments on the corner of Prior and Washington Streets.

Elmore comes to Brenau as the school's first psychology teacher. A native of Laurens, S.C., he received his B.S. and M.A. degrees in Education at the University of Southern Mississippi in Hattiesburg, majoring in psychology and sociology, and in guidance counseling.

Mr. and Mrs. Elmore also reside in the new faculty apartments with their new baby.

Wrench joins the English Department. A native of Illinois, he received his B.A. degree at Illinois State University and his M.A. from the University of Illinois. He taught for many years in his home state, retiring there several years ago.

He then joined the staff of Riverside Military Academy where he has taught for the past three years. Mr. and Mrs. Wrench also reside in the new faculty apartments.

Mrs. Coulton will also join the English Department. She was graduated from Brenau College with an A.B. degree in English, setting an outstanding record in that field. She has since completed work for her M.A. degree at Georgia State College. She and her husband recently moved to Gainesville. He teaches in the Hall County School System.

Mrs. Frazier will be an instructor in the physical education department. She received her education at West Virginia University, and resides with her husband on Ivy Terrace in Gainesville. Frazier is connected with the U.S. Treasury Department here.

New hostesses joining the staff are Mrs. Missie B. Holder, third floor Yonah; Mrs. May Fleming, Delta Zeta; Mrs. Mabel Jones, Lanier Hall; and Mrs. Minnie Porter, Alpha Gamma Delta.

Mrs. Chester Strickland will serve this year as hostess in Wilkes Hall, and Mrs. Emma Berrong goes to third floor Bailey.

News of Servicemen

GRAFENWOHR, GERMANY — Army Specialist Four **Billy H. Pennington,** 24, son of Mr. and Mrs. C.M. Pennington, Pendergrass route 1, and other members of the 4th Armored Division's 15th Cavalry, completed four week of summer field training at Grafenwohr, Germany.

The training included the soldiers' Annual Training Test (ATT). The ATT is the toughest and most complete assessment of a combat unit's readiness. The test is conducted under the most grueling, exacting and realistic conditions possible in peacetime.

A driver in the Second Reconnaissance Squadron's Troop A of the cavalry near Schwabach, Pennington entered the Army in December 1961 and received basic training at Fort Gordon. He was stationed at Fort Jackson, S.C., before arriving overseas in May 1962.

Pennington attended Jefferson High School.

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GREAT LAKES, Ill. — **James H. Williams Jr.,** 19, son of Mr. and Mrs. James H. Williams of Dacula, has completed basic training at the Naval Training Center, Great Lakes, Ill., graduating in ceremonies consisting of a full-dress parade involving more than 1,000 men.

30 Days to Better Grades

History As Sweeping Waves

By THE READING LABORATORY
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The new scientific approach was applied to politics and social problems — liberalism and democracy were not far behind. The kingdoms of Europe rose and fell with the fortunes of the New World. The Americans revolted, the French revolted. Nineteenth century Europe seethed with revolt and new industry. In the turmoil of the 19th century, both communism and democracy

Federation of Malaysia Issues Indonesia Warning

KUALA LUMPUR, Malaysia (UPI) — The federation of Malaysia, a new and anti-Communist member of the British Commonweath, came into being today in ceremonies marked by warnings to Indonesia not to interfere in its affairs.

Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo and Sarawak joined in the new federation, which has a population of 1 million and some of the world's richest natural resources.

But two of Malaysia's neighbors, Indonesia and the Philippines, refused to extend recognition, and anti-British slogans were scrawled on walls in Indonesia's capital, Jakarta.

Malayan Prime Minister Tengku Abdul Rahman, now the premier of Malaysia, warned Sunday night that Indonesia should "think twice before taking any drastic action" against the federation.

(In Jakarta, President Sukarno summoned his cabinet to an emergency meeting to discuss Malaysia. Indonesia controls two-thirds of Borneo and has attacked the federation as an extension of British imperialism.)

North Borneo's first minister, Donald Stephens, said in ceremonies at his capital of Jesselton that Malaysia has reason to fear the aggressive intentions of Indonesia.

Disarmament Dominant Theme

MENDENHALL'S
OFFICE SUPPLY SPECIALS
PROMPT DELIVERY SERVICE

INDEX GUIDES
Heavy Press Board
You can't beat these values!
SET 2.30

FILE FOLDERS
Start new active files with fresh folders, transfer old folders to save time and loss, 100—1/2 cut.
Heavy Weight 2.95 Light Weight 2.50

SPECIAL PRICE!
Smooth
ONION SKIN
PAPER
8 1/2 x 11
1000
SHEETS
1.50
3 Packages $3.75

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All-Out Effort Starts To Get Tax Cut Okay

WASHINGTON (UPI)—The administration has launched an all-out effort for congressional approval — before the end of the year — of an $11 billion tax cut Treasury Secretary Douglas Dillon says is "a matter of vital national concern."

The measure, hammered out by the House Ways & Means Committee after seven months of drafting, goes to the House floor for debate Sept. 24, and a favorable vote is expected two days later. It was considerably different from the one President Kennedy recommended last January.

But to speed action on the cut, Dillon said that with one possible exception the administration would not ask the Senate to change the House tax-cutting bill.

Dillon's statement Sunday indicated that the administration was eager to avoid lengthy, time-consuming hearings in the Senate Finance Committee. The committee's chairman, Sen. Harry F. Byrd, D-Va., is a staunch foe of cutting taxes without reducing federal spending.

Other congressional news:

Foreign Aid: Congress was told that foreign aid was a key tool in building a world of peace. The opinion came from President Kennedy when he submitted his annual report on the aid program to the lawmakers. Kennedy, hoping to convince the Senate to restore House cuts in the aid program, said the future of the free world depends on programs like the aid proposal.

Tiny Quints Go to Scales For Weighing

ABERDEEN, S. D. (UPI) — Five bundles of kicking and squalling, bawling humanity with heads the size of large oranges and crinkled hands not much larger than a silver dollar — the Fischer quints — were ready today for their first tipping of the nursery scales.

Dr. James Berbos, their physician, said he would probably weigh them for the first time today — if they behave themselves. The pink-skinned, 18-inch-long babies are unusually healthy for prematures.

A statue of the infant Jesus looks down from the St. Luke's Hospital nursery wall at the end of their row of "isolette" incubators. A staff of nurses watches over them constantly.

Not once has one of them had trouble taking, or holding, the four cubic centimeters — less than a teaspoon — of sugar-water which each gets every two hours. The feeding, by tube through the nose, began Sunday morning when the quints — born six to eight weeks prematurely — were entering their second day of life.

REVIVAL

FAITH BAPTIST CHURCH

Sept. 12 thru 22nd

Rev. Maze Jackson

Location: Airline Road

Edgar Thomas, Pastor

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North Borneo's first minister, Donald Stephens, said in ceremonies at his capital of Jesselton that Malaysia has reason to fear the aggressive intentions of Indonesia.

"Let Jakarta understand clearly and finally that our destiny is self-chosen," he said. Sukarno has objected to a U.N. survey that found the Borneo territories favored federation.

The Philippines, which also has some claims to Borneo, said it would make a final decision on recognition after talks among its leaders.

Disarmament Dominant Theme As U.N. Opens

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y. (UPI) — Disarmament was the dominant theme today on the eve of the opening of the U. N. General Assembly, but Viet Nam and racial issues in Africa were expected to share the spotlight.

President Kennedy will address the Assembly Friday but few other heads of government will attend this year's session. Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev, who headed a parade of more than two dozen foreign leaders here two years ago, does not plan to come.

Swainsboro Senator Leads Administration

ATLANTA (UPI) —Sen. Milton A. Carlton Sr. of Swainsboro has been appointed administration floor leader in the state Senate, Gov. Carl Sanders announced Sunday.

Sanders designated Sen. Julian Webb of Donalsonville, who represents the 11th District, to be assistant floor leader.

Carlton, who represents the 21st District, succeeds Charles A. Pannell, who resigned to become a judge of the Court of Appeals. Webb's post of assistant floor leader is a new one.

Mrs. Frank O. Frazier

Byron Elmore

The ATT is the toughest and most complete assessment of a combat

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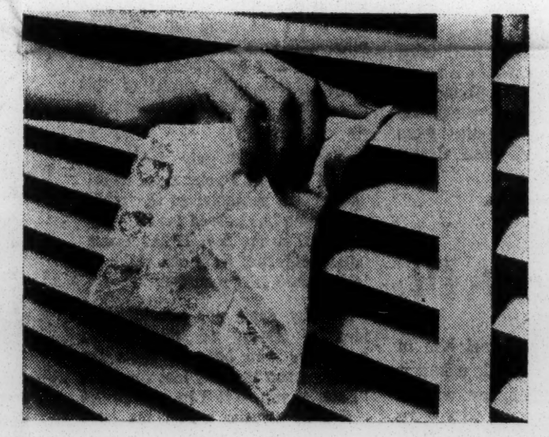
We could go on further — but we've made our point.

Do you see how to study history? Overview your book, overview each unit, each chapter. Always keep the broad picture in mind. Fit each detail into the larger framework of historical movement. Don't just memorize names and dates; think big, try to understand history — you'll have a lot more fun, and the names and dates won't be any problems.

(NEXT: Sociology, psychology, political science, economics.)

Step up to the joy of total-electric living

This year switch to clean Flameless Electric Heat



Only electric house heating is flameless. This is important. It means no fuel grime to coat pictures, walls or draperies. You'll find your home stays white-handkerchief clean when you heat the modern flameless electric way.

What's more, electric heat frees you from the annoyance of cold drafts and hot blasts.

And never has electric heating been so low in price to our customers. Ask us how our low total-electric rate can mean substantial savings for you.

Make this the year you step up to the joy of total-electric living. You'll wonder why you waited.

GEORGIA POWER COMPANY

A CITIZEN WHEREVER WE SERVE

NEW LOW TOTAL-ELECTRIC RATE

GO TOTAL ELECTRIC... FOR LESS

Ask how we can pay up to $180 toward wiring your home.

MENDENHALL'S

OFFICE SUPPLY SPECIALS

PROMPT DELIVERY SERVICE

INDEX GUIDES

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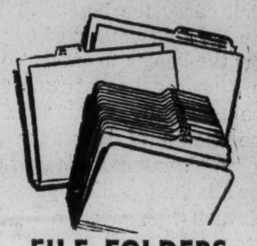

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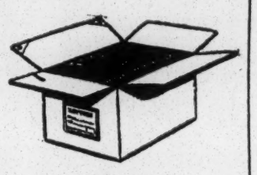

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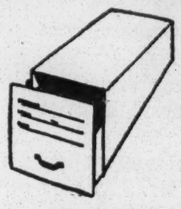

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October 14, 1963

Mr. Charles Morgan
Seventh Floor - Bank for Savings Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Chuck:

Where are you?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

LAW OFFICES
OF
CHARLES MORGAN, JR.
SEVENTH FLOOR - BANK FOR SAVINGS BUILDING
BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA

TELEPHONE FA 2-2642

September 26, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Thanks for your letter of September 19th and the enclosures.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Chuck

Charles Morgan, Jr.

CM:jg

December 3, 1964

Mr. Richter H. Moore
Department of Political Science
East Tennessee State College
Johnson City, Tennessee

Dear Rick:

When you are finished with this, would you mind passing it on to your father-in-law. My copies are scarce. All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
Enclosure - LWD SPSA Speech

file

February 8, 1965

Mr. Richter H. Moore, Jr.
Chairman
Department of Political Science
Tennessee State University
Johnson City, Tennessee

Dear Rick:

Congratulations on your promotion to Chairman of the department. From your high estate, we do look forward to hearing from you, from time to time.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:nm

Rick
1/25/65

EAST
TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY
JOHNSON CITY, TENNESSEE

COLLEGE OF ARTS & SCIENCES
Department of History and Political Science

January 22, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Forgive my delay in replying to your letter of December 3. Thank you very much for the paper. I have enjoyed reading it and rereading it, so has Carolyn. I am passing it on to Mr. Dabbs as you requested in your letter.

Since we talked in November, the situation here has changed substantially for upon my return from the Southern Association meeting, I found that I had been named Chairman of the Department of Political Science beginning September of this year. Therefore, the possibilities for changing jobs will not be of particular interest at this time. I do appreciate your consideration,however.

Meeting and talking with you was a great pleasure after having heard about you for so long. I hope that it won't be long before we can get together again. When you are up this way, by all means come by to see us. Thank you again for the paper.

Sincerely yours,

Rick

Richter H. Moore, Jr.

MS

File "Moss" Gen.

April 27, 1967

Mr. W. V. Moss
Miss Christine Ferguson
Route 1, Box 988
Orangeburg, South Carolina

Dear Friends:

I deeply regret to inform you that we have no funds available to support your work, although we are sure it is very valuable.

Should you ever be in Atlanta we would enjoy having you visit us.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Route 1, Box 988
Orangeburg, S. C.
April 6, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

A meeting on April 6, 1967 with Mr. Peter Lee and Mr. Webster is the reason we are writing.

Mr. Webster said you might give us aid.

Sisterhood S.C.O. Inc. of South Carolina is an organization to assest in Education of Young Women. Our organization consist of Two adults and Thirty-one girls, High School and College Students. We would like to conduct a tutoral program starting this summer'67, if possible.

I am sure you know how badly we need programs of this kind to help out Boys and Girls in our communities.

Our Organization is well Organized.

If possible we would like to meet with you and give you more information if necessary.

We wish to thank you in advance for your help.

Respectfully yours,

G.V. Moss, President G. V. Moss

Christine Ferguson

Christine Ferguson, Cab. Sec.

clf

File
"Mo" gen

March 19, 1968

The Reverend John Morris
4655 Jett Road, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30305

Dear John:

I am leaving tomorrow and will be out of the office until April 1. Let's plan to get together possibly that week. I am still very anxious for us to get into some kind of trouble together. Fair warning. If we do, however, it certainly will not include four staff people.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File

THE REV. JOHN B. MORRIS
4655 JETT ROAD, N.W.
ATLANTA 5, GEORGIA

March 11, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

It had occurred to me to attempt a summary of what was said at the dinner for "religious leaders" at the Biltmore on February 24th, together with some suggestions of my own for possible follow-through by the SRC.....

.....but, then, I kept putting it off because I really didn't know whether it would serve any purpose or whether or not you were anticipating some feedback from the discussion.

So, now let me simply enclose a list of those who were in attendance (a few didn't sign the sheet), the set of questions I had prepared as possible avenues for discussion, and add a few comments here upon which I would be glad to expand if you are interested.

Overall it was a discouraging discussion; namely, it reflected the passivity of the churches, et. al. At the same time, it was not without some real concern and hope that more might happen within religious groups. The concern of most of those present, coupled with their too docile manner, suggests that they actually want direction and leadership from a secular agency. There was no resistance to such an eventuality. (I regret this and would like to see more initiative from within the religious traditions, but such is the case.)

As something of a weathervane: while there was general consensus that something must be done to avert a chaotic summer, etc., there was a majority consensus on question no. 11 (asking whether we should have a southwide conference of church folk) that the issues we faced were sufficiently deep in terms of how the church responds that we really couldn't do much about them in an immediate sense and most persons opted for having this (if it were to be held) in the fall with due preparation. The more short-sighted and not-understanding-of-what-we-face-in-the-church were inclined toward an emergency, quickly prepared session. I count this overall as a mature and soundly based apprehension of what the task is in religious bodies.

So what could be done, if anything? A conference? Staff deployed throughout the region in contact with church folk? Etc. I could work up a magnificient prospectus if you could think of having about four professional staff. For one, it would be stopgap...could certainly pull off a conference, but would just stratch the surface.

But, then, since we never really discussed this dinner and the talk part, I don't know what was in the back of your mind and it would be presumptious of me to come forth with lots of suggestions if it doesn't fit the situation.

Regards, and thanks for a very fine Biltmore meal*

John Morris

* It really was good!

ROSTER OF PERSONS ATTENDING DINNER FOR RELIGIOUS LEADERS, February 24, 1968, Biltmore Hotel

W. E. Newton	Austell, Ga.	Presby.
C. Tom Baker	Nashville	Tenn. Council of Ch's
Malcolm P. Calhoun	Richmond	Presby. staff
Edward M. Brown	Atl.	United Ch. of Chr.
Howard G. McClain	Columbia, S. C.	Christian Action Coun.
Neal Wyndham	Atla	Disciples of Christ
Robert B. Herndon	Atl.	
Harmon D. Moore,	Atl.	Christian Action Coun.
J. M. Dabbs.	S. C.	Presby.
Rev. Clement Tuskney	Orangeburg	R. C.
Robert L. Clayton	Salisbory, N. C.	AME Zion
Jim Wood		SRC
Francis X. Walter	Tuscaloosa, Ala.	S. I. P.
Mr. and Mrs. Reese Cleghorn	Atl.	Atl. Journal/Presby
Mrs. Joe D. Hardesty	Memphis, Tenn.	Church Women United
Mrs. Jane Schutt	Jackson, Miss.	" " "
Dr. Walter Zand	Miami	AJC
Rev. Wm. P. Dowling	Columbus, Ga.	R. C.
Samuel W. Williams	Atl.	Pastor/Co. Prof.
Ben R. Hartley	Atl.	Presby./ Editor
Kathy Wood		
Rev. Thomas O'Toole	Orangeburg	R. C.
Edward A. Driscoll	Atl.	Council of Churches
Mrs. Robert Hoyt	Atl.	Church Women United
Donald E. Neel	Atl.	Presby. staff
Laurence W. Bottoms	Atl.	" "
Rev. L. O. Saunders	Hickory, N. C.	A. M. E.
John C. Sanders	Houston	Episcopal

David Nickerson	Durham	ESCRU
Rev. Eugene Clarke	Jackson, Miss.	Homes for Missippians Inc.
Allen L. Hohnson	Laurel, Miss.	Methodist
Smith Turner, III	Charlotte	
Oscar Burwich	Newton, N. C.	Methodist

SOME QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. How do you feel about the conference thus far?

2. Are you satisfied with the underlying goals which have been implicit or explicit in the presentations?

3. What can religious institutions do in relationship to the region's needs as expressed in the conference?

4. What is the internal condition of most religious institutions insofar as racial justice and interracial unity is concerned?

5. Is there some special role for religious institutions in building a democratic society? Do current trends or needs affect this?

6. Can we place priorities on the need for internal reform in churches on the one hand, and their role in aiding social change in the community on the other?

7. Assuming that initiatives by religious groups in the field of social change are strengthened through concerted action, are there presently sufficient ecumenical channels? What are they?

8. Are churches and synagogues in the South giving active support to projects seeking open housing, equitable welfare programs, equal employment efforts, etc., and programs such as "Project Equality"?

9. How many genuinely integrated parishes or congregations can we list in the region? Tokenly integrated ones?

10. Are there ways in which secular agencies could help the churches in the region to become more involved? In providing support for needed changes in the community? In encouraging changes within the churches themselves?

11. Would there be any value in having a southwide, or national, conference of religious leaders comparable to the 1963 Chicago "National Conference on Religion and Race"?

12. Other questions or topics for our consideration:

file
J. Mo "Gen

April 15, 1968

William M. Moldoff, Esquire
234 E. 53rd Street
New York, New York 10022

My dear Mr. Moldoff:

The Southern Regional Council is a body of 100 Southerners concerned with regional development and achieving equality for all the region's people. Toward that end a staff of some 40 persons is employed in our office at the above address. Enclosed is a list of our members.

Under separate cover we are sending you several of our publications which will further indicate our activities.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

New York State Law Digest

REPORTING IMPORTANT OPINIONS OF THE COURT OF APPEALS AND OF THE APPELLATE DIVISIONS PUBLISHED IN THE OFFICAL REPORTS
Editors: THEODORE M. BOOCK ERIC E. MERK

New York State Bar Association, 99 Washington Avenue, Albany, New York No. 57 April, 1968

COURT OF APPEALS HOLDS GRAND JURY INDICTMENT OF PROSPECTIVE DEFENDANT FOR PERJURY PROPER

The defendant was called before the Grand Jury for questioning on crimes involving public works projects. The defendant testified that he had never been involved in any crime, and specifically denied a particular situation. Based upon his testimony the defendant was subsequently indicted for perjury in the first degree. Supreme Court dismissed the indictment on the grounds that defendant at the time he was called before the Grand Jury was a possible defendant and a prime target of investigation, that calling him was a violation of his privilege against self-incrimination and the People could not use his testimony for any purpose. The Court of Appeals reversed and ordered a reinstatement of the indictment. It is difficult to ascertain whether one called before a grand jury is a potential defendant or "target" or merely a witness. For purposes of perjury prosecutions there should be no distinction. Since a potential defendant is automatically immune from prosecution for substantive crimes based on his testimony, he should not be immune from a perjury charge, if he knowingly and willfully lies while giving testimony. The immunity granted for substantive crimes disclosed while testifying is not extended to the crime of perjury, which is committed in the process of making the compelled disclosure.

People v. Tomasello,
21 N.Y.2d 143 (Dec. 28, 1967).

COURT OF APPEALS HOLDS THAT A DEFENDANT HAS NO STANDING TO OBJECT TO UNLAWFUL SEARCH AND SEIZURE OF STOLEN MERCHANDISE IN ANOTHER'S HOME

The defendant was convicted of burglary and grand larceny. A camera taken during the burglary was found in a third person's apartment when that apartment was searched under an invalid search warrant for narcotics. The Court of Appeals held that this evidence was admissible in defendant's trial. The Court found that since the camera was found in a third person's apartment defendant was not aggrieved by the illegal search and seizure. The Court also held that the fact that third person had received stolen merchandise did not make him an accomplice as a matter of law and thus render his testimony necessary of corroboration under Section 399 of the Code of Criminal Procedure. The Court noted that being in recent and exclusive possession of stolen goods is not the only test for finding a person an accomplice as a matter of law, but that the rule also requires that possession be unexplained. In this case, possession could be explained as purchase of stolen goods. Thus, testimony need not have been corroborated.

People v. Cefaro
21 N.Y.2d 252 (Dec. 29, 1967).
(Breitel, J. dissenting).

CARRIERS

Carriers By Air — Statement On Ticket Insufficient Notice And Prevents Limitation Of Liability

Plaintiff's decedent purchased from Northwest Airlines an airline ticket for a round trip flight between New York City and Vancouver, Canada, with certain stopovers. On return trip, decedent took a bus to Seattle and flew from there to Chicago. Northwest placed her on American Airlines flight to New York, which flight crashed. Original ticket given decedent contained a footnote in almost unreadable print stating transportation was subject to liability rules of Warsaw Convention. Defendant, American Airlines, asserted limited liability under Convention as an affirmative defense. Court of Appeals reversed and held plaintiff's motion to dismiss affirmative defense should have been granted. Court held on other points that transport contract was international and subject to Warsaw Convention, even though decedent had bussed back to United States and American Airlines had been substituted for Northwest Airlines. However, notice of Convention's application to transport was insufficient. A statement which is practically undecipherable fails of its purpose to afford notice. Purpose of notice is to afford passenger opportunity to take measures to protect himself against the limitation of liability. *Egan v. Kollsman Instrument Corp.*, 21 N.Y.2d 160 (Dec. 28, 1967).

COURTS

Family Court Jurisdiction

Petitioner and respondent entered into separation agreement which was incorporated in Mexican divorce decree. Under agreement respondent was to pay $23 weekly for support. Respondent fell in arrears on support payments and petition, pursuant to Family Court Act §466(c), to enforce support provision of Mexican divorce decree, was filed. Family Court ordered respondent to pay arrears, but Appellate Division reversed on Constitutional grounds of lack of jurisdiction. Court of Appeals reversed Appellate Division and reinstated Family Court orders. Legislature had authority under Article VI (§7, subd. c) of the Constitution to confer upon Family Court powers contained in subdivision (c) of section 466. "New classes of actions and proceedings" as to which Legislature is permitted to confer jurisdiction in other courts, concurrently with Supreme Court, are those which Supreme Court would be without jurisdiction to entertain, unless authorized by statute. Right to commence enforcement proceeding not recognized before section 466 amendment and therefore is an appropriate "new class of proceeding." *In the Matter of Seitz v. Drogheo*, 21 N.Y.2d 181 (Dec. 28, 1967) (Scileppi, J. dissenting).

CRIMES

Assault In Third Degree

Two of three criminal prosecutions involved in appeal were crimes of assault in third degree, third prosecution involved second degree assault. Two of the defendants were convicted, third's indictment was dismissed upon motion. Each case concerned question whether corroboration is required of testimony of a female that there was a completed act of rape, where People have elected to prosecute for crime ostensibly unrelated to rape charge or where jury has found defendant guilty of an unrelated crime upon evidence which, if believed, would render accused guilty of rape or assault with attempt to commit rape. Court of Appeals held both convictions should be reversed and indictments dismissed and affirmed order dismissing indictment. Legislature currently provides requirement of corroboration of complainant's testimony in certain sexual crimes, and courts have extended requirement to assaults with intent to commit rape and attempted rape where charge is supported by evidence of consummated rape. Rule necessary to prevent prosecutor or Grand Jury from evading requirement of corroboration by charging assault with intent to commit rape or third degree assault. *People v. Radunovic*, 21 N.Y.2d 186 (Dec. 28, 1967) (Scileppi, Bergan and Keating, JJ. dissenting).

CRIMES

Confession Obtained Without Counsel Subsequent To Arraignment On Another Charge With Presence Of Counsel Not Admissible

Defendant was arraigned in New York City Criminal Court on charge of criminally receiving stolen property. Counsel was assigned to represent him and trial was adjourned to later date. Defendant, released upon own recognizance, was immediately arrested on another charge, as he left courtroom, by state police present at arraignment. State Police transported him to Suffolk County and he was interrogated about burglary of private home in Suffolk County and confessed. Interrogation was without presence of, or notification to, counsel appointed in prior proceeding. Court of Appeals held that confession must be excluded from evidence on trial of confessed crime. Court impliedly held that once counsel has been appointed for defendant counsel must be present at any subsequent interrogation with respect to any crime. *People v. Vella*, 21 N.Y.2d 249 (Dec. 29, 1967).

CRIMES

Defendant Waived Right To Written Notice Of Use Of Admissions By Failure To Object To Their Use On Trial

Defendant was convicted of buying and receiving stolen automobile. On trial prosecution elicited testimony from arresting patrolman to effect that defendant had told him that defendant borrowed automobile from woman he did not know. Defense counsel objected to conversations reported by officer on hearsay grounds. Section 813-f Code Criminal Procedure provides that if prosecution intends to use an admission in evidence at a trial he must within reasonable time "before the commencement of the trial, give written notice of such intention to the defendant, or to his counsel if he is represented by counsel." Court found that although testimony was exculpatory, it was sole basis of conviction, and therefore was admission. However, Court held that since defendant's counsel did not object that testimony given by patrolman constituted admission and that no prior notice thereof was given, that defendant waived right under Section 813-f. Police officer also testified with respect to entries made in his memorandum book immediately after arrest and interrogation, but officer was unable to produce book. Court also held that failure to produce memorandum book at trial was not prejudicial error because defendant's counsel had failed to request that People produce the book. *People v. Ross*, 21 N.Y.2d 258 (Dec. 29, 1967) (Breitel, J. dissenting).

CRIMES

Perjury — Waiver Of Immunity By Police Officer

Defendant appeared before Grand Jury and was informed of purpose of its investigation, was advised of his right to refuse to answer incriminating question, but that as a police officer he must sign a limited waiver of immunity to retain his job. He was further advised of waiver's effect, but signed waiver after acknowledging his understanding of waiver. Defendant subsequently indicted and convicted of perjury for false statements made before Grand Jury. Court of Appeals affirmed conviction. A public officer may be compelled to testify before a Grand Jury, even though he is compelled under threat of removal from his job. Any waiver obtained by means of this coercive force would not prevent him from raising right against self-incrimination in answering questions bearing on a substantive crime, but he can be legally sworn. Manifest purpose of causing a public officer to testify is to secure truthful testimony. He can refuse to answer, but if he chooses to answer he is not immune from penalties for crimes inherent in the giving of testimony itself. *People v. Goldman,* 21 N.Y.2d 152 (Dec. 28, 1967).

CRIMES

Prosecution Calling Accomplice Named In Defendants' Confessions Reversible Error

Defendants were charged with murder in the first degree. They confessed to murder. A *Huntley* hearing was ordered by Appellate Division and trial court found confessions were voluntary. Defendants at *Huntley* hearing and trial testified their confessions were false and were extracted by force. Each named James as an accomplice in their confessions. Asistant District Attorney called James as witness. James refused to answer questions relating to defendants on ground of self-incrimination. Court of Appeals reversed convictions and ordered a new trial. Result of James' presence on witness stand was to implant in minds of jurors that facts stated in defendants' confessions were true, since his refusal to answer on ground of self-incrimination would lead jury to conclude James actually did play role in criminal transactions assigned to him in confessions. James' claim of privilege was most incriminating evidence introduced against defendants. *People v. Pollock,* 21 N.Y.2d 206 (Dec. 28, 1967) (Scileppi, Keating and Breitel, J.J. dissenting).

CRIMES

Redacted Confessions Used In Trial Not Sufficient To Prevent Prejudice When Oral Testimony Mentions Defendants' Names

Three defendants were convicted murder in first degree. Following arrests two of defendants made admissions and gave statements claiming that another had shot victim after victim struck man who fired gun. Physical characteristics defendants were totally different. Upon trial statements and confessions of defendants given prior to trial were redacted by use of letter "X" rather than defendant's name, and used as evidence. However, testimony Assistant District Attorney and two police officers referred directly to the three defendants by their nicknames, which were based on respective physical characteristics. Court of Appeals held that use of redacted confessions was permissible, but when subsequent testimony refers specifically to defendants by name, effect is to sterilize redacted confession and deprive defendants of fair trial. *People v. Burelle,* 21 N.Y.2d 265 (Dec. 29, 1967) (Bergan, Scileppi, J.J. dissenting).

CRIMES

Voluntariness Confession Shown By Defendant's Realization That Police Had Developed Substantial Case

Defendant was convicted first degree murder. On appeal defendant contended that confession was not voluntary. Court of Appeals reviewed facts surrounding confession: defendant was not warned of constitutional rights, there was an unnecessary delay in defendant's arraignment and defendant was refused permission to call family. However, Court found that since defendant was not physically abused, had been through the police interrogation process before, and had confessed shortly after incarceration because he knew that evidence had been mounting up which incriminated him in crime, that he confessed voluntarily and not because he was forced to do so. *People v. Carbonaro,* 21 N.Y.2d 271 (Dec. 29, 1967) (Fuld, J. dissenting).

EASEMENTS

Compensation Restoration Easements Light And Air Equals Amount Originally Paid To Acquire Easements

Intervenor in action by City of New York for compensation due to condemnation of Third Avenue elevated railroad claimed that award of more than $5,000,000 to City for quasi-easements light and air was excessive. Court of Appeals held that the amount awarded City should equal amount originally paid for acquisition easement. Court noted that normal rule in condemnation proceeding is owner's loss is measure, not taker's gain, but general rule must yield when application would affect an unjust result. Since, in this case, removal elevated railway structure increased value of land abutting Third Avenue, and since owners of land were originally paid for use of the easements of light and air, Court held that it would not be unfair to charge them with original cost of acquisition, especially since, as provided by the condemnation statute, cost was to be split between the City of New York, the Borough of Manhattan and abutting landowners. *Mtr. of City of New York (James St.)* 21 N.Y.2d 293 (December 29, 1967) (Burke, J. dissenting).

INSURANCE

MVAIC May Offset Workmen's Compensation Benefits Paid Against Claim for Wrongful Death

While operating motor vehicle in course of employment deceased collided with uninsured motor vehicle. Deceased received more than $10,000 Workmen's Compensation benefits during course of hospitalization and recovery from accident, prior to death. Deceased's executor filed petition with MVAIC claiming damages for wrongful death. Court of Appeals held that under terms of standard New York Automobile Accident Indemnification Endorsement, executor had to offset payments made under Workmen's Compensation. Court noted that Paragraph B of Condition 5 of MVAIC Endorsement provides offset for any payment made "on account of such bodily injury under any Workmen's Compensation law". And, under Section 1 of endorsement, "Bodily Injury" is defined to include "bodily injury, sickness or disease, including death

resulting therefrom." Thus, any payment made under Workmen's Compensation had to be offset. *Matter of Napolitano (MVAIC)* 21 N.Y.2d 281 (Dec. 29, 1967) Keating, J. dissenting).

INTOXICATING LIQUORS

Disorderly Behavior Standard Same For Behavior Of Heterosexuals Or Homosexuals

Article 78 (CPLR) proceeding contesting revocation of Liquor License for disorderly behavior such that licensee should reasonably have known of it. (Alcoholic Beverage Control Law Section 106(6). Police officer testified that while present in bar he observed males dancing with each other and feeling each other's private parts and posteriors. Officer also testified that he observed this from bar where bartender, who was not busy 100% of time, could also have seen it. Court of Appeals upheld revocation of license on ground that disorderly behavior existed which licensee should have known of. Court found that the public feeling of private parts constituted disorderly behavior, whether it be with respect to homosexuals or heterosexuals. Court also found that since police officer observed these actions from the bar, bartender also should have. *Matter of Becker v. N. Y. State Liq. Auth.*, 21 N.Y.2d 289 (Dec. 29, 1967).

LANDLORD AND TENANT

Construction Of Lease — Taxes

Plaintiff leased 19% of a parcel owned by defendant. Printed lease provided that if leased premises were not taxed separately, but as part of larger tract, lessee should pay "a reasonable and equitable portion as fixed and determined by Lessor of the taxes upon the whole part or parcel." Rider provided for payments every month to apply to taxes, the total tax payments to be adjusted to an amount equal to actual taxes payable on land and improvements. Defendant allocated 43% of taxes to plaintiff, whereas City Assesor, in year when assessment allocated between parties, had assessed plaintiff with only 19% of taxes. Court held defendant's allocation materially incorrect, but ordered new trial as record did not show correct allocation. Reference to "actual taxes payable" in rider is synonymous with "reasonable and equitable portion" in printed lease. Payments made under rider provision cannot be termed voluntary and do not bind plaintiff as accepting defendant's allocation. However, the rider's phrase "actual taxes payable" does not mean that apportionment should be solely on an equal percentage basis. Certain factors, such as corner influence and frontage can be given effect. *208-234 Falls Street, Inc. v. New York Central Railroad Company* (Dec. 28, 1967) (Breitel, J. and Fuld, C.J., dissenting).

RAILROADS

Maintenance Of Premises — Invitees

Plaintiff entered defendant's passenger station through a taxi tunnel, rather than through main passenger entrance, and slipped and fell on so-called greasy substance. Plaintiff testified he knew taxi tunnel was primarily for taxis, had no sidewalks, that it was poorly lit and on day of accident was dark and hazy. Third Department reversed judgment below and dismissed complaint. Proof established plaintiff was an invitee and defendant owed him duty of reasonable care. However, when plaintiff, with knowledge, elected to enter through a taxi tunnel not required to be illuminated and then proceeded in dark to walk on floor customarily used for taxis, he must have known that same degree of maintenance and care could not be expected or demanded. By going forward in dark plaintiff assumed risk of a foreign substance on floor and was contributorily negligent as a matter of law. *Greelish v. New York Central Railroad Company*, 29 A.D.2d 159 (3d Dep't, Jan. 22, 1968).

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NEW YORK STATE LAW DIGEST

NEW YORK STATE BAR ASSOCIATION

99 WASHINGTON AVENUE, ALBANY, NEW YORK 12210

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AT ALBANY, N. Y.

4-9-68

Sir,

What is your organization, and what does it do?

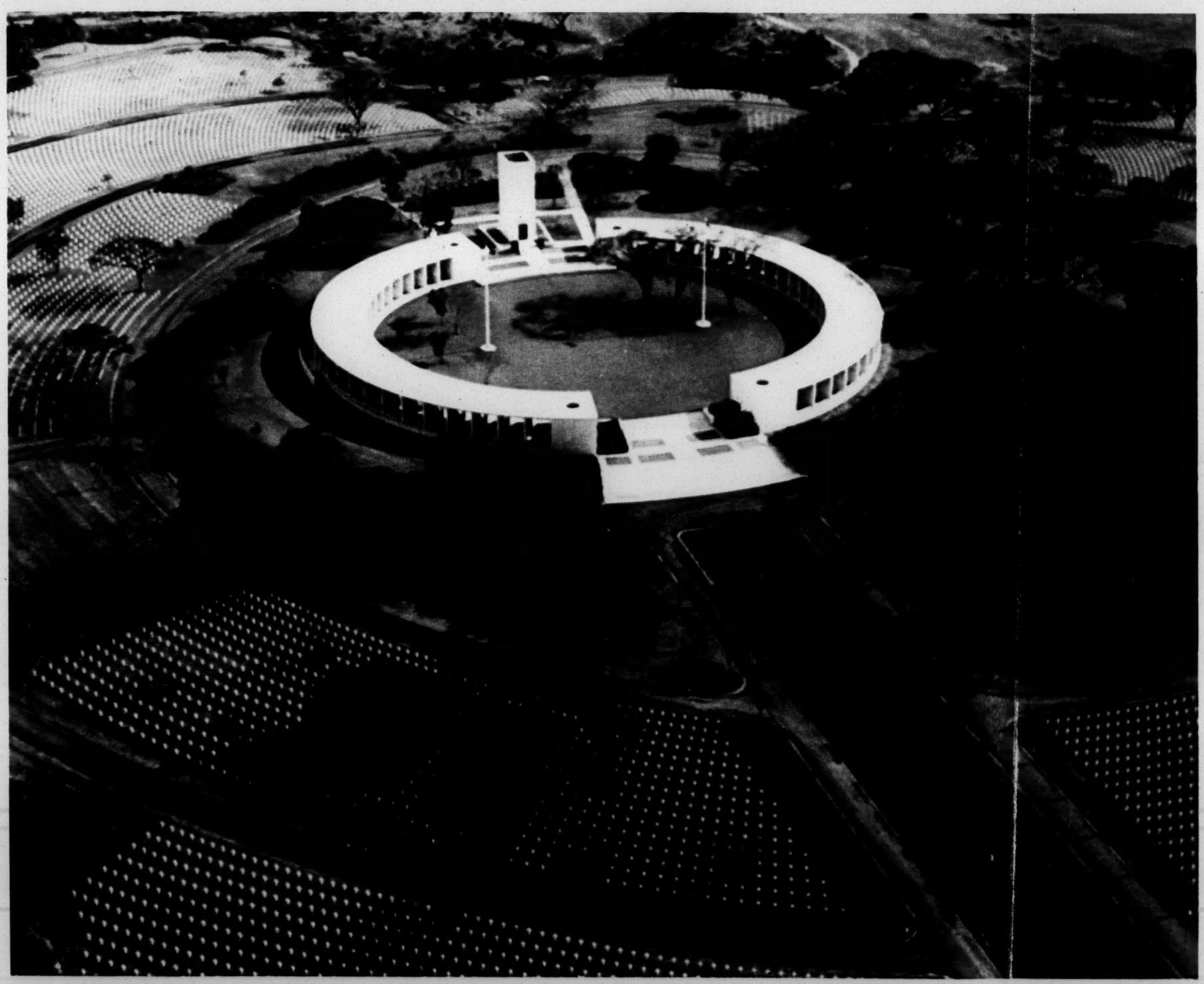
With kind regards,

Bill Moloff

PO Box 151
Nassau NY
12123

234 E 53 St
NYC 10022

Card



"AMERICAN BATTLE MONUMENT–NATIONAL CEMETERY, MANILA, P.I."

C. B. KING
ATTORNEY AT LAW
POST OFFICE BOX 1024
ALBANY, GEORGIA 31702
TELEPHONE 435-6149

(912)

1 November, 1968

Called 11/5/68 Conferring with Mr. Patterson

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am Mary Moss and am presently located in the office of Attorney C.B. King in Albany, Georgia. We are presently engaged in efforts to correct inequities between blacks and whites in this community. Among our immediate problems is the lack of recreation for blacks, particularly children here. We have since this summer met with members of the YMCA board in an effort to have this christian organization change its policy of racial segregation. It has stauchly refused. The United Fund was requested to discontinue financial support to organizations that are racially segregated until such time as these policies are changed. We feel that it should because black teachers and military personally are 'gentlelly' forced to contribute to this charity. It has also refused to do this. We feel that part of our problem is the lack of knowledge by others of conditions existing here.

Mrs. Nancy Sherwood Truitt who visited me and noted some of these conditions said that she would contact you as she thought you might be be able to help us. Specifically I was desirous of getting an appointment with Mr. McGill.

It now appears that I will be in Atlanta on Wednesday, November 6, 1968 looking into another matter in the morning. During the afternoon I will be free. If it would be possible to see you then I would be delighted. Please let me hear from you as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Mary Moss

Mary Moss

MM/gg

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram	
FULL RATE TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHIP RADIOGRAM	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

COPY

ATTORNEY CHARLES MORGAN
736 BANK FOR SAVINGS BUILDING
BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA

WILL NOT BE ABLE TO CALL YOU BEFORE LATE TOMORROW.

LESLIE W. DUNBAR

November 5, 1958

Rev. S. S. Seay
Executive Secretary
Montgomery Improvement Association, Inc.
530 South Union Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Seay:

Thank you for your recent letter inviting me to participate in the Third Anniversary Celebration of MIA. I will be happy to participate in the celebration. Unfortunately, it will be necessary for MIA to bear the costs of my trip. If this is acceptable I will be pleased to come.

I would like some additional information: where the meeting is to take place; what time of day I am to speak; and what you want me to talk about.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

(Dictated by Mr. Routh but signed in his absence.)

FBR:ls

THE MONTGOMERY IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION, Inc.

530 SOUTH UNION STREET PHONES AM 5-3364—AM 4-3327

MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

Mose Pleasure, Jr.
Executive Secretary

OFFICERS

Martin Luther King, Jr.
President

Ralph D. Abernathy
First Vice President

Moses W. Jones
Second Vice President

W. J. Powell
Secretary

Erna A. Dungee
Financial Secretary

E. D. Nixon
Treasurer

A. W. Wilson
Parliamentarian

October 31, 1958

Mr. Fredrick B. Routh
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

Upon the suggestion of Reverend B. J. Simms and the request of Dr. King, the Montgomery Improvement Association invites you to speak to the people of our community on Friday evening, December 5, during our Third Anniversary celebration. We trust that it will be possible for you to accept this invitation.

Please let us hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Yours for freedom,

(Rev.) S. S. Seay,
Executive Secretary

SSS:hg

December 9, 1958

Rev. S. S. Seay
Executive Secretary
Montgomery Improvement Association
530 South Union Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Seay:

It was a pleasure to be with you at the annual meeting of the Montgomery Improvement Association. I found the group to be interested and interesting.

Enclosed is my expense account, totaling $48.87. Please make the check payable to the Southern Regional Council. I hope you feel my participation was worth this much.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
Enclosure

December 30, 1958

Rev. S. S. Seay
Executive Secretary
Montgomery Improvement Association
530 South Union Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Seay:

Many thanks for the check covering my travel expenses to the Montgomery Improvement Association's annual meeting and a generous honorarium besides! I have turned the honorarium over to the Southern Regional Council, as is our practice.

May you and the MIA have increasing effectiveness and continuing success in the new year just around the corner.

All good wishes.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

THE MONTGOMERY IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION, Inc.

530 SOUTH UNION STREET PHONES AM 5-3364—AM 4-3327

MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

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W. J. Powell
Secretary

Erna A. Dungee
Financial Secretary

E. D. Nixon
Treasurer

A. W. Wilson
Parliamentarian

August 10, 1959

8/12/59

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, North East
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Enclosed please find check in the amount of four dollars ($4.00), prepayment of one (1) tape-recording of the Washington School Story. Many thanks for copy of the transcript to Dr. King, which he was gracious enough to let me read.

Very truly yours,

(Rev.) S. S. Seay,
Executive Secretary

SSS:hg
enclosure: 1 check drawn on the Alabama National bank

MORAN
ASSOCIATES
INC. *2004 20th Ave. S. • Nashville Tennessee 37212 • Phone 298-2106*

"Instead of hitting the earth haphazardly, like grains of sand against a car's windshield in a desert storm, the meteors seem to follow permanent bullet-like paths frozen in space," said one of our contemporary astronomers.

Unfortunately, most public relations programs--whether launched to raise funds, establish a new image or change an unsatisfactory one, maintain a position of influence or mobilize a group for action--"hit the earth haphazardly" like the astronomer's grains of sand in a desert storm."

A professional public relations agency can focus your message and create a more effective interpretation of your program to the public you now serve or wish to serve.

Continued.....

MORAN ASSOCIATES is a unique professional public relations and development agency in the Southeastern region of the U. S. Our scope allows instant rapport, immediate acceptance and entre into the most diversified environments.

MORAN ASSOCIATES offers:

EXPERTISE...the know-how, techniques and professional poise developed from a total of 32 years of experience.

INFLUENCE...developed from years in the mainstream of local, state and regional activities in civic circles, industry, labor, education and government.

IMMEDIATE ACCEPTANCE...from the press, radio and television, accruing from respect and recognition through the years.

ECONOMY...resulting from the utilization of centralized facilities, manpower flexibility, the servicing of more than one client while traveling. The use of short-term consultants reduces administrative overhead.

OBJECTIVITY...as an independent firm that is not a part of "the organization."

Keeping in mind that public relations, per se, must not be confused with the media or tools used to further its ends, more than one instrument of public relations must be used.

The tools which can be utilized by MORAN ASSOCIATES in your public relations program are:

Continued.....

RESEARCH...eliminating the costly guesses and indicating the way to progress.

ADVERTISING...versatility, innovative, and custom-designed for our clients.

PUBLICITY...used as a very special tool, supremely fitted for a special job. We should remember not to equate public relations with publicity or make publicity an end in itself. Rather, we should view it as a means of achieving larger objectives.

DIRECT MAIL...supplementing personal contacts during specific programs or campaigns and thereby undergirding the objectives.

PUBLICATIONS...providing a continuing vehicle for communications both externally and internally.

SPEAKERS BUREAU...enlisting the efforts of a number of qualified volunteers in a highly flexible and adaptable way of taking the message to various publics.

ORIENTATION AND TRAINING PROGRAMS...for volunteers to acquaint them with appropriate objectives, the direction of the program, and the short and long-range goals.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION...identifying and using effectively community leaders in developing neighborhood-based activities.

In any and every project, whether it be building a business, operating a health agency, raising funds or achieving a political goal, there comes a time when opportunities conspire to make THIS THE MOMENT to move ahead, boldly, confidently, and positively. This may be your moment.

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF:

Paul Anthony

Km: make file: Marsan Associates, Inc.
& file in "MO" Section

RECEIVED
APR 20 1954
Southern Regional Council

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE DEAN

April 19, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I wish to thank you for attending the meeting which was sponsored in Atlanta on April 14 by the National Manpower Council. Dr. Ginzberg and his associates were quite elated about their experiences with us. They feel that much was accomplished in revealing the status of the Negro worker, especially in the South. As I understand it, you will be sent a report covering the conference by National Manpower Council as soon as it is available.

With every kind wish, I am

Yours sincerely,

B. R. Brazeal

B. R. Brazeal
De a n

BRB:J

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

RECEIVED
APR 12 1954
Southern Regional Council

OFFICE OF THE DEAN

April 8, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We are glad that you have accepted an invitation to be a member of a small group to discuss Technical and Skilled Manpower with Special Reference to Negro Labor in the South on Wednesday, April 14, 1954. This group, which is being assembled under the auspices of the National Manpower Council, will begin its meeting at 9:45 A.M. in the Reading Room of the Chemistry Building at Morehouse College. At 12:30 P.M. the participants will have lunch in the Atlanta University Dining Room as guests of the National Manpower Council. The hour from 1:30 to 2:30 P.M. will be utilized for us to make summary statements and findings. Considering the nature and function of the National Manpower Council it is felt that our thinking will possibly have a far reaching influence in the prescribed areas of employment. We are looking forward with interest to seeing you next Wednesday.

Yours sincerely,

B. R. Brazeal

B. R. Brazeal
Dean

BRB:J

AGENDA FOR NATIONAL MANPOWER COUNCIL DISCUSSION GROUP

Atlanta, Georgia, April 14
1954

Since the National Manpower Council is concerned with formulating a forward looking program, we are interested not only in the immediate past and present, but particularly in emerging trends.

We are further interested in the extent to which conditions encountered by Negroes who seek technical and skilled training and work differ depending on the occupations, industries, or sector of the economy (private-governmental).

With reference to the following questions, we are interested not only in conditions in Atlanta, but in other parts of the South, urban and rural.

1. What opportunities do Negroes have to acquire training for technical or skilled jobs through vocational high schools, apprenticeship programs, on-the-job training, and through other methods? How do these opportunities compare with those for the white population?

2. To what extent do young Negroes seek to acquire training in a particular skill in contrast to professional training?

3. Does the migration pattern for skilled Negro workers differ from the rest of the Negro population?

4. Do many veterans return to the South with a skill that they have acquired in military service? What problems do they encounter in seeking to use their new skill?

5. To what extent are Negroes on the farm being affected by the rapid technological changes which make new and different demands on the farm operator and laborer?

In discussing these factors the National Manpower Council representatives are more "interested in the big issues rather than the details." Please think of other factors that should be discussed when we meet on Wednesday, April 14 at 9:45 A. M. in the Reading Room of the Chemistry Building at Morehouse College.

NAMES OF PERSONS INVITED TO ATTEND NATIONAL MANPOWER COUNCIL'S ATLANTA CONFERENCE ON TECHNICAL AND SKILLED MANPOWER WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO NEGRO LABOR APRIL 14, 1954

Boyd, William M., Professor and Chairman of the Department of Political Science Atlanta University

Brazeal, Brailsford R., Professor of Economics, and Academic Dean, Morehouse College

Brisbane, Robert H., Professor of Political Science, Morehouse College

Burgess, David, Executive Secretary, Georgia State Industrial Council, CIO 95 Merritts Avenue

Chivers, Walter R., Professor and Chairman of Department of Sociology, Morehouse College

Hamilton, Grace Towns, Executive Secretary, Atlanta Urban League, 239 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

Hammer, Phillip G., Executive Officer of the Committee of the South Glenn Building

Hill, Mozell C., Professor & Chairman of Department of Sociology, Atlanta University

Lydon, J. P., Director of Industrial Relations, Lockheed, Inc., Marietta, Georgia

Mitchell, George, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

Ranson, Phenizee, Manager of the Negro Division of Georgia State Employment Service, 7989 Marietta Street, N. W.

Thompson, Robert A., Industrial Relations Secretary, Atlanta Urban League, 239 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

Westerfield, Samuel Z., Dean, School of Business Administration, Atlanta University

Williams, Edward B., Professor & Chairman of Department of Economics and Business Administration, Morehouse College

National Manpower Council Representatives

write note { Eli Ginzberg, Director of Research and Professor in School of Business Administration Columbia University Sent Income – Noted

Messrs. Dale Hiestand and Bernard Roshco, ResearchAssistants

done

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

January 19, 1956

RECEIVED JAN 20 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

As I review the 1955 work at Morehouse, I conclude that we had a pretty good year. We are farther along January 1956 than we were January 1955.

The Danforth Chapel became a reality in 1955. The Committee from the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools gave the College high praise for its academic work. A friend of the College continues to make European travel possible for two Morehouse couples. A gift of $25,000 was given by another friend, income on which will be used for scholarships.

The Ford Foundation announced a Christmas present amounting to $220,300, income on which will be used to increase teachers' salaries. A well known foundation appropriated $7,500 for books for the Morehouse Reading Room. Another foundation gave the College $10,000 to brick veneer the Infirmary. Two friends gave $2,000 each for scholarships and one foundation continues its appropriation of $2,000 for scholarships and other purposes. There were also many smaller gifts which made 1955 a good year for Morehouse.

We had a good year because you gave us your support and extended to us your good will which we warmly felt. So, this letter comes to thank you for what you did for Morehouse in 1955 and to say to you that we hope the New Year will prosper your endeavors. Morehouse is what it is because we have friends like you.

We face 1956 with sane confidence and look forward to doing greater things in '56 than we did in '55. The big job is to add $350,000 to the $400,000 we already have in order to construct the proposed $750,000 Physical Education and Health Building which is a must on our agenda. We believe this can be accomplished in 1956.

Again thanking you for your friendship and help, I am

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin E. Mays
President

BEM:J

Liz:

Mrs. Hill - Pres. Mays' Office

wants to know if you have biographical sketch on G.S.M.

Call her

3/4/57
2:45 pm

Mailed today

May 16, 1956

Mr. Benjamin E. Mays
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mays:

I am horrified to find that your note to me of April 7th, enclosing this correspondence and asking for names of suitable white ministers, has got clogged on my own desk. Every apology.

On somewhat painstaking inquiry I think the only suitable nomination is Glen Canfield at the Unitarian Universalist Church. Harrison McMains no longer has a church.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl - ltr from John Paul Jones
dtd 4/2/56

RECEIVED APR 9 1956

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

April 7, 1956

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Extract for proposed reply

Dr. Canfield - use Tarcan church only one of board J. H. J.

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchall:

I am sending you a copy of Doctor Jones' letter. Could you recommend a couple of Atlanta white ministers? Let me know. What about McMains?

With kindest regards, I am

Yours truly,

Benjamin E. Mays

Benjamin E. Mays
President

BEM/m
Enclosure

March 10, 1958

Mr. William M. Nix
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Nix:

Thank you for your letter of March 7, and your kind comments concerning the Council.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

PERSONNEL OFFICE

March 7, 1958

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

I am writing to thank you and the Southern Regional Council for having permitted this office to show the film "The South" to the members of our student association last Thursday, February 27, 1958.

Dr. George Mitchell did a grand job in discussing the historical background of our area and also in pin-pointing some of the positive steps that the South can take in granting civil rights to all.

I was especially pleased to note that our illustrious president served as one of the consultants.

Again, we tender our sincere thanks to you.

With best wishes for your continued success, I am

Sincerely yours,

William M. Nix

William M. Nix

WMN/a

February 6, 1959

Dr. Walter R. Chivers
Department of Sociology
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Chivers:

Thank you for the invitation to attend the informal luncheon in honor of Mr. James M. Dabbs on February 12, at 12:30 p.m. in the Little Dining Room of Robert Hall. I shall be happy to attend.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

February 4, 1959

Please consider my "yes"

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Mr. Frederick Routh,
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

You are invited to attend an informal luncheon in honor of Mr. James M. Dabbs on February 12, 1959, at 12:30 p.m. in the Little Dining Room of Robert Hall. Mr. Dabbs will be doing a series of three lectures here on January 11-12 - at 4:00 p.m. both days and at 7:30 p.m. the second day, in Room 114, Chemistry Building. You are also invited to attend any one or all of his lectures.

Please let us know by February 10 whether or not you can accept this luncheon invitation.

Sincerely yours,

Walter R. Chivers,
Chairman

wrc:t

February 9, 1959

Dr. Walter R. Chivers
Department of Sociology
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Chivers:

Thank you very much for the invitation to attend an informal luncheon for Mr. Dabbs on February 12. I am happy to accept and will look forward with pleasure to seeing you then.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

February 6

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

February 5, 1959

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

You are invited to attend an informal luncheon in honor of Mr. James M. Dabbs on February 12, 1959, at 12:30 p.m. in the Little Dining Room of Robert Hall. Mr. Dabbs will be doing a series of three lectures here on January 11-12 - at 4:00 p.m. both days and at 7:30 p.m. the second day, in Room 114, Chemistry Building. You are also invited to attend any one or all of his lectures.

Please let us know by February 10 whether or not you can accept this invitation.

Sincerely yours,

Walter R. Chivers,
Chairman

wrc:t

May 20, 1960

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
President
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mays:

Some men in every generation have the satisfaction of knowing that they have made a significant contribution in one field. Some can feel proud that they have contributed modestly in several fields. But it is a rare and valuable person, indeed, who can know in his own lifetime that he has given outstanding leadership in many areas of human advancement.

It is for this rich achievement that you are honored on the completion of your twentieth year as President of Morehouse College. On behalf of the Southern Regional Council, as well as personally, I feel privileged to add this word of tribute to the many you will receive from more illustrious sources.

Your leadership in making the name of Morehouse College a badge of honor for its alumni is universally recognized. But we take pride in your less measurable, but critically important, leadership in the advancement of human rights.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

May 5, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming, Ex. Dir.
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

At the end of this school year, 1959-60, Dr. Benjamin E. Mays will complete his twentieth year as president of Morehouse College. His Morehouse colleagues are planning to utilize some of the time during our traditional Post-Commencement Dinner to honor him. We also realize that there are other friends and colleagues who would want to let Dr. Mays know how much they appreciate his outstanding contributions and achievements over the years. To this end we are inviting you to write a letter to Dr. Mays and send it to me by May 21, 1960. We plan to have the letters bound and will present them to him on Tuesday, May 31 during Morehouse's Post-Commencement Dinner.

Please use stationery which is the size of the paper on which this letter is written - and allow for a reasonable binder's margin on the left hand side of the sheet. Do not fold your letter when you mail it.

With appreciation for your cooperation and with every kind wish, I am

Yours sincerely,

B. R. Brazeal

B. R. Brazeal
Dean

BRB:h

UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

FROM: Dean B. R. Brazeal

TO: Mr. and Mrs. Harold Fleming

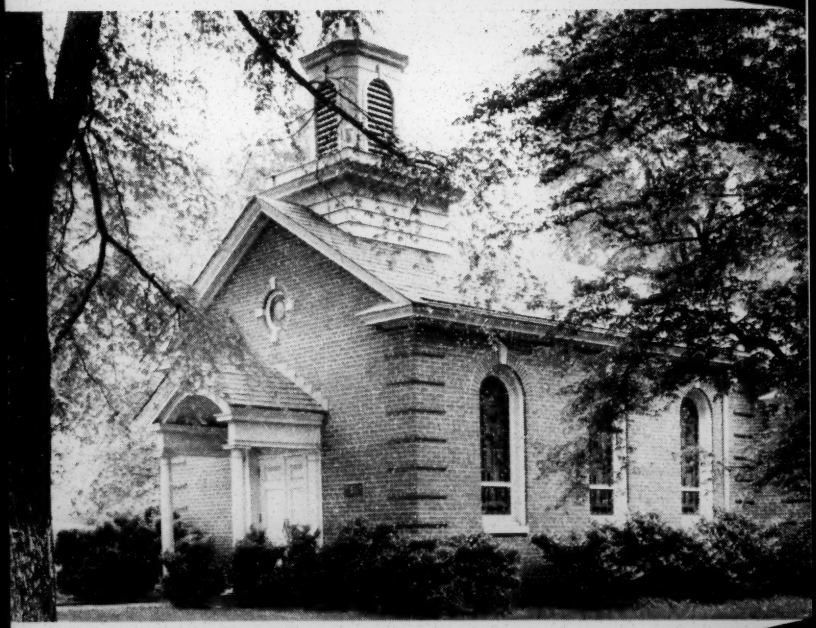
RE: Post-Commencement Dinner

DATE: May 5, 1960

You are cordially invited to attend Morehouse's Post-Commencement Dinner on Tuesday, May 31, 1960 at 8 P. M. in the diningroom in Robert Hall. Please call Murray 8-4223 on or before May 25 to let Mrs. Cordelia Hill know that you will be present.

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA



Danforth Chapel

THE GOAL:

to make a good college better

and

a better college the best

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

1957 - 1960

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ERNEST C. COLWELL ..... Claremont, California
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HENRY M. MINTON ..... New York, New York
JOHN NUVEEN ..... Chicago, Illinois
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1958 - 1961

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G. ARTHUR HOWELL ..... Atlanta, Georgia
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LAWRENCE J. MACGREGOR ..... Summit, New Jersey
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1959 - 1962

THEODORE M. ALEXANDER, SR. ..... Atlanta, Georgia
C. EVERETT BACON ..... New York, New York
HARRY J. CARMAN ..... New York, New York
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Trustee Emeritus

ERNEST E. QUANTRELL ..... New York, New York

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

LAWRENCE J. MACGREGOR
GEORGE S. CRAFT
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BENJAMIN E. MAYS
CHARLES MERRILL
KENDALL WEISIGER
JOHN H. WHEELER

FINANCE COMMITTEE

C. EVERETT BACON
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HENRY M. MINTON

OFFICERS

CHARLES MERRILL ..... Chairman of the Board
BENJAMIN E. MAYS ..... President of the College
JOHN H. WHEELER ..... Secretary
THEODORE M. ALEXANDER, SR. ..... Assistant Secretary
C. EVERETT BACON ..... Treasurer
J. A. LOCKETT ..... Assistant Treasurer

Morehouse College has a great heritage. It was founded by two Negroes two years after the close of the Civil War (1867). Encouragement for its founding was given by the Home Mission Board of the Northern Baptist Convention. Instruction began at night in the basement of the Springfield Baptist Church in Augusta, Georgia, with 37 illiterate pupils enrolled. The College was moved to Atlanta in 1879. In 1935 the Home Mission Board turned the College over to a private Board of Trustees.

Founded on faith and prayer, the College, with meager resources, has grown in influence and has earned a national and international reputation, because its graduates serve the people with distinction and honor in this country and abroad.

The Accomplishments at the College and the Quality of Its Work Merit Support

The only way we knew to prove ourselves worthy of the work of our predecessors was to build constructively on the noble foundation which they laid between 1867 and 1940. Since that time we have tried to make a good college better and a better college the best. To what extent we have succeeded in doing this, the reader must decide.

But this we know. An institution that must rely upon a friendly public for its continued existence is obligated, from time to time, to evaluate its program with the view of improving the quality of its education. The public should know the kind of institution it is called upon to support. It should be convinced that the management of the College is in good hands, that the quality of its work is excellent and that the faculty is able. What follows is an attempt to appraise the Morehouse program. We shall show mainly what has been accomplished at the College since 1940. A brief summary follows:

The Trustees Are Able

A college may be judged by the caliber of the men and women who serve on its board of trustees. The Morehouse Board is composed of Negroes and whites, Southerners and Northerners, Protestants and Catholics, educators and businessmen. The trustees are widely distributed geographically: Illinois, New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Michigan, North Carolina, Texas, California and Georgia. The President and faculty believe that the Morehouse Board is among the ablest in the country.

Foundations and Individuals Have Confidence in the College

For all purposes, approximately $6,000,000 have been raised since 1940. The College has won the support, confidence, and respect of the following foundations: The Compton Family Trust, The General Education Board, The George F. Baker Trust, The Charles Merrill Trust, and The Barclay, Bradley, Danforth, Davella Mills, Ford, Grant, Kresge, Algernon Sydney Sullivan, Whitehead, Woodruff and Perry-Payne Foundations. The General Education Board has been the largest contributor among the foundations. Hundreds

of individuals have contributed to the College, sums ranging from five dollars to several thousand dollars. Among the largest individual contributors are Dr. Alvin H. Lane, Mr. James H. Jones, Mr. Charles Merrill, Reverend George L. Paine, Miss Mary E. Johnston, Mr. and Mrs. Chauncey L. Waddell, Miss Mabel Gillespie and Mr. Laurance S. Rockefeller.

The Endowment Has Trebled

The endowment has been increased 200 per cent—from $1,114,000 in 1940 to $3,111,653. The market value of the endowment, due to appreciation and good investment, is now $4,344,802. Though a healthy increase, the endowment needs to be twice this amount.

Faculty Salaries Have Been Increased

Faculty salaries have been raised in a range from 225 per cent to 350 per cent. The lowest instructor's salary in 1940 for nine months was $900. The instructor begins now with $4,000. The highest professor's salary in 1940 was $3,100. A professor's salary in the year 1959-60 begins at $6,000. *Salaries are still too low.* The salary range for professors should be from eight to ten thousand dollars. The lowest for instructors should be $5,000. Recent salary increases have been made possible through gifts to the College by Mr. Charles Merrill, Chairman of the Morehouse Board of Trustees, the Charles Merrill Trust, the Danforth Foundation, Miss Mary E. Johnston and Reverend George L. Paine. These salaries must now be stabilized by increasing the endowment.

The Faculty Is Outstanding

The faculty and staff have been increased 150 per cent. Faculty members are Negro and white, Northern and Southern, Chinese and Jewish, Catholic and Protestant.

The number of Ph.D.s on the faculty has been increased 1000 per cent. Twenty-one on the Morehouse faculty hold doctorates earned from many of the leading universities in this country and abroad. This includes one professor paid by Clark College but counted here because the Physics Department is jointly staffed by Morehouse and Clark. Fifty per cent of the full time Morehouse faculty have earned doctorates. In addition to the Morehouse doctorates, four Ph.D.s from the Atlanta University faculty teach courses at Morehouse.

Besides, members of the Morehouse faculty are authors, members of learned societies and some of them are researchers.

Faculty Turnover Is Low

The faculty turnover is exceptionally low at Morehouse. In nineteen years, our loss to other colleges and universities has averaged less than one teacher a year.

The Work at Morehouse Is First Rate

Morehouse was in the first group of 18 Negro colleges admitted to full membership in the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools in December of 1957. It had been on the approved list of the Association since 1932.

The Student Body Is Both National and International

Student enrollment has been increased 100 per cent. The 728 male students come from thirty states, the District of Columbia, and four foreign countries.

Morehouse Graduates Do Well in the Great Universities

At the moment, recent graduates of Morehouse are pursuing advance study in 44 graduate and professional schools, including the best in the United States. These institutions are as follows:

American University
Andover Newton Theological Seminary
Arkansas, University of
Atlanta University
Boston University
Bradley University
Brown University
California at L. A., University of
California Institute of Technology
Central Institue for the Deaf
Catholic University
Chicago, University of
Chicago School of Optometry
Clark University (Massachusetts)
Colgate-Rochester Divinity School
Columbia University
Crozer Theological Seminary
Gammon Theological Seminary
Harvard University
Howard University
Illinois, University of
Iowa, University of
Manhattan School of Music
Manhattan School of Religion
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Meharry Medical College
Michigan, University of
Middlebury College
Minnesota, University of
New York University
North Carolina, University of
Oberlin College
Ohio State University
Pennsylvania, University of
Rochester, University of
Springfield College
Syracuse University
Temple University
Toledo, University of
Union Theological Seminary
Wayne State University
Western Reserve University
Wisconsin, University of
Yale University

Ph.D.s Earned in Thirty-one Universities

Seventy-seven Morehouse men (October, 1959) have earned the coveted Ph.D. degree. Since 1940, 23 Morehouse graduates have earned the doctorate. This is 30 per cent of the 77 Morehouse men who have earned this degree since the founding of the College in 1867. Slightly more than 5 per cent of all Negro Ph.D.s are graduates of Morehouse College. When we consider the fact that there are 1800 colleges and universities in the United States (the majority of them are open to Negroes) and 70 or more colleges for Negroes, it is clear that Morehouse has produced more Ph.D.s than most of the colleges, probably more than any other strictly undergraduate college for Negroes. If the Negro colleges had averaged as many Ph.D.s as Morehouse, the total number of Negro Ph.D.s would be over 5000 rather than the estimated 1500, excluding the Negro Ph.D.s who earned their college degrees in Northern institutions. Listed here are the universities from which the seventy-seven Morehouse men received their doctorates and the number from each:

Boston University	3	Ohio State University	7
Brown University	1	Pacific School of Religion	1
California Institute of Technology	1	Paris, University of	1
California, University of	1	Pennsylvania State University	1
Chicago, University of	7	Pennsylvania, University of	1
Clark University (Massachusetts)	1	Pittsburgh, University of	1
Colorado State University	1	Springfield College	1
Columbia University	10	Syracuse University	3
Cornell University	1	Toronto, University of	1
Drew University	1	Toulouse (France), University of	1
Harvard University	2	Wayne State University	1
Iowa, University of	8	Western Reserve University	1
Indiana University	1	Wisconsin, University of	7
Michigan, University of	1	Yale University	2
Minnesota, University of	2		
Nebraska, University of	1		
New York University	6		

Morehouse Graduates Are Among Community Leaders

Recent Morehouse graduates are adding to the number of leaders (physicians, ministers, dentists, teachers, chemists, physicists, mathematicians, social workers, artists, lawyers, businessmen) in the major communities in the nation: Houston, New Orleans, Jacksonville, Charleston, Memphis, Atlanta, Durham, Washington, D. C., Philadelphia, New York, Cleveland, Detroit,

Pittsburgh, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, Louisville, Milwaukee, etc. In addition to colleges for Negroes, our graduates are on the faculties of Boston, Northeastern, Syracuse, Ohio Wesleyan, Miami (Ohio), and Drew Universities, Brooklyn, San Diego State, and Haverford Colleges, and McCormick Theological Seminary. Several of our physicians are members of the American College of Surgeons. Morehouse men hold distinguished posts in Africa and Asia. A Morehouse graduate has won cases in the United States Supreme Court. For several years a Morehouse graduate has been an able member of the Legislature of the State of Missouri. They serve on city councils.

Morehouse Men Become College Presidents

Reaching back before 1940, Morehouse has provided presidents for nineteen of our colleges. Morehouse men were formerly presidents of the following institutions: American Baptist Theological Seminary, Benedict, Bethune-Cookman, Butler, Jackson, Langston, Morris, Selma, Storer and West Virginia. Morehouse men are now presidents of the following institutions: Alabama State, Albany State, Bishop, Dillard, Howard University, Knoxville, St. Augustine's, Savannah State and Texas Southern.

The Faculty and Student Body Are Widely Traveled

Through the generosity of the Chairman of the Board, a program of foreign study and travel has been instituted for students and faculty. It has been going on for several years.

The College Dares to Experiment

Through the generosity of the Fund for the Advancement of Education of the Ford Foundation, for eight years we experimented with the Early Admissions Program. It proved so successful that it is being continued through the generosity of the Chairman of the Board.

An anonymous foundation contributed recently $184,000 for Morehouse, Spelman, Clark and Morris Brown to carry on a three-summers experiment in pre-college reading, English and mathematics – 20 students each. The Compton Family Trust contributed $25,000 to Morehouse and Spelman which increased their quota to twenty-five students.

A Chair Is Endowed

The Benjamin E. Mays Chair in Psychology has been endowed by the Danforth Foundation. The gift came through the interest of a trustee, Mrs. Dorothy Compton. The Danforth Meditation Chapel was given by Mr. William H. Danforth prior to his death in 1955.

Alumni Support Has Increased

Within recent years alumni support has increased. The alumni contributed $78,000 towards the cost of the construction of the Physical Education and Health Building. It is fairly common for an alumnus to give $1,000 to a special project and within recent years one alumnus has contributed $10,000 and another one $15,000. Several churches pastored by Morehouse men contribute annually and liberally.

The Physical Plant Is More Adequate

More than $2,250,000 have been spent to improve the physical plant: the Physical Education and Health Building costing $835,000; the Chemistry Building costing $600,000; the renovation of Robert and Graves Halls costing $360,000; new Infirmary $75,000; small academic building $50,000; five units for student housing $115,000; the Danforth Chapel $40,000; and faculty housing $105,000. And thousands of dollars have been put in annual maintenance and additions.

The Morehouse School of Religion Is Part of a Larger Plan

In cooperation with Gammon Theological Seminary, Turner Theological Seminary of Morris Brown College and the Phillips School of Theology of Lane College, Morehouse played a vital part in securing an appropriation of $2,250,000 from the General Education Board and the Sealantic Fund for the erection of a new seminary, the Interdenominational Theological Center, combining the theological work of the Morehouse School of Religion with the theological work of Gammon, Morris Brown and Lane. The construction of the new seminary is now in process. A dream of nineteen years is now a reality.

Some Activities of the President

The President of the College has served on the World Committee of the Y.M.C.A., the Central Committee of of the World Council of Churches, the Board of the National Council of Churches and has been a Vice President of the Federal Council of Churches. He has attended nine World Conferences in North America, Europe and Asia. Since 1940 he has written two books, chapters for nine books, forty-nine magazine articles and 676 newspaper articles. He is currently the President of the United Negro College Fund.

Morehouse Faces Integration

Since May 17, 1954, a college like Morehouse has been called upon to declare itself on integration. Fortunately, the task is easy. Integration is nothing new at Morehouse. In one sense the College was born integrated and has remained so to this day. The early teachers were members of the white race who taught, loved and inspired their students. Almost from the beginning (1867) the faculty has been racially mixed. The Morehouse faculty and the Morehouse platform have always been open to members of other races. Interracial groups have met on the Morehouse campus for many decades. The Morehouse Charter makes it clear that Morehouse is free to admit all students who meet the College's admission requirements.

The President of the College believes that integration is not the chief concern of Morehouse. Our chief concern is quality education—to attract a faculty so excellent and a student body so able that no one would ever need to raise the question of integration. If we succeed in doing this, in due course, students of all races will find their way to Morehouse. We would like to say here once and forever: that if the quality of work we do at Morehouse is not good enough for members of any race, it is not good enough for Negroes. Our aim is to make a good college better and a better college the best.

But if we are to continue this good work and improve the quality of our education there are certain basic needs that must be met.

THE MINIMUM NEEDS FOR THE NEXT FIVE YEARS

The minimum needs of the College are broken down by projects in order to reveal more clearly what is required and in order to give prospective donors an opportunity to select the project they may wish to support. Since each project listed below is urgent the order has no special significance.

A. LAND PURCHASE UNDER THE URBAN RENEWAL PROGRAM . $ 369,750

1. The land lying between the Morehouse

campus on the north, Greensferry Avenue on the south, Lee Street on the east, and Ashby Street on the west comprises 8½ acres. *This is the only land available to the College.*

2. The cost per acre . . . $ 43,500
3. Total cost of 8½ acres . . $369,750

The College has eighteen buildings located on 10.8 acres. We can build no more until we buy land and if we lose the opportunity to buy the land under the urban renewal program, we will be forced to pay a higher price if and when the land becomes available.

B. THE INTERDENOMINATIONAL THEOLOGICAL CENTER . . . $ 250,000

1. Appropriations from the General Education Board and the Sealantic Fund were made in 1958 for this Center, bringing together four seminaries including the Morehouse School of Religion.
2. The immediate needs of Morehouse College in this project
   a. Small dormitory –$175,000, estimate
   b. Baptist Center – $ 75,000, estimate

C. ENDOWMENT FOR SALARIES . $1,500,000

1. Six critical areas
   a. $250,000 endowment for chair in chemistry
   b. $250,000 endowment for chair in physics
   c. $250,000 endowment for chair in mathematics
   d. $250,000 endowment for chair in biology
   e. $250,000 endowment for chair in religion
   f. $250,000 endowment for chair in humanities

These six chairs constitute the most critical areas. We have been searching for several years to hire additional persons, with doctorates in chemistry, physics, mathematics, psychology and biology. It is equally difficult to find available an exceptionally able person in the field of religion. An

endowed chair of $250,000 yielding four per cent would make possible a salary up to $10,000. One of the chairs, psychology, has already been endowed by the Danforth Foundation. Six chairs so endowed would release the present salaries in these fields for increases in other departments of the College.

D. ENDOWMENT FOR SCHOLARSHIPS $1,250,000

1. $750,000 for General Scholarships
   a. An endowment of $75,000 yielding four per cent would provide 10 general scholarships of $300 each for one year
   b. An endowment of $150,000 yielding four per cent would provide 20 general scholarships of $300 each for one year
   c. An endowment of $225,000 yielding four per cent would provide 30 general scholarships of $300 each for one year
   d. An endowment of $300,000 yielding four per cent would provide 40 general scholarships of $300 each for one year
   e. An endowment of $500,000 yielding four per cent would provide 66 general scholarships of $300 each for one year

Each year the College awards $30,000 in freshman scholarships. There is no endowment to cover these awards. This amount is not collected from the students. A minimum endowment of $500,000 yielding four per cent would provide $20,000 for scholarships. To be more adequate in these areas we need an endowment of $750,000 to absorb the $30,000 now being given in freshman scholarships. If the situation made it necessary to increase scholarships to $45,000, with a scholarship endowment of $750,000, the College would be $15,000 better off than it is at the present moment.

2. $500,000 for scholarships for bright students who would be unable to go to college without large scholarship assistance – sons of unskilled laborers, common laborers, janitors, maids, etc.

a. Minimum of $600 per student per year

b. Income on $500,000 would provide a maximum of 33 continuing scholarships taking 8 scholars annually and building up to 32 or 33 the fourth year

c. A donor might want to consider an endowment of $60,000 which at four per cent would yield $2400 a year, thus enabling the College to take a freshman a year on a $600 scholarship, making a total of $2400 annually for four students.

We would pick out several first year high school boys who showed promise and whose parents are doing the ordinary unskilled work of the world and who are definitely economically unable to see their sons through college. With the contact we have in the high schools we would be able to follow these students through the four years of high school, watch their growth and development; and if they were exceptional at the end of their high school years, we would offer each of them a $600 scholarship, in which case each would have to earn during the summer approximately $400 more in order to make it through the year. An endowment of $500,000 for this purpose would enable us to take 8 students a year. The total at the end of four years would be 32 and this number would remain constant.

These boys, though exceptional, because of poor educational and cultural background would hardly qualify for the National Merit Scholarship Awards, but given a chance would do well both in college and in the world.

It may be an exaggeration but someone has said that if Hampton Institute had produced only Booker Washington, it would have justified all of the money and sacrifices that have gone into the making of Hampton. A project of this kind may be the means of discovering and developing several Booker Washingtons in the years ahead.

E. THE CHAPEL . . . . . $ 450,000

The present chapel is really an assembly hall and not adaptable to worship at its best. It is fifty-three

years old. It is too small. The College needs a chapel that will seat at least 1,200 people. The student body, faculty and staff alone require a chapel with a seating capacity of 800. With the public in mind, a chapel to seat 1,200 is the minimum capacity we can visualize. A minimum of $450,000 must be secured for this purpose.

F. PHYSICS EQUIPMENT AND RENOVATION OF CLASSROOMS FOR ADDITIONAL LABORATORY SPACE . . . . . $ 100,000

Since 1940 physics has been housed at Clark College. The Department is staffed jointly by Morehouse and Clark. These two institutions provide the phvsics for the students in the Atlanta University Center.

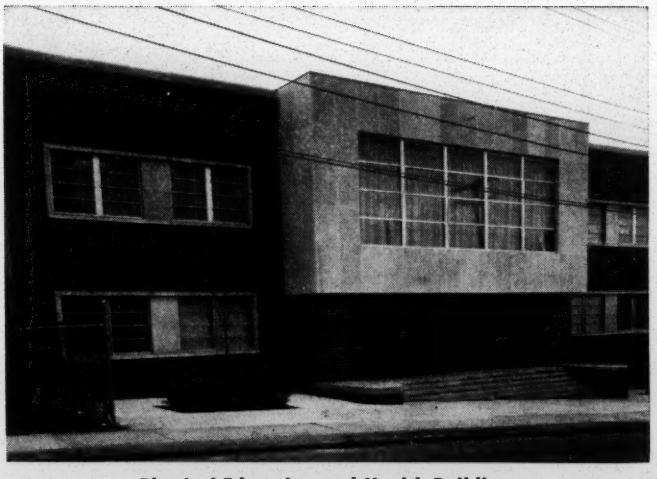
More space for expanding the work in physics is most urgent. Morehouse can provide the additional space; but to provide the additional space, renovate and equip two additional laboratories, the College must raise $100.000. Physics will continue to be a joint effort of Morehouse and Clark Colleges.

GRAND TOTAL . . . $3,919,750

The minimum needs set forth above must be met if we are to remain true to our aim: "To Make a Good College Better and a Better College the Best."

BENJAMIN E. MAYS
President

The Campaign has been approved by the Morehouse Board of Trustees.



Physical Education and Health Building

file

Department of Sociology
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia
November 16, 1961

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

You are cordially invited to attend a luncheon in honor of Dr. Melvin Tumin, Associate Professor of Anthropology and Sociology, Princeton University, on Monday, November 20th, at 12:30 P.M. in the Little Dining Room of Robert Hall, Morehouse College.

If you will be unable to attend please contact us at either JAckson 1-0412 or PLaza 5-2857.

Sincerely yours,

Walter R. Chivers

WRC aj

November 14, 1963

Reverend Samuel Williams
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sam:

I have read it over again, and I don't think I said that.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (copy of LWD's ltr. to Ernest Lent dtd. August 26, 1963).

File
Morehouse College

February 3, 1964

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
President
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mays:

I have your letter of January 27 enclosing an inquiry from Miss Fay Bennett.

I had a similar inquiry from Miss Bennett and I have sent her such names as we could recommend. These were Mr. Ozelle Sutton, Associate Director of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations; Mr. William Bagwell, staff member of the High Point (N. C.) office of the American Friends Service Committee; and Mr. Ira Kaye, attorney of Sumter, South Carolina. I don't know anyone to suggest to you other than these men. I am sure Miss Bennett would like to hear if you have any other persons to recommend.

We had an excellent Annual Meeting last week. I am sorry you could not be with us.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

January 27, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I am sending you a copy of a letter from Miss Fay Bennett of the National Sharecroppers Fund and a copy of the sheet describing the project.

If you know of any persons to recommend for the project, I would appreciate it very much if you would send their names to me.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin E. Mays

Benjamin E. Mays
President

BEM:gm
Enclosure

UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
112 EAST 19th STREET • NEW YORK 3, N.Y. • GRamercy 3-0284

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Louisiana-Arkansas representative
L. S. JAMES
South Carolina representative
ART EMERY
Tennessee representative
JEANETTE ALLEN
GAIL HERSHBERGER
administrative assistants

January 20, 1964

1-26-64

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, President
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mays:

The National Sharecroppers Fund has just been awarded a contract from the U.S. Department of Labor to act as its agent on behalf of the Manpower Development and Training Program to encourage and stimulate training programs among the "hard-core" unemployed and underemployed in the rural areas of six Southern states. I enclose a one-page summary of the project.

I am writing to you now to ask for your suggestions for competent staff people to carry out the project. We are looking first for a field coordinator and would expect him to help in the search for the other three staff people.

I am sure you agree with us that this project is a very exciting one and offers great hope for opening the door to education and training in neglected rural areas in the South where federal agencies have hardly made a dent.

To realize the full potential of this project, we will need a field coordinator who is not only capable, creative, imaginative and knowledgeable about the South, but also the kind of person who can work cooperatively with state officials, educators, and the local people who need the training which will be offered. He would need administrative ability to set up a regional office and direct the work of three field people. He would also need persistence and energy in large measure. The salary would be commensurate with the qualifications of the person.

I do hope you will let me hear from you immediately if you can suggest someone whose qualities approach this description and who might be interested in taking on this important assignment.

Sincerely,

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

FB:jk
enc.

Summary of an 18 month Demonstration Project
In Developing Job Training Programs Among the "Hard-Core" Unemployed
And Underemployed in Southern Rural Areas, Under Sec. 201
Of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962

Project Agency. National Sharecroppers Fund is a non-profit, voluntary agency with 25 years of experience working to aid rural Southern farm people. Its primary recent emphasis has been to assist, through conferences, informational material, and a field staff, the most disadvantaged rural people in finding solutions to their economic and social problems through participation in governmental farm programs and cooperatives. Its functioning National Board includes authorities in the fields of rural sociology and adult education who will assist in the planning and execution of the project.

Characteristics and Needs of Trainees. Sharecroppers and farm workers who are being displaced by a changing economy often lack the basic education and experience needed to adjust to urban industrial life. They are rural people who, with training and planning, can find more skilled employment on the land and in small rural communities. They have had little experience with state employment offices and are not now being reached by them.

Purpose and Program of Project. The project is designed to demonstrate that unused resources of leadership within the poorer areas of the rural South, in cooperation with the smaller, predominantly Negro colleges, can effectively develop programs of job training that will enable many unemployed persons to lead economically useful lives in their own communities. During the course of 18 months, the agency expects to assist in developing at least two programs in each of the following six states: North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Tennessee. It expects that 1500-2000 trainees will participate.

By using its experience and local contacts, the agency will reach leaders and potential leaders among the rural groups who are not now being utilized in developing training programs. It will assist them and their communities to analyze their training needs in the light of existing and potential job possibilities and help them to develop a fruitful working relationship with the employment services, agricultural vocational agencies, cooperating colleges, and other state and federal agencies.

NSF will encourage the sponsorship of training programs by those colleges that are best qualified by experience to teach the inadequately prepared, but that have hitherto been restrained by lack of staff and funds from exploiting the potentials of serving in this way. It will help them to establish active relationships with the local communities that need the programs and will assist them in the preparation of these programs. It will seek to develop cooperative action for training between these colleges and larger ones that may have greater staff and facilities available.

Personnel Requirements. The project will require one Field Coordinator and three Field Representatives responsible for two states each, and appropriate secretarial-clerical assistance.

HAMPTON INSTITUTE HAMPTON, VIRGINIA

EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL EDUCATIONAL STAFF INSTITUTE

Theme: Possible Cooperative Relationships Between Hampton Institute and Major Universities

" . . . the emerging 'dialogue' between the predominantly Negro institutions and the predominantly white universities (which President Kennedy called for in June) should be supported as a constructive step toward the improvement of all of higher education."

-- from "Equalizing Educational Opportunity for the Disadvantaged," a paper presented by Lawrence E. Dennis on April 21, 1964, during the National Conference on Higher Education in Chicago, Illinois

ARMSTRONG HALL

September 14 and 15, 1964

ORIENTATION LUNCHEON
(For new Faculty members only)

12:00 Noon — Monday, September 14 — Holly Tree Inn Dining Room

Chairman - Dr. Hugh M. Gloster, Acting Dean of Faculty

Greetings	- Dr. Jerome H. Holland, President
The Business Office	- Mr. James W. Bryant, Business Manager
The Registrar's Office	- Mr. Collis H. Davis, Registrar
College-Community Relations	- Dr. William R. Strassner, Acting Director of Public Relations
Religious Life	- Dr. Vernon P. Bodein, College Chaplain
Student Personnel Service	- Miss Amaleta A. Moore, Dean of Women - Mr. Thomas E. Hawkins, Dean of Men
The Centennial Campaign	- Mr. Robert A. Lazear, Secretary of the College
Office of the Dean of Faculty	- Dr. Hugh M. Gloster, Acting Dean of Faculty

FIRST GENERAL SESSION

3:00 P.M. — Monday, September 14 — Concert Auditorium

Chairman - Dr. Hugh M. Gloster

Invocation - Dr. Vernon P. Bodein, College Chaplain

Introduction of New Faculty Members - Dr. Hugh M. Gloster

Statement Regarding the Institute Program - Dr. William H. Robinson, Director Division of Teacher Education

Address - Dr. Jerome H. Holland, President

Announcements

FACULTY RECEPTION

8:00 P.M. — Monday, September 14 — Katharine House

SECOND GENERAL SESSION

9:00 A.M.-10:15 A.M. Tuesday, September 15 Concert Auditorium

Chairman - Dr. Hugh M. Gloster

Introduction of Speaker - Dr. Jerome H. Holland

Address - Mr. Lawrence E. Dennis, Director
Commission on Academic Affairs
American Council on Education
Washington, D. C.

10:15 A.M.-10:30 A.M. Recess

DISCUSSION GROUP MEETINGS

10:30 A.M.-12:00 Noon Tuesday, September 15 Armstrong Hall

Group I - Recommended Programs for Undergraduate Students Participating in Cooperative Projects Involving Hampton Institute and Major Universities Concert Auditorium

Leader: Dr. Hyman Kuritz

Recorder: Dr. William C. Brown

Participants: Mrs. Louise G. Armstrong, Mrs. Esther G. Bailey, Mr. James S. Barnes, Mr. James A. Bell, Mr. Dowling M. Bolton, Mr. Lewis Bond, Mr. James W. Bryant, Mr. Thomas H. Buckey, Mr. Matthew Burks, Mr. Roy Claytor, Mrs. Eva M. Cox, Mrs. Elizabeth H. Evans, Mrs. Ava Gjerset-Fuller, Mrs. Carolyn M. Goodloe, Capt. Elbert P. Green, Mrs. Josephine L. Hargis, Mr. Donald Hatch, Miss Mabel Jackson, Mrs. Elizabeth Johnson, Miss Genevieve M. Knight, Mrs. Shirley R. Lee, Mr. Samuel C. McGhee, Mr. Bobby C. Martin, Miss Pamela L. Mathewson, Mr. Samuel A. Phelps, Mr. Lloyd T. Ricks, Mr. Robert M. Screen, Mr. Elbert Walker, Miss Alberta Webb, and Miss Margaret L. Wynn

Group II - Recommended Programs for Graduate Students Participating in Cooperative Projects Involving Hampton Institute and Major Universities Room 115

Leader: Dr. Nancy B. McGhee

Recorder: Dr. Joan S. Bodein

Participants: Mrs. Beatrice R. Buszek, Mrs. Ernestine Colson, Mr. Harold W. Conley, Mr. Garland A. Cooke, Mrs. Anne M. Davis, Mrs. Margaret B. Davis, Mr. Walter D. Dennis, Mr. Ettore T. Guidotti, Dr. Allen C. Hancock, Mr. Mendel L. Heilig, Mr. Carl E. High, Mr. Reginald A. Jackson, Mr. Robert A. Lazear, Miss Dorothy S. Lewis, Mr. Herbert H. Lindsey, Mr. James A. Moore, Mr. Isaac T. Moorehead, Mrs. Viola G. Palmer, Capt. George A. Persons, Mrs. Jean T. Reed, Mr. Louis Rosenfeld, Miss Lois B. Sellers, Mrs. Helen G. Simons, Mr. V. Marlin Smith, Dr. Il Ro Suh, Mr. O. G. Taylor, Mr. Virginius B. Thornton, Mrs. Geraldine W. Twitty, Mr. John Urquhart, Miss Mary F. Watts, and Capt. Francis V. Wilson

Group III - Recommended Programs for Faculty Members Participating in Cooperative Projects Involving Hampton Institute and Major Universities Room 122

Leader: Dr. Edward C. Kollmann

Recorder: Dr. Robert D. Bonner

Participants: Dr. Abraham L. Baron, Dr. Stepan V. Benda, Dr. Vernon P. Bodein, Dr. Ollie M. Bowman, Mr. John F. Corcoran, Mr. Don A. Davis, Mr. Paul E. Drost, Dr. Victor H. Fields, Mrs. Ophelia Grandy, Mr. Friedrich J. Gronstedt, Mr. Erskine Hawkins, Mrs. Denise M. Heilbronn, Dr. Frederick D. Inge, Dr. Thomas M. Law, Mrs. Laura Murray, Dr. Horace M. Melvin, Mr. Sylvius Moore, Mr. William H. Moses, Dr. Herman N. Neilson, Mr. James A. Page, Mrs. Sopholia F. Parker, Mr. Isaiah B. Perry, Mr. Webster Powell, Mrs. Fostine G. Riddick, Mr. James A. Russell, Dr. K. L. Sindwani, Lt. Col. Osceola T. Thornton, Mr. Norman Voelcker, Dr. Nellie W. Wilson, and Dr. Howard V. Young

Group IV - Recommended Programs for Pre-College Students Participating in Cooperative Projects Involving Hampton Institute and Major Universities Room 215

Leader: Dr. William Kearney

Recorder: Dr. William S. Stoney

Participants: Mr. Severin R. Beyma, Mr. James D. Boglin, Mrs. Lorraine Bolton, Dr. Hugo O. Bornn, Dr. Grainger Browning, Mrs. Lucy Campbell, Miss Willia Daughtry, Mr. Collis H. Davis, Mrs. Rosalind E. Exum, Dr. Hugh M. Gloster, Mr. Thomas E. Hawkins, Mrs. Barbara H. Hudson, Mrs. Sherma H. Lindsey, Mr. Henry L. Livas, Miss Blanche Messier, Mr. Jacob B. Miller, Mr. William L. Queen, Miss Helen Rankin, Mr. Dinker S. Raval, Mr. Lawrence R. Sexton, Dr. M. Lall Sindwani, Mrs. Addie F. Spence, Mr. Alexander Strawn, Mr. Walter Volckhausen, Mrs. Geneva T. Wells, Mr. Benjamin Whaley, Mrs. Erma K. Williams, Mrs. Serella H. Williams, and Dr. Marie V. Wood

Group V - Recommended Programs for Elementary and Secondary School Teachers Participating in Cooperative Projects Involving Hampton Institute and Major Universities Room 221

Leader: Dr. Jessie L. Brown

Recorder: Dr. Martha E. Dawson

Participants: Mr. James M. Adams, Dr. Albert H. Berrian, Mrs. Amanda P. Cheatham, Mrs. Irene S. Cooper, Mrs. Phyllis Edelson, Mr. John L. Frank, Mr. Joseph Gilliard, Dr. Douglas Gold, Dr. James M. Griffin, Dr. Jewell Hancock, Mrs. R. Ileana Johnson, Dr. Frissell W. Jones, Mrs. Barbara M. Lamb, Mrs. Katherine T. Law, Miss Amaleta Moore, Dr. Charles S. Muse, Dr. Alice M. Powell, Miss Sallie A. Redmond, Mr. Whitney Sevin, Mr. Alfred E. Shaw, Mrs. Shirley C. Sherman, Dr. William S. Stoney, Dr. William E. Strassner, Dr. Juanita Strawn, Dr. Walerian Swieczkowski, Miss Ruth Tolson, Mrs. Marion W. Vassar, Mrs. Gloria Watson, and Mrs. Lenora P. Williams

THIRD GENERAL SESSION

1:30 P.M.-3:00 P.M. Tuesday, September 15 Concert Auditorium

Chairman - Dr. Hugh M. Gloster

Reports - Leaders of Discussion Groups

Comments - Mr. Lawrence E. Dennis

General Discussion

3:00 P.M. - 3:15 P.M. Recess

FACULTY MEETING

3:15 P.M. Tuesday, September 15 Concert Auditorium

Chairman - Dr. Jerome H. Holland

Agenda

Invocation - Dr. Vernon P. Bodein

Minutes of the May 1964 Meeting - Secretary of the Faculty

Announcements

Remarks by the Chairman

Adjournment

ANNOUNCEMENT OF SPECIAL EVENTS

2:00 P.M.-6:00 P.M.	Saturday, September 19	Bay Shore Beach

Annual Faculty-Staff Picnic
(Dinner will be served at 4:00 P.M.)

10:00 A.M.	Thursday, October 1	Ogden Hall

Convocation: Formal Opening of the 97th Year of Hampton Institute
(Faculty members are required to wear academic costumes for this occasion. Those who do not have caps and gowns should immediately rent or purchase them through Mr. James A. Cotton, College Postmaster.)

NOTES

NORTH CAROLINA COLLEGE AT DURHAM
Durham, North Carolina

To: University of Wisconsin Committee on Cooperation with Negro Universities

From: C. L. Patterson, Chairman, Wisconsin Liaison Committee

Re: Proposal for Expenditures during the First Year of the Exchange Program

Date: 6 October 1964

PRIORITY 1 - FACULTY IMPROVEMENT $35,000

A. Long-term Study for Terminal Degree $30,000
This study is expected to aid North Carolina College by improving the competences of the teachers and by enhancing the image of the institution.

B. Short-term Study for Either Degree or Non-Degree Work 5,000
These activities will involve attendance at specialized institutes, conferences, and the like, and--to a limited extent--summer sessions.

Such activities are expected to aid North Carolina College by allowing the teachers to come in contact with new ideas, acquainting them with new directions, and encouraging the spirit of innovation in them.

PRIORITY 2 - COOPERATIVE RESEARCH 8,000

Activities include research into problems of both local and national concern. The research will involve both North Carolina College Faculty Members and those of UW. An example of such research might be an investigation of the effectiveness of the A I M "Learning Systems" approach to instruction.

Activities of such nature are expected to benefit North Carolina College by increasing the effectiveness of the teachers' effort and by adding to the institution's stature as a center of important research.

PRIORITY 3 - CONSULTATIVE SERVICE . . . . . .$ 2,000

Activities involve Wisconsin's Faculty sharing their expertise with ours. Primarily, it is expected that UW will provide advice and evaluation in such areas as the Library, Remedial Programs, Motivations and the like.

These activities are expected to aid North Carolina College by utilizing the experience of the UW Faculty to increase the effectiveness of various activities at NCC.

SUMMARY OF ALLOCATIONS

PRIORITY 1 - FACULTY IMPROVEMENT	$35,000
PRIORITY 2 - COOPERATIVE RESEARCH	8,000
PRIORITY 3 - CONSULTATIVE SERVICES	2,000
Total first year allocations	$45,000

NORTH CAROLINA COLLEGE AT DURHAM
Durham, North Carolina

WISCONSIN EXCHANGE PROGRAM

WHAT IT IS

The Wisconsin Exchange Program is an effort to upgrade our functioning at North Carolina College by sharing the resources of the University of Wisconsin with us. The Program operates in three main areas--Faculty Improvement, Cooperative Research, and Consultant Services. Participating in the Program also are North Carolina A & T College, and Texas Southern University. The Program was funded by the Carnegie Foundation in August, 1964 and is scheduled for two years from September, 1964.

HOW IT OPERATES

The Program operates in essence by an exchange of personnel with the University of Wisconsin. A member of our Faculty may study (or teach) at the University of Wisconsin and be replaced here by a member of the UW Faculty. Members of both Faculties may cooperate on a joint research project, and the two institutions may exchange (or furnish) consultants on various problems.

WHAT IT OFFERS

In the Faculty Improvement Area, the Program offers opportunity for both long-term study leading to the terminal degree and short-term non-degree study at institutes, conferences, workshops, and the like. Most of the funds are allotted to the long-term study. For the persons selected for the long-term study, the Program pays the following items:

1. present salary
2. travel (one round trip)
3. academic expenses
4. board and lodging
5. an allowance for books and materials

For the short-term study, cooperative research, and consultant services, the Program will normally pay the expenses connected with the project but not the salary of either Faculty Member.

WHO CAN PARTICIPATE

The basic criterion for participation is "the most promising Faculty Member(s) who can best help North Carolina College." In the long term study for the terminal degree, this standard is interpreted to mean a Faculty Member with the Master's degree who

1. is recommended by his Department Chairman as a potential outstanding teacher
2. is eligible for the UW Graduate School (or in certain exceptional cases, the Graduate School of his choice)
3. gives evidence of completing his work in a superior fashion
4. is not more than 50 years old
5. agrees to remain at North Carolina College for two years after the completion of his period of study under the Program.

WHO CAN PARTICIPATE

For the short-term non-degree study, the cooperative research, and the consultant services, the criterion is interpreted to mean any North Carolina College Faculty Member whose participation in the designated activity would be to the best interest of North Carolina College.

about 25 applicants
10 approved by Committee - 5 chosen by President

HOW TO APPLY

Applications should be made to the Wisconsin Liaison Committee, C. L. Patterson, Chairman. For the long-term study program, the application consists of two parts. Part One is an application, plus supporting data (transcripts, etc.), to the UW Graduate School (or School of the applicant's choice). Part Two consists of a description of the program the applicant intends to pursue, the progress toward the degree he expects to achieve during the period of study, evidence of acceptance into the Graduate School at which the program is to be pursued, and additional data specified on the Part Two application form.

2 Long & 1 Short term, 3 alternates

For the short-term non-degree programs, the applications should be in letter form specifying the activity, length of time it covers, location, an itemized list of anticipated expenses, and a statement of the benefit expected to accrue to North Carolina College.

Applications for cooperative research projects should follow the same format as those to our own Research Committee.

Applications for Consultant Services should be in letter form specifying the service desired, the person(s) to do it, when it is to be done, where, an itemized list of anticipated expenses, and a statement of the benefit expected to accrue to North Carolina College.

WHEN TO APPLY

Applicants for the long-term study programs should submit Part One of the application by 1 December 1964, and Part Two by 4 January 1965.

Applicants for any of the other areas should submit applications at least one month before the activity is scheduled to begin.

ADDITIONAL DETAILS

Necessary forms will be available in the Summer Session Office, Room 111, Education Building. Catalogs of UW are also in the same place. Further information can be obtained from any of the Liaison Committee Members, or from the Chairman. Members of the Wisconsin Liaison Committee are listed below:

Dr. Helen Edmonds - Dean, Graduate School
Dr. Alonzo Davis - Psychology
Dr. Robert John - Music
Dr. Joseph McKelpin - Educational Research
Mr. Joe N. Norman --Commerce
Dr. Ezra L. Totton - Chemistry
Dr. Joseph A. Pittman -Dean,-Undergraduate School
Mr. William Jones - Business Manager
Dr. Walter H. Patillo- Biology
Dr. C. L. Patterson - English, Chairman

31 October 1964

Expanding Opportunities

THE NEGRO AND HIGHER EDUCATION

American Council on Education • 1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington 36, D. C.

Volume II, Number 1 January, 1965

PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS MOVE TO EXPAND OPPORTUNITIES

"The lid is off for Negro youngsters in the employment field," a college president told a group of educators in Washington recently, "and the burden is on us first, to get the word to these youngsters in schools in colleges and move their aspirations realistically upward, and second, to work on an institution-by-institution and discipline-by-discipline basis to assure that appropriate educational opportunities are available for them."

In line with this charge, various disciplinary and professional groups are now seeking to complement institutional efforts by engaging their membership in programs to expand educational opportunities.

Representatives of the American Society for Engineering Education, the University of Illinois, and the nation's seven predominantly Negro schools of engineering met November 11 in Washington to consider ways of expanding Negro educational opportunities in the field of engineering. Conferees reviewed a report that six of the seven predominantly Negro engineering schools had not yet achieved accreditation, that only a relatively small percentage of their combined 223 graduates of this past June continued to graduate school, and that a comparatively low percentage of their 105 full-time staff members had achieved a doctorate. Two major proposals received consideration. One would recruit, select, and financially assist 10 students a year from these seven schools for a masters and doctoral level program at a strong, nationally recognized center of graduate study in engineering. A second would promote departmental visits, faculty exchanges, and opportunities for advanced study and research as part of a broad program of cooperation between selected strong engineering schools and the seven developing schools. Proposal drafting committees are now at work.

In medicine and dentistry, several foundations have a long history of support for Nashville's Meharry Medical College and such ventures as the National Medical Fellowships program (which provides stipends for Negro medical students); foundation grants have recently been stepped up in this field.

A distinguished cross section of the on and off campus art world has come together as a Committee for the Development of Art in Negro Colleges, under the direction of Indiana University art historian Albert Elsen and Jack Jordan, chairman of Southern University's Department of Fine Arts. The Association of American Law Schools has initiated a Minority Groups Project "to ascertain factors relevant to the small numbers of Negroes, Latin Americans, and Puerto Ricans in the legal profession;" Harry E. Groves of Texas Southern University has been named project director, with the deans of the Penn, Virginia, Howard, Harvard, Texas, and Yale law schools serving as an advisory committee. Committee and staff work has been going forward within the American Psychological Association to assure open opportunity for Negro scholars within the discipline and to direct disciplinary research toward expanding opportunities problem areas.

The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education has scheduled a session to review member colleges' role in expanding opportunities at its annual meeting next month in Chicago. And at the recent Cleveland convention of the National Council of Teachers of English, in-coming president Richard Corbin of the Hunter College High School (N. Y.) told the conference that the Council must commit itself to a "major effort" in addressing itself "to specific areas of concern to teachers working, now or in the future, with the disadvantaged." Corbin set forth several proposals to bring "the best minds and most relevant experience that the Council can muster" to the problem.

Ford Foundation Grants to Aid Negro Study in Business, Law

Two recent Ford Foundation grants are designed to increase business and legal education opportunities at two predominantly Negro institutions. Development of Howard University's School of Law will be speeded by a five-year, $1.8 million grant, earmarked for new faculty members, library acquisition, and student aid. Texas Southern's School of Business has received $600,000 for the same purposes and to prepare for an inspection by accreditation officials this spring; a separate $150,000 grant was made to Indiana University, whose business school will work with its counterpart at Texas Southern in the venture.

Indiana U. and Stillman College Announce Cooperative Program

Indiana University and Stillman College have announced a cooperative program which is to include exchange of students, faculty, and cultural programs and curricular experimentation and advice.

In approving the program, their respective boards of trustees cited its potential benefit to both institutions. Samuel B. Hay, president of Stillman, a predominantly Negro liberal arts college in Tuscaloosa, Ala., said the program would "immeasurably strengthen" Stillman's position "to provide a high level of education in this crucial period of national life." Indiana President Elvis J. Stahr, chairman of the American Council on Education's Committee on Equality of Educational Opportunity, called the cooperative relationship "rich with possibilities for both institutions," and pledged "pioneering dimensions" to the relationship which "will be helpful to the national educational community."

The program was launched early this month with a Stillman student production of "Bus Stop" at the Indiana University Theater. Indiana's initial efforts in the alliance will be to assist Stillman in reorganizing its freshman program and in recruiting faculty. Support for present efforts will come from a "seed-money" grant from the Indiana University Foundation.

The Indiana-Stillman agreement is the seventh of its kind concluded over the past year. The others involve Tuskegee Institute and the University of Michigan; Tougaloo College and Brown University; Florida A. and M. University and Florida State University; Knoxville College and the University of Tennessee; North Carolina A. and T., North Carolina College at Durham, and Texas Southern University and the University of Wisconsin; and Hampton Institute and Cornell University.

St. Louis U. Begins Training 30 Teachers of Disadvantaged

St. Louis University's Department of Education has begun in-service training of 30 St. Louis school system teachers of the disadvantaged. Purpose of the program is to equip teachers with learning and communications skills developed at the university's Human Relations Center, and match their performance against a comparable 30-teacher control group. Four additional groups of 30 teachers will receive training in coming school terms. University and municipal funds were recently augmented by a $150,000 grant from the Fund for the Advancement of Education.

(EDITOR'S NOTE: The following article first appeared in the October, 1964, ACAC Newsletter, published by the Association of College Admissions Counselors, Evanston, Illinois)

NSSFNS AND VOLUNTEERS CREATE NEW PROGRAM FOR DISADVANTAGED STUDENTS

By Richard L. Plaut
President, National Scholarship Service
and Fund for Negro Students (NSSFNS)

The National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students (NSSFNS) now has underway the most ambitious program of its 16-year history, the College Assistance Project or "Hoy Plan" (named after its proposer, John C. Hoy, then dean of admissions at Swarthmore College, now assistant to the president and director of admissions at Wesleyan University).

The "Hoy Plan" involves regional groups of admissions and financial aid officers who visit predominantly Negro high schools, so often passed up by the college visitor, to talk to counselors and students about college in general and what the NSSFNS program can do for them in particular. Some 150 trained, volunteer visitors are now serving as motivators and sources of information for students. NSSFNS and high school counselors then help students thus uncovered determine which colleges in the area represent the most realistic possibilities for admission and adequate financial aid. NSSFNS will refer those students to the appropriate colleges, and will consider the supplementary scholarship applications of students who need additional financial aid. The plan does not prevent any student and any college from getting together independently; rather, it supplements existing efforts.

The NSSFNS experience indicates a direct relationship between the number of staff visits to high schools and the number of candidates discovered who seek advice about college and financial aid. The "Hoy Plan" will multiply by 25 or 30 times the limited number of visits the small NSSFNS staff can make (although it will continue to make them) to the 16,000 or more relevant high schools.

Acceptance of this approach by college officials has been heart-warming. Four demonstration projects were organized last winter and spring: one in the Philadelphia area by John C. Hoy; two in the Los Angeles and San Francisco Bay areas by Benjamin W. McKendall, Jr. of the CEEB Western Regional Office in Palo Alto; and one in Chicago by Charles D. O'Connell, director of admissions at the University of Chicago. Thirty-five to 40 colleges, as well as the school systems in these cities, are now involved; in three of the cities the first visits, by teams of two college people to a school, have been made and reported on. This fall, 11 such area projects were in full operation; commitments are now in hand for seven others, and an additional seven are in the "possible" stage.

Commencing this past September a member of the NSSFNS staff, Caroline S. Hodges, began as full-time coordinator of the "Hoy Plan." She will aid in obtaining sponsors for area projects, assist sponsors in launching projects, and offer all possible assistance to projects after they are underway. Support for the coordinator, for additional staff services, and for scholarships made necessary by "Hoy Plan" activities has been assured by a $150,000 grant from the Old Dominion Foundation.

There are still far too few potential Negro college candidates in the upper high school years. Great changes can only come from programs begun at much earlier school levels. The "Hoy Plan," however, seems suited to find the existing potential more fully than any device thus far used. In its first year, the project has made a good start in meeting its two basic aims: 1) to build academic aspirations among potential college students in disadvantaged high schools, and 2) where Negro students are part of the school population, to encourage the schools

to identify those with potential for college success and refer them to NSSFNS for ultimate referral to appropriate institutions in the area.

The "Hoy Plan" begins at a particularly propitious time, when National Merit's new scholarship program for Negro students is being launched. Because of this program, there will be less chance of student hopes being raised, then dashed, because the colleges and NSSFNS could not provide enough financial aid. The amount of aid from the Merit program substantially increases the total available.

Schedules for the next round of visits are now being set up. College admissions officers wishing to volunteer their services should contact Miss Carolyn Hodges at the NSSFNS office, 6 East 82nd Street, New York 28, New York.

Presbyterian Group Operates Summer Study Skills Program

A Summer Study Skills Program has been conducted each summer since 1961 on the campus of Knoxville College (Tenn.) by the Educational Counseling Service of the Board of National Missions, United Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. To date, 228 high school students, primarily Southern Negro youth, have completed the program. Through this program and its other activities, the Board has identified many students with college potential and is continually engaged in seeking college places and financial assistance for them. Colleges and universities interested in helping such people continue their education should communicate with Dr. Ernst H. Suerken, Director, Educational Counseling Service, Room 1140, 475 Riverside Drive, New York 10027, or with Samuel H. Johnson, Regional Field Counselor, Educational Counseling Service, 511 Collier Ridge Drive, N. W., Atlanta 18, Georgia.

Graduate Students Recruited To Teach in Negro Colleges

The Southern Teaching Program, with headquarters in New Haven, Conn., is presently recruiting 150-200 students in selected graduate schools to serve next summer as instructors at predominantly Negro colleges. Initiative for the program came from Yale Law School students and a former Woodrow Wilson intern. This past summer 53 STP graduate students taught on the campuses of 13 predominantly Negro colleges. A grant from the New World Foundation provided the bulk of the program's modest $17, 000 budget.

Small Colleges Launch Many Varied, Imaginative Programs

Expanding opportunities programs of smaller colleges are notable in their variety and imagination. Amherst undergraduates have used breaks in the school year to visit downtown high schools with high dropout rates to encourage students to continue their education and to acquaint students and guidance counselors with college opportunities at Amherst and other schools. Bowdoin students have initiated a similar program, known as "Project '65."

The Antioch College Board of Trustees has authorized a long-term $600, 000 program to recruit, select, and financially aid Negro undergraduates; students, who will participate in the college's work-study plan, are to be primarily from four urban areas: Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, and the Antioch-area cities of Dayton, Columbus, and Cincinnati. Jackson State College (Miss.) enrolled 100 area Negro youth in a summer-long "Young at Heart" program of academic upgrading, directed study, personal development, and travel.

Baltimore's Goucher College has undertaken a joint student-admissions office program of visits to Baltimore, Washington, and Philadelphia high schools in poor neighborhoods. Mount Holyoke and Connecticut Colleges will conduct summer programs for "talented girls from disadvantaged areas" under terms of recent grants from the Rockefeller Foundation; they are patterned on similar programs for boys supported by the Foundation last summer.

The two Negro young men now in the St. Michael's College (Vt.) freshman class exemplify what can be done with limited financial resources and the assistance of the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students (NSSFNS). Wilberforce College (Ohio) is introducing a work-study program into its curriculum to broaden educational and employment opportunities within its predominantly Negro student body. Macalester College (Minn.) will award six Ralph L. Smith Freedom Scholarships (three designated for Negroes) in each incoming class over the next ten years.

Some 40 colleges from eight midwestern states will gather for an Albion Assembly on Students Financial Aid this February 23-24. Purpose of the sessions is to explore "the dimensions which small colleges will confront as they initiate programs for expanded educational opportunities."

Urban Junior Colleges Seen As Bright Hope for Negroes

The urban junior college's low-cost comprehensive approach to higher education represents a bright hope for disadvantaged Negroes, writes Cleveland industrialist Ralph M. Besse in a recent issue of the Junior College Journal. Besse, chairman of the National Advisory Committee on the Junior College, cites high costs, prohibitive admissions policies, and a limited range of occupational programs as barriers to greater minority group enrollment in four-year institutions.

Chicago, Los Angeles, New York, St. Louis, San Francisco-Oakland, Miami, Cleveland, and a handful of other cities have made starts toward providing the low-cost, comprehensive postsecondary opportunity advocated by Besse. A far greater number of the nation's larger cities have not. "We believe," declares Edmund J. Gleazer, Jr., executive director of the American Association of Junior Colleges, "that the junior college, with its community orientation and its emphasis on the needs of people, can help to bring about fuller employment and attack the problems of poverty and social unrest." AAJC's forthcoming annual meeting (in Dallas, March 1-5) will assess the movement's response to "problems of poverty, Negro education, new manpower needs, and urban development."

Summer Study, Graduate Programs Subject of Conference Reports

The Carnegie Institute of Technology conducted a two-day seminar in November bringing together directors and staff personnel of the past year's summer programs for the disadvantaged. An edited transcript of the discussions is expected to be available by the first of March through the office of Dr. John Morgart, c/o the Institute, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15213.

Thirty-three national figures in the expanding opportunities field met last August at Brown University to consider enlarging graduate and professional school enrollment of college graduates now turned aside from such study by inadequate preparation and motivation. Special attention was given to broadening opportunities for post-baccalaureate study for graduates of predominantly Negro colleges; subjects covered included recruitment and selection of students, graduate standards, counseling, and instruction, program administration and financing, and liaison among cooperating graduate schools. At least five specific action proposals were advanced by participants. An excellent summary of this USOE-supported "working conference" has been prepared by Brown University, and is now available through any of the 150 cooperative research depository libraries (project No. F-067).

(EDITOR'S NOTE: This account of the interinstitutional program recently established by Cornell University and Hampton Institute was prepared for Expanding Opportunities by a former graduate student at Cornell who is now a member of the Hampton faculty and administrative staff.)

CORNELL UNIVERSITY AND HAMPTON INSTITUTE

By Beatrice Ross Buszek
Director of Testing, Hampton Institute

When Cornell University and Hampton Institute celebrate their 100th year of instruction in 1968, they also will be marking the fifth year of a unique program of reciprocal enrichment. The key concept here is "reciprocal" and its full meaning implies mutual exchange in kind or degree, equivalent or complementary, between faculty, administrators and students from both institutions.

Cornell University in Ithaca, New York (12,000 students), and Hampton Institute in Hampton, Virginia (2,000 students), are both private, non-sectarian, coeducational colleges. The president of each institution--James Perkins of Cornell and Jerome Holland of Hampton--has put his stamp of leadership on the pioneering cooperative endeavor which adds new dimensions to higher education.

The ideas that produced this program were first discussed in the early days of 1963 when Vice President J. L. Zwingle, and later Dean William R. Keast of Cornell University visited with members of the Hampton administration. These beginnings continued under the joint supervision of Vice President John Summerskill of Cornell and Dean Hugh Gloster of Hampton, and the resultant exchange of ideas and information between a committee of faculty and administrators set the stage for what has followed.

Within the scope of this report one can merely mention the chronological development of interchanges at all levels. The heart of the program cannot be "measured" in traditional ways. Take the sophomore class at Hampton Institute--how many will select Government as their major this year? How many were quietly motivated by the erudition of their convocation speaker, Clinton Rossiter, the outstanding scholar, author and lecturer who serves as John L. Senior Professor of American Institutions at Cornell? And how many Cornell professors had their consciences stirred by a sober account of the problems of predominantly Negro colleges when President Holland spoke to 200 as a guest of the Cornell chapter of the AAUP? And how many Hampton students have explored the several hundred textbooks on electronics sent from Cornell following the visit of Ben Nichols, then a professor of engineering at Ithaca?

Then there is a story that is an article in itself: the story of ten Hampton faculty members and their recent summer of study "high above Cayuga's waters." One woman, a recent Hampton graduate, made many contributions to her class, Teaching of Reading, by virtue of the fact that her observations were based on training and experience in the Hampton non-graded elementary school--an area where her Cornell classmates had scant knowledge but eager curiosity. The Freshman Adviser at Hampton did intensive summer study at Cornell in the area of testing and statistics and simultaneously demonstrated insight and knowledge in the fertile territory of research in Negro education. Another young man met with informal groups of sociology graduate students during the long Ithaca evenings, discussing the growth and development of Negro history and controversial civil rights issues. Similar comments could be extended to include all members of this first exchange.

It was, in fact, a busy summer for the Cornell-Hampton program. The week Professor Peter Kahn of Cornell was at Hampton, lecturing and counseling as a guest of the Institute in

the Humanities, equally notable activities were taking place at Cornell. For example, Dr. Hugh Gloster, Dean of the Hampton faculty, spoke to a crowded Cornell auditorium, recounting his experiences as a Fulbright scholar behind the Iron Curtain (University of Warsaw, 1961-62). In his audience were 25 Soviet teachers of English attending an Institute at Cornell. Dr. Gloster held his audience with a mixture of grim realism and the humorous aspects of his year in Poland. After the lecture approximately 200 people accepted an invitation to pursue the topic further at the student union.

The events of the past summer are seen as a first important step in a continuing program of interchange. Administrators in Ithaca felt the Hampton faculty contributed a great deal to those at Cornell fortunate enough to know the first participants in the exchange program.

Already suggestions are being made for further exchange at the undergraduate junior-year level; plans envision concentrated summers at Cornell University in computer applications or foreign language study and at Hampton Institute in music, marine biology, or history of the American Negro. Hampton has had considerable experience with one-to-one exchanges and would like to arrange and evaluate an exchange program in larger numbers--perhaps 25 or 50 students would live and work on the other campus. As an integral part of the program, there would be continuous evaluation of the effects of the student exchange on learning, motivation to learn, and the observation of any detectable effects in terms of increased concern and understanding of interracial problems.

As with any new program, there has been much trial and error from which plans are constructed for the future. The Joint Committee feels that future summer programs should allow more independent but supervised study with selected faculty and that future participants should arrive on campus a few days early to get acquainted socially with faculty and administration.

In late August this writer joined the Hampton Institute staff after graduate study at Cornell. She lives on campus, her youngest son attends the non-graded elementary school at the Institute, and her younger sister is a student at Hampton. The duties and experiences as Director of Testing, teaching psychology, and the related committee functions have exposed her to many subtle factors inherent in exchange programs. She wonders for instance, how many at Cornell fully grasp the significance of this dignified cooperative agreement where people (not whites and Negroes) work side by side towards common goals. Perhaps the milestone-like significance of this will be conveyed at Cornell by the Hampton faculty member now finishing the doctorate in Ithaca in the Department of Speech and Drama.

At the 18th Annual Educational Staff Institute at Hampton last September, the discussion topic was "The Possible Cooperative Relationship Between Hampton Institute and Major Universities." This was a timely theme, not only because of future plans but also because of the on-going Cornell-Hampton program. A member of the executive staff of the American Council on Education traced the steady improvement of the dialogue between predominantly Negro colleges and predominantly white universities as a highly constructive step toward the improvement of all higher education. After the keynote address, the faculty met in small discussion groups and recommendations were made as to how Hampton Institute could expand and improve cooperative programs in five specific areas: undergraduate study, graduate study, faculty, precollege students, and elementary and secondary school teaching. The extent of the faculty ferment was revealed in both the number and kind of creative ideas expressed. Some of the possible benefits discussed, and contributions that Hampton might make in a cooperative relationship with a northern university, were as follows (starred items indicate reciprocal benefits already accruing to Hampton and Cornell):

* Exchange of faculty members

* Employment of faculty members on sabbatical leave

* Appointment of distinguished scholars as teachers and also as resource persons for faculty institutes and departmental seminars to a greater extent than in the past.

* Provision of fellowships and special grants for graduate study, independent investigations, special projects, and research by Hampton faculty members.

* Provision of opportunities for cooperative teaching and/or research.

* Faculty exchange in the performing and visual arts.

* Provision of course outlines, course examinations, major requirements, and degree requirements for study and examination.

Donation to the Hampton Institute Library of complimentary copies of books published by university press.

Acceptance by university press of worthy publications by Hampton faculty.

Assignment of advanced graduate students for teaching internships at Hampton Institute.

Assignment of talented graduate students to do necessary institutional research under faculty supervision.

Appointment of talented graduate students as teachers at Hampton Institute.

Surveys of library holdings by competent graduate students for the purpose of recommending additional titles for purchase at Hampton Institute.

* Exchange of students.

Opportunity for Hampton students to take technical and advanced courses not offered at Hampton Institute.

Opportunity for talented graduates of Hampton Institute to gain fellowships for graduate study at the university.

Opportunity for Hampton students to participate in overseas foreign language programs sponsored by the university.

* Exchange of student activities in the performing and visual arts, e.g., plays, choir concerts, choral and instrumental recitals, dance groups, and art exhibits.

* Joint scheduling of concerts, lectures, exhibits, and other cultural attractions.

Opportunity for a predominantly Negro college to gain a better understanding of the operation and problems of a large northern university.

Opportunity for a predominantly white university to gain a better understanding of the operation and problems of a predominantly Negro college in the South.

The discussion elicited other thoughtful questions that should be borne in mind by those from both southern and northern universities whenever a cooperative plan is proposed.

- Would the nature of the cooperative relationship cause the Negro college to receive a stigma of inferiority?

- Would the northern university approach the Negro college with a missionary spirit which would be objectionable?

- Would the thinking underlying the cooperative relationship suggest that Negro college teachers (mainly educated at northern universities) are chiefly responsible for the poor quality of the performance of many Negro college students when the chief cause is to be found in the socio-economic background of many Negro college students?
- Would the thinking underlying the cooperative relationship fail to consider that financial handicaps also contribute to the disadvantage of the Negro college causing inefficient teachers, low salaries, inadequate equipment, over-crowded classes, and heavy teaching loads?
- Would the northern university representatives assume overburdened teachers in Negro colleges are always responsible for the often unsatisfactory conditions in a Negro college?

As indicated earlier, many of the benefits of the Cornell-Hampton program are indirect. A speech by President Holland at the Association of College Admissions Counselors at Brandeis University last June resulted in a further meeting in the fall at Hampton Institute. Cornell University joined the New England college representatives at this conference, where it was decided that Hampton Institute could make a valuable contribution to higher education as a recruiting liaison between the New England colleges and Cornell and talented and superior Negro high school students in the Commonwealth of Virginia. From this meeting a model could be designed for future liaison with other secondary schools in the South. A follow-up winter meeting is scheduled for Wheaton College, and next June there will be a larger gathering at Hampton, bringing together representatives of most northeastern colleges, Cornell University, and a substantial number of Southern high school principals. Though there are obviously many hurdles yet to overcome, a big step has nonetheless been taken to clear away the undergrowth of years from the educational jungle of school-college relations in the region.

Some mention should be made of the most recent exchange activity between Cornell and Hampton. In the South the frustrations often seem eternal in providing excellent professional training for Negro youth. Hampton Institute has faced some problems in revitalizing its School of Nursing and Cornell has assisted in this task by developing a prototype to use as a guide. Dean Muriel Carbery of the Cornell School of Nursing in New York City has been asked to survey and evaluate the present program at Hampton Institute. The Director of Nursing at Hampton will spend time in New York reviewing programs and procedures used in the New York hospital. Members of the faculty of the Hampton Institute Nursing School will observe teaching procedures in the Cornell School of Nursing next summer. These are first steps but, hopefully, they will set a pattern for the upgrading of professional education through mutual assistance arrangements.

There are other facets to the Cornell-Hampton program which, as must be apparent, is not a monolithic "package" agreement but an on-going attempt to meet educational needs and to strengthen both institutions. For example, when a Hampton instructor in electrical engineering died unexpectedly, Cornell was asked to loan staff but was unable to do so in mid-semester. Dr. Summerskill of Cornell then discovered that officials of the Western Electric Company had a particular interest in Hampton Institute and its graduates, and that corporation quickly made arrangements to fill Hampton's emergency need for instruction.

Within recent months, too, Ph. D. candidates from several departments at Cornell have been interviewed at Hampton as potential members of next fall's faculty. Their interest in a Hampton appointment stems from a new awareness within the Cornell community of the needs and opportunities at a predominantly Negro college.

There is similar cooperation in the administrative realm. As a member of the Cornell University Council, President Holland lent his experience and counsel in the formulation of Cornell's Centennial Campaign initiated three years ago. Before Hampton launched its current $18 million Centennial Campaign, a Cornell representative joined a national committee to evaluate the Institute's educational needs and to endorse the Campaign objectives.

It is clear, in the last analysis, that cooperation and commitment at the top administrative level are required to assure the success of interinstitutional programs such as the Cornell-Hampton relationship. James A. Perkins left the vice presidency of the Carnegie Corporation to become the seventh president of Cornell in 1963. To paraphrase Carl Becker, Cornell acquired an experienced, "otherwise-thinking" man, and the university was soon to feel the impact of this new leader who firmly believes that Cornell has a responsibility to those students "disadvantaged by their cultural, economic, and educational environments." He believes Hampton Institute will benefit in many ways from an infusion of ideas and able scholars. As for his own institution, he says, "Cornell will gain a new perspective on the education of the Negro leaders of tomorrow," and "this program of joint enrichment on all levels will give administrators, faculty and students at both institutions a view of an unfamiliar educational area."

Although the program is in its infancy, there is already a bond some thirty years strong between Jerome H. Holland, President of Hampton Institute, and his alma mater, Cornell University. President Holland brought nearly a decade of college presidency experience to Hampton; he has long been marked for leadership, and combines knowledge with sensitivity in confronting the broad issues of American education today. Many don't know he once achieved a highest honor on another field--the gridiron. Known to sports fans as "Brud Holland," he was one of the first Negro All-Americans, Cornell '39. Now well known in higher educational circles, he has retained the old bond as a member of the Cornell University Council. President Holland believes this exchange program is "most important to Hampton Institute and similar colleges." He predicts models will be developed that will produce guidelines to encourage other institutions far beyond the Ithaca-Hampton campuses: "that which the fountain sends forth returns again to the fountain."

The many successful aspects of the program to date should not obscure problems faced by the Cornell-Hampton Committee. These seem to be a matter of internal communication, personal, practical, and educational involvement on a campus-wide scale, and financial security.

As a large, complex, multipurpose institution, Cornell has its share of internal communication problems, and the same is true for Hampton. Both President Perkins and President Holland are anxious that more members of the faculty, administration, and student body become aware of the significant opportunities inherent in the on-going program. Lack of involvement relates to more than inadequacy of communication, however; as President Perkins indicated to the writer, it is still only the relative few who effectively identify with the educational and interracial issues at stake today. After listening to the comments and questions of many faculty members, administrators, and students from both institutions, however, it is apparent that there are many others who sincerely desire to identify with the program, who feel a commitment in this area, but who admit the frustration of not knowing the significant roles to be played. These facts lead back invariably to the underlying philosophy of the program--that is, to find those significant roles, to open lines of communication that can channel reservoirs of good will, interest, and ability to the mutual benefit of both institutions.

The matter of finances has been purposely omitted from this report, but it is obvious that such an extensive program cannot operate on ideas and commitment alone. Cornell University

and Hampton Institute are in the process of seeking funds to support a widening interchange between the two institutions.

It would be difficult, even impossible, to identify one feature of the Cornell-Hampton program as most important. Its very basis is mutual giving and receiving, and it is this reciprocal element that has created a bond of trust and provided unique dignity to the total venture initiated between faculty members, administrators, and students who are all, whether in Hampton or Ithaca, part and parcel of the same higher education enterprise.

* * * * * * *

N. Y. Colleges Issue Guidelines For Self-Study on Opportunities

Guidelines for self-study by New York colleges and universities have been prepared by a state-wide College Committee on the Disadvantaged. Sponsored jointly by the Association of Colleges and Universities of the State of New York and the State Education Department, the four-page statement poses questions for internal study in four areas: (1) the students the institution seeks to serve, (2) the curriculum and program of instruction, (3) the faculty who do the teaching, and (4) the administrative structure and support which seek to make the first three possible.

In a joint statement accompanying release of the guidelines, Commissioner of Education James E. Allen and Association President William P. Tolley of Syracuse University urged that "each of the over 200 higher institutions in our State take a look at its own procedures, practices, and images in an effort to make sure that it really provides equal opportunity for students and faculty... We hope that this self-study will encourage renewed consideration of the service the institution now provides or will provide to reach a crucial goal for our nation and society."

A more comprehensive set of guidelines, encompassing university programs from the pre-school through post-graduate and adult education levels, will be released shortly by the University of Wisconsin's Human Relations Institute in Milwaukee. The product of three conferences held by 12 midwestern universities and entitled "Blueprint for Action," the document is available through the office of Lawrence C. Howard, director of the Institute (Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211).

* * * * * * *

New Levels of Foundation Support

In the months since October 1963, the major educational foundations have invested nearly $40 million in grants designed to further the cause of expanding educational opportunities in the nation's colleges and universities. This new level of financial support reflects not only the heightened interest of the major foundations in stimulating "opportunity for equality," but also the renewed sense of dedication and concern that has marked developments in this field on campuses in all parts of the country.

These recent foundation grants can be divided into five broad areas of support:

- Strengthening the United Negro College Fund
- Improving the quality of education in predominantly Negro colleges
- Expanding the enrollment of Negroes in predominantly white institutions
- Stimulating the academic community's search for talented, but disadvantaged Negro youth
- Augmenting existing programs of scholarship aid for Negroes

A clear consensus is developing that a top priority in the "expanding opportunities" field must be the upgrading of the nation's predominantly Negro colleges. During 1963-64, nine major educational foundations made over $10 million in grants to the United Negro College Fund; in addition, the Ford Foundation has announced grants totaling $13 million to 13 designated UNCF institutions under its Special Program in Education. Some 75 recent grants have been made to individual Negro colleges to support specific programs designed to improve their academic capabilities. Ranging from a few hundred dollars up into hundreds of thousands, the aggregate of these grants is approximately 3 1/2 million. To these may be added grants of $2 1/2 million and $3 million to Tuskegee Institute and Hampton Institute, respectively, made upon the dissolution of the James Foundation. Several of the grants in this category are for support of projects ranging in duration from two-to-five years. By no means all of the nation's 115 predominantly Negro institutions of higher learning are participating in these foundation-financed programs; most of the grants having been made to some two dozen of the accredited, private, four-year institutions. (It should be added parenthetically that in the past year several states have sharply increased appropriations for state-supported predominantly Negro colleges.)

Beyond grants to individual institutions, a substantial sum of foundation money has been allocated to national and regional associations for the conduct of programs to benefit Negro colleges, their faculty, and their students. Some two dozen grants, totaling just over $2 million, have gone for such purposes.

"Federal Aid is Essential"

I recommend that legislation be enacted to strengthen less developed colleges. Many of our smaller colleges are battling for survival. About 10 percent lack proper accreditation, and others face constantly the threat of losing accreditation. Many are isolated from the main currents of academic life. Private sources and states alone cannot carry the whole burden of doing what must be done for these important units in our total educational system. Federal aid is essential. Universities should be encouraged to enter into cooperative relationships to help less developed colleges, including such assistance as:

- A program of faculty exchanges.
- Special programs to enable faculty members of small colleges to renew and extend knowledge of their fields.
- A national fellowship program to encourage highly qualified young graduate students and instructors in large universities to augment the teaching resources of small colleges.
- The development of joint programs to make more efficient use of available facilities and faculty.

--From President Lyndon B. Johnson's
Education Message to the 89th Congress

Expanding Opportunities

A clearinghouse report on the Negro and higher education issued approximately eight times a year by the Committee on Equality of Educational Opportunity, edited by Lawrence E. Dennis and Theodore J. Marchese. Copies are distributed free in specified quantities through the heads of institutions and organizations holding membership in the Council. Individual subscriptions available at $5.00 per year.

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION
1785 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W., WASHINGTON 36, D.C.

Office of the President

1867-1967

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA ▪ 30314

FROM: Benjamin E. Mays, President

TO: Graduates and Former Students of Morehouse

RE: 100th Anniversary

I write to say four things to you.

1. To wish you success and health throughout 1965 and to express the hope that your concern for the betterment of mankind will increase with the years.

2. To tell you that at the requests of the general alumni association and the faculty, the Trustees of Morehouse College have asked me to remain at the College through June 30, 1967 in order that I might be a part of the 100th Anniversary. I have consented to stay until June 30, 1967.

3. To urge you to help me to make the 100th Anniversary the grandest year in the history of the College. You can do this in three ways:

   a. If you have not done so, pledge and give the maximum each year up to and including 1967 and keep it up after 1967. Return your pledge card if you have not already done so.

   b. Participate in the various programs which we will carry on in 1967.

   c. Locate at least one good student a year, sell him Morehouse and recommend him to us. Competition for good students is getting keener and keener.

4. To request you to get two friends of yours to give you a minimum of $100 a year for Morehouse during 1965, 1966, and 1967. In this way, you can double your contribution to Morehouse. Every Morehouse man has friends who would give to Morehouse if asked to do so.

I am selfish enough and I love Morehouse enough to want to leave Morehouse many times better off than I found it when I came in 1940. Will you do your full share?

GIFTS TO YOUR SCHOOL DURING YOUR LIFE

The Federal Income Tax Deduction

In computing your taxable income for federal income tax purposes, you may deduct up to as much as 30% of your "adjusted gross income" for the year for contributions which you make to schools, churches, hospitals and other charitable organizations that receive a substantial part of their support from the general public or a governmental unit, provided the organizations are located in the United States. (If some of your gifts are to personal, family or similar private foundations or other charitable organizations in the United States that do not fall into the above category, or if some of your gifts are merely for the use of, rather than directly to, organizations in the above category, such as gifts of only income, you may deduct these gifts to the extent that they do not exceed, when taken by themselves, 20% of your adjusted gross income for the year or, when added to your gifts directly to organizations in the above category, the overall 30% limitation.)

Since your charitable deduction reduces your income tax, your gift will not cost you as much as its real value.

by

LEONARD T. SCULLY, Vice President

United States Trust Company of New York

February 23, 1965

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
President
Morehouse College
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mays:

I was so greatly impressed by your letter of January 21 that for a while I showed it to any number of people who came by the office. Then the troublesome thought hit me that perhaps you judged that I was of another mind. I most decidedly am not.

I enjoyed the hospitality of your home last week while talking with Max Hahn.

Let me add our gratification that you have postponed your retirement.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw

Rec'd 1/22/65

Office of the President

1867-1967

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA ▪ 30314

January 21, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I thank you very much for sending me a copy of the letter which you sent to Dr. Harold W. Pfautz of Brown University. As you perhaps know, I attended the Conference at Brown University last summer.

It is quite understandable but it is very amazing that so many people are now interested in a program designed to undo in a relatively short time the damage which has been done to the Negro's mind for 3½ centuries. I for one endorse any good program that may be advanced to correct the "frightful wastage of able people." I must admit, however, that I am not interested in the Post-Baccalaureate year for graduates of Morehouse College.

My job here at Morehouse is to improve the quality of work so that the graduates of Morehouse will not be handicapped when they seek to enter the leading universities of the nation. At the moment, about 54% of the full-time teachers at Morehouse hold doctorates. Morehouse College leads all strictly undergraduate Negro Colleges in the production of college graduates who have earned the Ph.D. degree from leading universities. One out of every 20 Negroes who have earned the Ph.D. degree received his college degree from Morehouse College. Our graduates are now pursuing advance work in 40 or more graduate and professional schools in the United States. It would be terrible if I announced to my faculty and students that the students must now look forward towards a Post-Baccalaureate year after they leave Morehouse. I tried to get this across at the Brown Conference last summer.

It will be interesting to watch the experiment and see how many of these students who do the Post-Baccalaureate year will then be able to go on into first class graduate work. It may be that if much of the damage has not been repaired during the four years in college, it would be rather late in the Post Baccalaureate year.

Again let me thank you for sharing with me your letter to Dr. Pfautz.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin E. Mays
President

BEM:gm

Office of the President

1867-1967

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA ▪ 30314

February 24, 1965

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30302

Dear Les:

You have been scheduled to speak to the United States State Department Senior Seminar in Foreign Policy at around 10:45 a.m. next Friday, February 26. I think this is a little more realistic than 10:30. You will follow President Clement. You will take 15-20 minutes for your statement and another 15-20 minutes for questions and answers.

The Seminar will be held in the upstairs lounge of Samuel H. Archer Hall.

Sincerely yours,

Butler T. Henderson
Assistant to the President

BTH gs

Recd 2/12/65

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

FOREIGN SERVICE INSTITUTE

WASHINGTON

The Senior Seminar in Foreign Policy

file

February 8, 1965

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

As you may recall, the Senior Seminar had the pleasure of being with you during its visit to Atlanta last year. We plan to be in Atlanta again on February 26 to discuss the minority situation in Atlanta and the South in general with various knowledgeable persons.

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, President of Morehouse College, has kindly consented to arrange a program for us at the College on the morning of February 26. He will be getting in touch with you in the near future to see whether you can participate.

The idea of a program at one central point occurred to us inasmuch as it will permit us to hear from more people than would be possible if we attempted to go by bus from point to point. Dr. Mays will tell you about the speakers who are being invited. We very much hope you will be able to accept when Dr. Mays invites you on our behalf for the 26th.

Since you are already acquainted with the Senior Seminar, I need only remind you that it is the most advanced training program in international relations and foreign policy offered by the Department of State and that the purpose of its Members is to acquire information in various fields for use by them when they move on to higher positions in the government. The Foreign Service Members of the Seminar will be going abroad, upon termination of the course next June, either as Chiefs of Mission or Deputy Chiefs of Mission. In this regard, I am enclosing some background material, including a list of the Seminar's Members and biographic data.

We look

Dr. Leslie Dunbar,
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.,
Atlanta, Georgia.

We look forward with much pleasure to meeting with you.

With best wishes,

Most sincerely,

G. Lewis Jones

G. Lewis Jones
Coordinator

Enclosures:

1. Description and Outline.
2. Study Plan.
3. Information for Speakers.
4. List of Members.
5. Biographic Data.

FSI Foreign Service Institute
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

THE SENIOR SEMINAR IN FOREIGN POLICY
1964-1965 Session
August 12, 1964 - June 11, 1965

DESCRIPTION AND OUTLINE

Objective and Scope

The Senior Seminar in Foreign Policy is the most advanced training program in the field of international relations and foreign policy offered by the Department of State. Its purpose is to assist in the preparation of officers for positions of high responsibility. The Seminar provides an intellectual framework for a free and vigorous inquiry into some of the complexities of foreign policy. It aims to broaden and deepen the thinking of its participants with regard to the domestic and foreign affairs of the United States and to stimulate their powers of creative and thoughtful judgment.

The Senior Seminar is composed this session of a selected group of 26 persons drawn from the principal agencies of the Government concerned with the conduct of our foreign relations. The largest single element is made up of Foreign Service officers drawn from Classes 1, 2, and 3. The remainder includes one representative of the rank of Colonel or the equivalent from each of the four Armed Services and senior officers from other civilian agencies concerned with foreign affairs.

Plan of Study

Methods

The Seminar relies largely on reading and research by the participants, stimulated by discussions with outstanding authorities in relevant fields of inquiry. Seminar speakers in the past have included judges, members of Congress, officials of the federal executive and of local governments, university professors, military leaders and experts in the fields of business, industry, labor, religion, arts, sciences and public affairs.

Discussions, readings, documentary films, and oral and written reports are supplemented by individual and group attendance at meetings of professional associations and research organizations, by visits to the United Nations and to military and industrial installations, and by other purposeful domestic and foreign travel. Field trips in the United States give the participants first-hand acquaintance with some of the political, economic and social problems of various regions of the country.

Course Content

The course consists in seven parts--Introductory Meetings and six Studies. The Introductory Meetings are designed to orient the participants with regard to the Foreign Service Institute and the Senior Seminar in Foreign Policy and to present them to several of the principal officers of the Department of State.

Study I is entitled "The United States: Evolution as a World Power." It comprises a five-day review of American foreign relations from 1897 to the present, followed by a week of group exercises constituting critiques of selected government and private reports on foreign and domestic issues confronting the United States in the 1960's.

Study II is entitled "The United States: The Domestic Base." It examines social, political, and economic aspects of our society which influence the shape of our foreign policy.

Study III is entitled "International Relations: Institutions and Concepts." It looks at such matters as nuclear deterrence, military power, the international legal order, United Nations, and international trade and finance.

Study IV is entitled "The United States in World Affairs." It focusses on our relations and foreign policy considerations with respect to (1) Communist nations, (2) our allies, and (3) the uncommitted part of the world.

Study V is entitled "The Administration of National Security Policy." It reviews the essentials of current national security policy and examines the roles of the executive arm and the military in executing security policy. It also assesses public and Congressional support for current security policy. Finally, it studies the role of United States representation abroad in executing policy.

Interspersed among the foregoingsegments of the curriculum are field trips in the United States, which are in support of the subject matter treated in the readings, lectures, and discussions.

FSI Foreign Service Institute
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

May 1, 1964

THE SENIOR SEMINAR IN FOREIGN POLICY
1964-1965 Session
August 12, 1964 - June 12, 1965

STUDY PLAN

INTRODUCTORY MEETINGS	Aug. 12-14
STUDY I: THE UNITED STATES: Evolution as a World Power	
1. Review of Diplomatic History, 1897-1964	Aug. 17-21
2. National Goals & Foreign Policy: Study Group Reports	Aug. 24-28
3. National Goals & Foreign Policy: A Statement of Priorities	Aug. 28
4. Critique	Sept. 14
STUDY II: THE UNITED STATES: The Domestic Base	
1. Aspects of American Society: Demography, Minorities, Urbanization, Education, the Press	Aug. 31 - Sept. 9
2. American Political Thought and Institutions: Ideas, Parties, and Traditions; Communism in the U.S.; the Branches of Government	Sept. 10-22
3. The American Economy	Sept. 23 - Oct. 2
4. Critique	Oct. 19
FIELD TRIPS:	
Mid-West	Oct. 5-9
The South	Oct. 26-30
New York City	Nov. 30 - Dec. 4
Puerto Rico	Feb. 15-20
Far West	Mar. 23-27
STUDY III: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: Institutions and Concepts	
1. Science & Foreign Policy	Oct. 12-13
2. Nuclear Deterrence	Oct. 14-16
3. National Military Power	Oct. 19 - Nov. 13
4. Arms Control	Nov. 16-17
5. International Law	Nov. 18-20
6. The United Nations	Nov. 23-29
7. Problems of Developing Societies	Dec. 7-11
8. International Finanace and Trade	Dec. 14-18
9. Critique	Dec. 18

FIELD TRIPS

New York (United Nations)	Nov. 30 - Dec. 4
Fort Bragg	To Be Fixed
SACLANT/CINCLANT	Nov. 4-5
TAC/CONARC	Nov. 6
Cape Kennedy	Feb. 22-24
Sandia	Mar. 22-23
NORAD, SAC	Mar. 29-31

STUDY IV: THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD AFFAIRS

1. The Communist World: Strengths, Weaknesses, Interests and Strategy
2. The U.S. and its Alliance Relationships
3. The U.S. and the Emerging Nations
   a. Problems of Internal Defense: Case Studies
   b. Application of U.S. Resources
4. Critique

(Detailed programming for the rest of the academic period will be included in a subsequent issue of this Study Plan.)

STUDY V: THE ADMINISTRATION OF NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY

1. The Basic Policy: NSC; Bureau of the Budget
2. The Intelligence Community; the Planning Function
3. Agency Coordination & Implementation
4. Mission Management
5. Critique

STUDY VI: TERM PROJECT

1. Research and Preparation
   a. Research
   b. Research Trip
   c. Final Preparation

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
FOREIGN SERVICE INSTITUTE

THE SENIOR SEMINAR IN FOREIGN POLICY

BASIC INFORMATION FOR SPEAKERS

The Senior Seminar in Foreign Policy, which has been held annually since 1958, is the most advanced training program in international relations and foreign policy offered by the Department of State. Each session, which runs from August to the following June, has approximately 26 members. Usually a little over half of these are from the upper ranks of the American Foreign Service, many of whom will thereafter be assigned to the field either as Chiefs of Mission or Deputy Chiefs of Mission. Other places in the Seminar are made available to officers of comparable standing in the armed services, the Defense Department and in civilian departments such as Treasury, Commerce, Agriculture, the USIA, and AID. Membership in the Seminar is awarded on the basis of excellence of performance and potential for leadership. The average age of Members lies in the mid-forties and their average length of service is about twenty years.

Status of Information Given to Seminar

Remarks made by a speaker, whether or not he is employed by the United States government, are never quoted or attributed. All Members are cleared for classified information up to, and including, Top Secret.

Procedure

The procedure adhered to is that of a seminar, in which there is an opening talk or statement beginning at 9:30 A.M. followed by a discussion. The presentation, which need not be a formal lecture, usually lasts about an hour and sets the frame for a discussion of an hour or more following a coffee break. Most speakers remain seated. One of the Members acts as chairman of the day and coordinates questions. Another serves as rapporteur.

Location

The Seminar is held in Room 2700 of the Department of State's Foreign Service Institute in the President Tyler Building of Arlington Towers Apartments (State Annex 3), Arlington, Virginia. The Seminar has a special entrance bearing its name just across from, and behind, a small shopping center on Wilson Boulevard. The Seminar is about twenty minutes' drive from the Washington National Airport. The main building of the Department of State is about ten minutes away by automobile or fifteen minutes by the Department's shuttle bus, which departs every thirty minutes in both directions.

The Seminar is unable to arrange transportation for speakers.

FSI Foreign Service Institute

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

August 19, 1964

THE SENIOR SEMINAR IN FOREIGN POLICY
1964-1965 Session
August 12, 1964 - June 11, 1965

PARTICIPANTS

NAME	GRADE	AGENCY	PREVIOUS POSITION
ADAMS, Samuel C., Jr.	FSR-1	AID	Director, US AID, Republic of Mali
AUSLAND, John C.	FSO-3	STATE	Deputy Director, Berlin Task Force
BAILEY, William B.	COLONEL	USAF	Chief, Aero-Space Policy Division, HQ, USAF
BARAN, Saul	GS-15	COMMERCE	Director, Far Eastern Division, Office of International Regional Economics
BAVIS, William S.	FSR-3	STATE	Political Officer, Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs
BLOSSER, Charles B.	FSCR-2	USIA	Policy Officer, Near East and South Asia
BOOCHEVER, Louis C.	FSO-2	STATE	Deputy Director, International Development Organizations Staff, AID
DORROS, Leon G.	FSO-2	STATE	Deputy Director, Office of West African Affairs
FOGARTY, Edelen (Miss)	FSO-2	STATE	Economic Officer, Singapore
FREEDMAN, Selma G. (Miss)	FSO-3	STATE	Public Affairs Advisor, Bureau of European Affairs
GOLDSTEIN, Mortimer D.	GS-16	STATE	Deputy Director, Office of International Finance and Economic Analysis

NAME	GRADE	AGENCY	PREVIOUS POSITION
GUTHRIE, John C.	FSO-2	STATE	Director, Office of Soviet Union Affairs
HARLAN, Robert H.	FSO-2	STATE	Officer in Charge, Economic Affairs, Office of South Asian Affairs
HOOFNAGLE, James E.	FSR-1	USIA	Country Public Affairs Officer, USIS, Bonn
LANDIS, Cary E.	CAPTAIN	USN	Commanding Officer, Destroyer Division 142
LAWLER, Thomas C.	GS-15	CIA	Executive Staff Officer
LOFTUS, Stephen A., Jr.	GS-16	DEFENSE	Deputy Director, Far East Region, International Security Affairs
MINTZES, Joseph	FSO-1	STATE	Labor Advisor, Bureau of European Affairs
MUDD, Robert C.	FSO-3	STATE	Office of Deputy Chief of Naval Operations, Department of Navy
ORWICK, Dana	FSO-2	STATE	Division for Atomic Energy and Aero-Space, Office of Politico-Military Affairs
PARKS, George A.	GS-16	AGRICULTURE	Agricultural Attache, The Hague
~~POPPLE, Paul M.~~	~~FSO-3~~	~~STATE~~	~~Officer in Charge, Republic of China, Office of East Asian Affairs~~
PRATT, Spencer H.	COLONEL	USMC	Commanding Officer, 3rd Regiment, 3rd Division, Fleet Marine Force
RICHARDSON, Hugh F.	COLONEL	USA	Chief, Office of Management Analysis, Department of Army
RENDALL, Edwin C.	GS-15	TREASURY	Deputy Director, Office of Latin America, Office of International Affairs
STULL, Lee T.	FSO-3	STATE	Political Officer, Office of Special Assistant for Multilateral Force Negotiations

FSI Foreign Service Institute
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

August 12, 1964

THE SENIOR SEMINAR IN FOREIGN POLICY
1964-1965 Session
August 12, 1964 - June 11, 1965

Biographic Summaries of Participants

ADAMS, Samuel C., Jr. FSR-1 AID

Born: Texas, April 15, 1920
Education: Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, B.A., 1940; M.A., 1947; University of Chicago, Ph.D. (Sociology), 1952; London School of Economics and Political Science and School of Oriental & African Studies (Special Program Area Studies & Problems of Economic Development), 1957-58; Maxwell School of Public Administration, Syracuse University (Seminar on the Public Executive), 1958.
Assistant to Professor of Sociology 1940-41; Social Research Field Investigator, 1941-42; Social Science Research Fellow, 1946-47, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee; Machinist Trainee, Department of Navy, Norfolk Navy Yard, 1942-44; U.S. Army, 1944-46; Director Marion Cooperative Center, Lincoln School, Marion, Alabama, 1947-50; Social Science Research Assistant (Committee on Education, Training, Research in Race Relations) 1950-51, John Hay Whitney Foundation Opportunity Fellow (Social Science Research), 1951-52, University of Chicago; Mass Education Advisor, U.S. Special Technical Economic Mission to Indo-China, Saigon, 1952-54; Chief Education & Community Development Divisions, U.S. Operations Mission to Cambodia, Phnom Penh, 1954-57; Chief Education Advisor, Office of ICA Representative, Lagos, Nigeria, 1958-60; ICA Representative to the Republic of Mali (Bamako), 1961-62; Director USAID Mission, Republic of Mali (Bamako), 1962-64.
Previous Position: Mission Director, U.S. Agency for International Development, Bamako, Republic of Mali.

AUSLAND, John C. FSO-3 STATE

Born: Wisconsin, July 14, 1920
Education: Princeton, B.A., 1947; Princeton Graduate School, 1947-9

U. S. Army, 1942-45, Captain, European Theatre; Vice Consul, Frankfurt and Berlin, 1949-50; Bureau of German Affairs, State, 1951-54; Advisor, Berlin Foreign Ministers Conference, 1954; Second Secretary, Belgrade, 1954-56; Second Secretary, Canberra, 1956-58; Consul, Adelaide, Australia, 1959-61; Berlin Task Force, 1961-64.
Previous Position: Deputy Director, Berlin Task Force, Bureau of European Affairs.

BAILEY, Willaim B. COLONEL USAF

Born: Massachusetts, August 20, 1918.
Education: Duke University, A.B., 1940; Columbia University School of International Affairs, M.I.A., 1948; National War College, 1962.

Fighter Squadron and Group Commander, U.K., 1942-1945; Chief, Special Military Mission, Sweden, 1945; Senior Assistant Air Attache, Paris, 1948-1952; Chief, United Nations Affairs, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (International Security Affairs), 1952-1955; Chief, Plans and Programs Division, Western Air Defense Force, 1956-1958; Plans and Policy Division, Office of Defense Advisor, U. S. Mission to NATO (USRO), Paris, 1958-1961.
Previous Position: Chief, Aerospace Policy Division, Directorate of Plans, Hq USAF.

BARAN, Saul GS-15 COMMERCE

Born: New Jersey, April 15, 1915.
Education: Long Island University, B.S., 1938; George Washington, 1942-43; American University, 1947-48.

Building Materials Salesman, 1938-41; Preference Rating Division, War Department, 1941-42; Economist, Building Materials Division, Office of Price Administration, 1942-46; Economist, Office of Housing Expeditor, National Housing Agency, 1946-47; Economist, Far Eastern Division, Office of International Trade, Department of Commerce, 1947-52; Assistant Commercial Attache and Acting Commercial Attache, American Embassy, Tokyo, 1952-55; Chief, Japan-Korea Section, Far Eastern Division, Commerce, 1955-61; Advisor, U.S. Delegations to GATT, 1957, 1959 and 1960; Deputy Leader, U.S. Trade Mission to Japan, 1958; Advisor, U. S. Delegation UN Economic Commission for Asia and Far East, 1962; U.S. Representative and Alternate Representative, respectively, to UN Economic Commission for Asia and Far East, Committee on Trade and Industry and Natural Resources, 1963 and 1964.
Previous Position: Director, Far Eastern Division, Office of International Regional Economics, Bureau of International Commerce.

BAVIS, William Stephen FSR-3 STATE

Born: Maryland, March 18, 1924
Education: Loyola College, A. B., 1943; George Washington University, 1946-47; Georgetown University 1947-53.

U. S. Navy, 1943-47, Lieutenant, j.g., overseas; Reports Officer, Department of Navy, 1947-52; Vice Consul, Nairobi, 1953; the State Department, 1958; Attache at Tehran, June 1958; State Department, October 16, 1960.
Previous Position: Political Officer, Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs.

BLOSSER, Charles B. FSCR-2 USIA

Born: Oklahoma, May 1, 1918
Education: University of Missouri, A.B., 1941

Reporter, Borger Herald, Borger, Texas, 1941; editor, Marshall Democrat-News, Marshall, Missouri, 1942; U.S. Army, 1942-45, editor, correspondent, overseas; reporter, managing editor, Gadsden Times, Gadsden, Alabama, 1945-51; writer-editor, Voice of America, U.S. Information Agency, 1951-54; editor, VOA Munich, 1954-57; Information Officer, Attache, USIS Tehran, 1957-61.
Previous Position: Policy Officer, Office of Near East and South Asia.

BOOCHEVER, Louis C. FSO-2 STATE

Born: Georgia, May 22, 1920.
Education: Cornell University 1937-1941, A.B.; Harvard University, Fellow, Littauer Center 1941-1942 and Research and Teaching Fellow 1946-1948; M.P.A. 1947, M.A. (Political Economy and Government) 1948.

U. S. Army, Office of Strategic Services, Research and Analysis, Washington, 1942-1945; Department of State, Research Analyst, Soviet Economy, 1945-1946; Economic Cooperation Administration, International Economist, Fiscal and Trade Policy Division, 1948-1950; Department of State, Economist and International Relations Officer, Office of European Regional Affairs, 1950-1956; Deputy U.S. Representative to the European Coal and Steel Community and Counselor, U. S. Mission to the European Communities, Luxembourg, 1956-1960; Deputy to U.S. Representative to OECD, Paris, 1960-1961; Deputy Director, Office of International Financial and Development Affairs, Washington, 1961; Adviser, U. S. Delegations to GATT, OECD Ministerial and DAC High Level meetings; Alternate Head of Delegation to India and Pakistan Consortia sessions.
Previous Position: Deputy Director, International Development Organizations Staff, Agency for International Development, 1962-1964, Washington.

DORROS, Leon G. FSO-2 STATE

Born: New York, July 28, 1918
Education: University of Paris, Baccalaureate, 1936. P.C.B. 1937; Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques 1938-39; Columbia University 1939-41; Columbia Law School 1946-47; Stanford University graduate work 1955-56.

U.S. Army, 1941-46, 1st Lieutenant, overseas; printer, translator, publishing house 1939-41. Appointed FSO-6, 1947; Third Secretary, Vice Consul, Luxembourg 1947-50; Second Secretary, Vice Consul, Consular Officer, London, 1950-51; Vice Consul, Consular Officer, Algiers, 1951-52; Consul Political Officer, Algiers, 1952-55; Advanced Training in Political Sciences, Stanford University 1955-56; Department of State, Officer-in-Charge Northeast African Affairs, 1956-59; Consul, Deputy Principal Officer, Lagos 1959-60; Counselor of Embassy, Brazzaville, 1961-62.
Previous Position: Deputy Director, Office of West African Affairs, Bureau of African Affairs.

FOGARTY, Edelen M. (Miss) FSO-2 STATE

Born: Washington, D. C., June 26, 1916

Education: University of Miami, 1933-34; Columbus University, LL.B., 1941; George Washington University, 1958-59. Member of the Bar of the District of Columbia.

Department of State, 1939-45, Divisional Assistant; Economic Analyst, American Embassy, Rome, 1945-51; Assistant Attache, American Embassy, Copenhagen, 1951-54, Second Secretary and Consul, Copenhagen, 1954; Second Secretary and Consul, American Embassy, Taipei, 1955-57; International Economist, Department of State, 1957-62; Adviser and Delegate, International Cotton Advisory Committee meetings in London (1958), Washington (1959) and Mexico City (1960).
Previous Position: Chief, Economic Section, American Consulate General, Singapore, 1962-64.

FREEDMAN, Selma G. (Miss) FSO-3 STATE

Born: Washington, D. C., July 28, 1919
Education: George Washington University, Washington, D. C., B.A., 1940; New York University, 1940; Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration 1958-59.

Office of Price Administration 1942-45; Department of State Policy Reports Officer and Economist, Bureau of European Affairs 1945-55; Second Secretary, Economic Officer Rome 1955-58; advanced economic training, Harvard 1958-59; First Secretary, Civil Air and Labor, Ottawa, 1959-61; Department of State, UN Advisor Bureau of Economic Affairs, 1961-62.
Previous Position: Regional Public Affairs Adviser, Bureau of European Affairs, 1962-64.

GOLDSTEIN, Mortimer D. GS-16 STATE

Born: New York, September 30, 1916
Education: College of the City of New York, B.S.S., 1935; Columbia University, 1936-1938; The American University, 1939.

Teacher, 1935-1938; Economist, Railroad Retirement Board, 1938-1942; Economist, War Production Board, 1942-1945; Economist, War Assets Administration, 1945-1946; Economist, Office of the Housing Expediter, 1946-1947; Economist, Department of State, International Finance Division and Office of International Finance and Economic Analysis, 1947-1964. Adviser, various U.S. Delegations to GATT, 1952, 1955-1960; Member, U.S. Delegation to various OEEC and OECD committees and working parties, 1960-1964; Adviser, U.S. Delegation to International Monetary Fund annual meetings, 1961-1963.
Previous Position: Deputy Director, Office of International Finance and Economic Analysis, Department of State.

GUTHRIE, John C. FSO-2 STATE

Born: New York, March 21, 1916
Education: Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts, A.B. 1937; Columbia University, New York, N.Y., M.A. 1939.

Language Instructor, Lingnan University, Hong Kong, 1939-41; Hong Kong Volunteer Defense Corps, 1941-45; Department, March 4, 1946; Attache, Moscow, 1949; Department, 1950; Chief, Political Branch, Division of Research for USSR and Eastern Europe, 1952; First Secretary, Moscow, June, 1955; Counselor of Embassy for Political Affairs, Bangkok, 1957; Deputy Director, Office of Soviet Union Affairs, 1960; Director, 1961.
Previous Position: Director, Office of Soviet Union Affairs.

HARLAN, Robert H. FSO-2 STATE

Born: Illinois, December 27, 1917.
Education: University of Chicago, A.B., 1940, J.D. 1942; Phillips Universitaet, Marburg, Germany, 1938-39.

U.S. Army, 1942-46, 1st Lieutenant; Law firm, Freeport, Illinois, 1946-48; Vice Consul, American Consulate General, Frankfurt, 1948-50; Vice Consul, American Consulate General, Tripoli, 1950-52; Real Estate Officer, U.S. High Commission and American Embassy, Bonn, 1953-55; Office of German Affairs, Department, 1955-59; First Secretary, Economic Section, American Embassy, Karachi, 1959-62
Previous Position: Officer-in-Charge, Economic Affairs, Office of South Asian Affairs, Department.

HOOFNAGLE, James Edward FSR-1 USIA

Born: Virginia, January 6, 1912
Education: University of Virginia, M.A. 1938 (Political Science); attended Marion College, 1932-33.

Teacher, Virginia Public Schools 1933-36; Department of Agriculture, 1938-1944; Lieutenant, U.S. Navy, 1944-1946; Budget Officer, Department of Agriculture, 1946-1950; Deputy Director of Food Distribution, Department of Agriculture, 1950-1952; General Manager, USIS Program in Germany, 1953-55; Deputy Public Affairs Officer, USIS Germany, 1955-1956; Assistant Director for Administration, U.S. Information Agency, 1956-60.
Previous Position: Country Public Affairs Officer, USIS Germany, 1960-1964.

LANDIS, Cary Edward CAPTAIN USN

Born: Florida, May 12, 1920
Education: University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1938 to 1942, A.B. in Political Science; Law School, University of Michigan, 1942 to 1943 - 1946 to 1948, LLB.

First Lieutenant, Gunnery Officer, MACKENZIE (destroyer) 1944 to 1945; Gunnery Officer, Executive Officer, H. J. THOMAS (destroyer) 1945 to 1946; Attorney at Law 1948 to 1950; Executive, Commanding Officer SAUSALITO 1950 to 1951; Commanding Officer, POCHARD (minesweeper) 1952 to 1954; Office of Chief of Naval Operations, Head, NATO, Joint and Special Personnel Desk, Personnel Plans Division, 1954 to 1956; Commanding Officer, THADDEUS PARKER (destroyer escort), 1956 to 1957; Commanding Officer, HYMAN (destroyer), 1957 to 1958; Bureau of Naval Personnel, Head Lieutenant Assignment Desk, 1958 to 1960; Commanding Officer DAHLGREN (Guided Missile Frigate) 1961 to 1963.
Previous Position: Commander Destroyer Division ONE FOUR TWO, 1963 to 1964.

LAWLER, Thomas Comerford GS-15 CIA

Born: Maryland, December 19, 1920.
Education: St. Fidelis Seminary and College, Herman, Pennsylvania, 1934-1940.

Research Assistant, supervisory staff, Celanese Corporation of America, 1940-1942, 1946-1949; U. S. Army, 1942-1946, Captain, overseas; technical writer and editor, The Engineer School, Fort Belvoir, Virginia, 1949-1951; Central Intelligence Agency, 1951-1964.
Previous Position: Executive Staff Officer, Central Intelligence Agency, Washington.

LOFTUS, Stephen A., Jr. GS-16 DEFENSE

Born: Washington, 1923
Education: University of Colorado 1942; Denver University (BA 1949); Princeton University (MPA 1951)

U.S. Army, 1942-46 as enlisted man and later Lieutenant of Infantry in the 10th and 98th Infantry Divisions, culminating with one year of occupation duty in Japan. Intelligence Specialist with the Central Intelligence Agency and the Special Warfare Division of the Department of the Army, 1951-55. Desk Officer for Central Europe, European Region, Office of the Assistant Secretary for International Security Affairs (ISA), Department of Defense, 1956-58. Staff member of the Defense element in the U.S. Delegation to NATO (USRO) 1958-61; Staff Officer in Policy Plans Division of ISA, 1961-62.
Previous Position: Deputy Director, Far East Region, ISA/DOD, 1962-64.

MINTZES, Joseph FSO-1 STATE

Born: Philadelphia, December 4, 1915
Education: Temple University (Philadelphia), 1937-42, B.S.; American University (Washington, D.C.), 1946-49, M.A.; American University, 1951-53, graduate study in economics.

U.S. Army, 1943-46, Technician 3rd Grade, overseas; Labor Economist, Department of Labor, 1946-49; Statistician and Assistant Economic Adviser, Labor Division, Office of Special Representative in Europe (Marshall Plan), Paris, 1949-51; Labor Economist, Economic Cooperation Administration (later MSA), 1951-54; Chief of the Labor Economics Division of the Foreign Operations Administration (later ICA), 1954-57; Labor and Manpower Adviser, U.S. Mission to OEEC/OECD and NATO, Paris, 1957-62.
Previous Position: Labor Adviser, Bureau of European Affairs.

MUDD, Robert Clayton FSO-3 STATE

Born: Missouri, July 29, 1918
Education: St. Louis University, St. Louis, Missouri, 1935-1939, A.B. in philosophy.

Sales and sales promotion, Westinghouse Electric Company, St. Louis, Missouri, 1939-1942; Coast Guard Academy, 1942; expediter, Westinghouse Electric Company, Jersey City, New Jersey, 1942-1944; U.S. Army 1945-1947, lieutenant, overseas service; Allied Military Government, Free Territory of Trieste, 1947-1948; intelligence research specialist, State Department 1948-1955; Second Secretary, Rome, Political Officer, 1956-1960; Officer-in-Charge, Yugoslav Affairs, Bureau of European Affairs, 1960-1962.
Previous Position: Assistant Head for Political Matters, National Policy Section, Office of the Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (State-Defense).

ORWICK, Dana B. FSO-2 STATE

Born: Ohio, April 2, 1918
Education: Miami University (Ohio), A.B. 1940; National Institute of Public Affairs, 1940-41; American University, 1940-42.

U.S. Coast Guard, Lieutenant, 1942-46; Intern, Social Security Board, 1940-41; Reports Analyst, Office of War Information, 1941-42; Assistant Director, Division of Personnel Management, UNRRA, 1946-47; Administrative Analyst, Department of State, December 1947; Management Analyst, January 1949; Programs Survey Staff, Office of Assistant Secretary of State for Administration,

April 1953; Staff Member, Secretary of State's Public Committee on Personnel, February, 1954; Special Assistant to Deputy Under Secretary of State for Administration, April 1955; First Secretary and Consul, Paris (USRO), November 1955; language training, June 1957; Foreign Affairs Officer, Department of State, June 1960 - May 1963.
Previous Position: Director of Atomic Energy and Outer Space Group, Office of Politico-Military Affairs.

OSBORN, David Lawrence FSO-1 STATE

Born: Indiana, January 11, 1921
Education: Southwestern University, B.A. 1940; Harvard University, M.A. 1947.

U.S. Navy, 1942-46, Lieutenant; Department of State, June 1947; Japanese Language Area Study, Harvard University, June 1947; Language Officer, Tokyo, July 1, 1948; Vice Consul, Taipei, February 1949; Principal Officer, Sapporo, February 1951; Consul, Kobe, June 1953; International Relations Officer, State Department, March 1954; Officer in Charge of Political Affairs, Office of Chinese Affairs, March 1955; Conference Officer, Advisor to Special Representative for Talks with the Chinese Communists, Geneva, 1956; International Relations Officer, Department of State, March 1957; Counselor for Political Affairs, Taipei, January, 1958; First Secretary, Tokyo, July 1961.
Previous Position: Political Officer, American Embassy, Tokyo.

PARKS, George A. GS-16 AGRICULTURE

Born: Texas, March 16, 1915
Education: Cameron Junior College, Lawton, Oklahoma 1933-1935; Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma 1935-1937, B.S. in Agricultural Economics.

Statistician/Economist, Agricultural Adjustment Administration, U.S.D.A., Stillwater, Oklahoma 1937-1939; Little Rock, Arkansas 1939-February 1942; Washington, D. C. 1942; U.S. Navy 1943-1945 with principal service as navigator, Pacific area; Commodity Stabilization Service, U.S.D.A., Washington, D.C. 1946-1956, various positions as Economist/Statistician with last position being Deputy-Director, Fats and Oils Division; Foreign Agricultural Service, U.S.D.A., Director, Fats and Oils Division, Washington, D. C. 1956-1958; Deputy Assistant Administrator for Market Development, Washington, D. C. 1958-1960.
Previous Position: Agricultural Attache, American Embassy, The Hague, Netherlands, 1960-1964.

PRATT, Spencer H. COLONEL USMC

Born: Ohio, June 25, 1916

Education: Hillsdale College, A.B., 1939; 5th Reserve Officers' Class, 1941; Command and Staff School, Marine Corps Schools 1944; Armed Forces Staff College, 1955; Senior School, Marine Corps Schools, 1957.

Platoon Leader, 1st Marine Division, 1941; Company Commander, 2d Marine Parachute Battalion 1942-1944; Staff, U.S. Army Forces, Pacific, 1945; Assistant G-3, 6th Marine Division, 1946; Coast and Landing Beach Desk, Office of Naval Intelligence, 1947-1949, Assistant G-3 (Operation), Fleet Marine Force, Pacific 1950-1951; Commanding Officer, 3rd Battalion, 1st Marines, 1951-1952; Amphibious Plans Officer, Commander-in-Chief, Atlantic, 1953-1955; Instructor, Senior School, Marine Corps Schools, 1955-1958; Staff Officer, Training Division, Allied Forces, Southern Europe, 1958-1960; Deputy Director and Director, 5th Marine Corps Reserve and Recruitment District 1961.

Previous Position: Commanding Officer, 3rd Marine Regiment, 3rd Marine Division, 1962-1963.

RICHARDSON, Hugh Forrest COLONEL USA

Born: South Carolina, May 17, 1921.

Education: The Citadel, BS (Business Administration), 1938-42; Basic Course, Infantry School, 1942; Harvard University, Graduate School of Business Administration, MBA, 1947-1948; Advanced Course Infantry School, 1951-52; Command and General Staff College, USA, 1953-54; Industrial College of the Armed Forces, 1957-58.

Second Lieutenant, Infantry, Platoon Leader, 92d Infantry Division, 1942; 1st Lieutenant, Platoon Leader and Company Commander, 30th Infantry Division, 1942-43; Captain-Major, Assistant G-1, Hq Third U.S. Army, 1943-45, England, France, Luxembourg, Belgium, Germany, Czechoslovakia and Austria; Assistant G-3, 5th Infantry Division, 1946; Assistant G-1, Hq Second U.S. Army, 1946-47; Major-Lieutenant Colonel, Operations Staff Officer, Office, Comptroller of the Army, Department of the Army, 1948-51; Aide to the President at the White House, 1950; Regimental Executive and Battalion Commander, 40th Infantry Division, 1952-53, Korea; Instructor, Army Supply Management Course, Army Logistics Management Center, 1954-57; Lt Colonel-Colonel, Chief of Logistics, Hq Antilles Command, Puerto Rico, 1958-60; Commander, 1st Battle Group, 20th Infantry and Fort Kobbe, Canal Zone, 1960-61; Chief, Review and Analysis Group, Office of Management Analysis, Office of Deputy Chief of Staff for Logistics, Department of the Army, 1961-62.

Previous Position: Chief, Office of Management Analysis and Program Director of Army Cost Reduction Program, Office of Deputy Chief of Staff for Logistics, Department of the Army, 1962-64.

RENDALL, Edwin C. GS-15 TREASURY

Born: Iowa, August 31, 1917.
Education: Williams College, B.A., 1939; University of Chicago, 1939-40; Harvard University 1951-52.

Wage Hour Division, Labor Department, 1941; Office of Price Administration, 1942-43; U.S.Army 1943-46; State Department 1946; Vice Consul, Hanoi, 1947-48; Vice Consul, Johannesburg, 1948-49; Vice Consul, Marseilles, 1949-51; Assistant Labor Advisor, Bureau of European Affairs, Department, 1952-54; Second Secretary, Bern, 1954-56; Assistant Labor Attache, London, 1956-58; International Economist, Bureau of Economic Affairs, 1959-61; on assignment to Treasury Department, 1961-62.
Previous Position: Deputy Director, Office of Latin America, Office of International Affairs.

STULL, Lee T. FSO-3 STATE

Born: Pennsylvania, September 21, 1923.
Education: Princeton University, AB 1948, grad. 1955-56

Army Air Force, 1942-45; Department of State 1949-50; resident officer, Bavaria, 1950-52; Political Officer, Santo Domingo, 1952-53; Economic Officer, Stuttgart, 1953-55; Department of State (international conferences, Polish language training), 1956-58; Economic/Political Officer, Warsaw, 1958-62; Political Officer, Berlin, 1962-63; Department of State (Vice Presidential Aide, etc., 1963-64).
Previous Position: Consultant, Policy Planning Council. Political Officer in Office for Multilateral Force Negotiations.

File Morehouse College

SA
PA
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MJ - file

July 1, 1965

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
President
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mays:

I shall be very happy to attend the conference at Morehouse College on August 20-21 on Cooperative Programs among universities and predominantly Negro colleges. Thank you for inviting me.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Office of the President

1867-1967

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA ▪ 30314

June 30, 1965

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Morehouse College, in cooperation with the United States Office of Education and the American Council on Education, is planning to hold a two-day working conference on Cooperative Programs among universities and predominantly Negro colleges, later this summer. The dates will be August 20 and 21. I shall be very pleased if you can find it possible to participate in this conference.

We expect to limit attendance to between 30 and 35 persons who have operational responsibility for cooperative programs now in being, or who represent agencies with a direct interest in such programs. The object of the Conference will be to provide an opportunity for these persons to share their experiences, discuss their problems, and plan for the future. It is hoped that the participants will agree to establish some system for the regular exchange of information and data on cooperative programs.

Among other prospective benefits, the record of the Conference should prove useful to the staff of the office of Education who will be administering Title III (Strengthening Developing Institutions) of the Higher Education Act of 1965, if and when that Act becomes law.

The proposed schedule for the Conference calls for working sessions during the morning and afternoon of Friday, August 20 and during the morning of Saturday, August 21, with a brief summation session in the early afternoon of August 21. Topics listed for discussion at these working sessions include the history and administrative organization of representative cooperative programs, specific program activities and dimensions, and problems and plans for the future.

More detailed information on the Conference is contained in the proposal that has been submitted to the Office of Education, and a copy of this proposal will be sent to you in the near future by Dr. Robert Brisbane, Jr., Professor of Political Science at Morehouse, who is serving as Conference Director.

We are asking the persons from institutions now engaged in cooperative programs to prepare written summaries of their experiences and activities to date, with any evaluative comments they may wish to make. Dr. Brisbane will provide more particulars on the desired content of these summaries.

Persons attending the Conference from outside Atlanta should plan to arrive in the city by the evening of Thursday, August 19th. Accommodations will be provided at the College or in a local hotel, according to the individual's wish. A description of these accommodations and a return postcard on which you can state your preference will be sent as soon as we hear that you are able to attend.

Although formal approval of a Conference proposal has not yet been obtained, we have been given strong assurance that it is acceptable. The proposal calls for a participant stipend of $50 per day, a total of $100 for the Conference, plus reimbursement for travel expense and three days of per diem allowance at the government rate of $16 per day.

If there should be any changes in these conditions, Dr. Brisbane will inform you immediately. In the meantime, I hope very much that you can let us know that you are planning to attend the Conference.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin E. Mays
President

file
Morehouse College

August 5, 1965

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
President
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mays:

Enclosed is a copy of Mr. Dunbar's manuscript of his talk to the Catholics at Hilton Inn last week as you requested.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosure - 1.

file

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

MJ

August 5, 1965

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

We are very pleased to know that you will be able to attend our Conference here at Morehouse College, August 20-21, 1965.

I enclose a copy of our Conference project which should provide you with a fuller description of the purposes and subject of the Conference as well as the schedule of the sessions.

All meals will be served by the College in Mays Hall, 251 Lee Street, S.W. We will meet as a single group (30-35 participants) in the Sadie Mays Lounge in Mays Hall.

Sincerely yours,

Robert H. Brisbane

Robert H. Brisbane
Director, Conference on Cooperative Programs

RHB:s

Project Title:	A working conference on cooperative programs among universities and predominantly Negro colleges
Submitted by:	Morehouse College, 223 Chestnut Street, S.W. Atlanta, Georgia 30314
Initiated by:	Robert H. Brisbane, Jr. Professor of Political Science. Tel: 404 521 0412
Transmitted by:	Benjamin E. Mays, President
Staff Liaison:	Francis A.J. Ianni, Director, Division of Educational Research, Office of Education
Date Transmitted:	June 30,1965

1. Abstract

(a) Objectives -- the principal aim of the conference is to provide an opportunity for the universities and predominantly Negro colleges, which have been engaged in cooperative programs during the past year, to share their experiences, discuss their problems, and plan for the future. Specific objectives are to (1) provide factual information on the history, administrative organization, and operational aspects of existing programs, (2) follow up the working conference on post-baccalaureate education that was held under the auspices of the Office of Education at Brown University in August, 1964, and (3) formulate minimum standard operating procedures for effective development of cooperative programs. Conference participants will also be concerned to develop ways of generating data for the evaluation of such programs, to establish a system for the regular exchange of information and data among the participating institutions, educational agencies and private foundations, and to expedite the carrying out of related research.

(b) Procedures -- the above listed objectives will be achieved by bringing together at Morehouse College for a two-day working conference on or about August 20, 1965, between 30 and 35 persons who have been directly involved in cooperative programs during the past year or who are associated with organizations or agencies with an interest in such programs. The Conference will be so structured as to permit the maximum possible exchange of information and ideas on numerous aspects of cooperative programs, including, but not necessarily limited to, history and administrative organization, working dimensions, problems, and plans for the future. In each of these areas there will be a concern with methods of research and evaluation. A transcript will be made of the preceedings and edited for distribution to all participants. Participants from schools involved in cooperative programs will be asked to provide accounts of their experience to date. They will also be asked to select from themselves a small coordinating committee to carry on continuing inter-institutional activities and communication related to cooperative programs, with particular concern to the mounting and evaluation of such programs, and related research.

2. Description of Activity

Background

The nation's academic community has not been immune to the crisis-producing implications of the rapid and dramatic social changes of the present era, among which may be listed the cold war between East and West, the effects of automation and professionalization on labor force composition and occupational needs, and the Negro protest backed by the Supreme Court decision of 1954 and the increasing removal of legal barriers to equal opportunity. On the one hand, the larger and stronger institutions of higher learning have, in the shift of loyalties and investments from institution and teaching to discipline and research, tended to lose their human scale and traditional humanistic concerns. On the other hand, many of the smaller schools, and especially the predominantly Negro institutions as a result of the desegregation process, have suddenly -- as Dr. Wesley A. Hotchkiss recently put it --"got their feet in the door of the educational establishment." Increasingly these smaller colleges are being measured by universal norms. Their students, faculties, and administrators increasingly compete in integrated worlds of study, work, and living. Indeed for many of the smaller predominantly Negro colleges, a new function has been added to their traditional task of "taking the student where he is" and providing him with some kind of higher education --the responsibility for motivating and adequately preparing an increasing number of their students for study, work, and life in an integrated world. Moreover, given the pace and size of increases in the demand for higher education in America, the basic conclusion in the recently published McGrath report on predominantly Negro institutions of higher learning was that such institutions should be preserved and strengthened.

It is at this point that the cooperative programs come into existence as a result of mutual concerns: if the smaller and less affluent institutions can gain from having access to the administrative, teaching and research resources of the stronger institutions, the latter can, through involvement in such working relationships, recall to mind their more ancient and traditional functions and regain their humanistic commitment. Correlatively, in the course of working relationships, both types of institutions necessarily become involved in a process of agonizing reappraisal and face the necessity of acknowledging the defects of their qualities as well as the qualities of their defects.

In the last few years, a number of institutions have recognized the problem and the challenge and have developed a variety of working relationships. These efforts have received some financial support from both government and private sources. There appears a possibility that the government commitment will soon be substantially enlarged, assuming Congress passes the proposed Higher Education Act of 1965. This bill is designed to"strengthen the education resources of our colleges and universities and to provide financial assistance for students in post-secondary and higher education". Title III of that bill aims directly at "strengthening developing institutions."

Proposal

Experience to date, limited though it is, indicates that cooperative programs represent a useful method for dealing with the educational problems described above. These programs are based on objectives of mutual concern and are oriented to the development of invigorating feedbacks throughout the institutions involved. The opportunity to compare factual descriptions of the existing programs, to evaluate them after a year's practical experience, and to hear their future possibilities discussed would have high practical import not only for those which might be established in the future, but for those already in operation.

To this end, there is hereby proposed a two-day working conference for approximately 30 to 35 participants, including representatives of institutions, now engaged in cooperative programs, as well as representatives of relevant government and private educational agencies and foundations. The conference will be concerned with an innovation of great significance among the so-called developing institutions that are predominantly Negro. There will be working sessions in the specific areas Friday morning and afternoon and Saturday morning, with a summation session early Saturday afternoon. Representatives of institutions that have cooperative programs in operation will be asked to prepare brief statements describing the history, administrative organization, and substantive aspects of their working relationships.

3. Related Literature

Among the more important publications dealing with the subject at hand that have appeared during the past year are:

Earl J. McGrath, The Predominantly Negro Colleges and Universities in Transition, New York, the Institute of Higher Education, 1965

Expanding Opportunities, the Negro and Higher Education, edited by Lawrence E. Dennis and Theodore J. Marchese, American Council on Education, especially Volume I, No. 3 and Volume II, No. 3 and No. 4.

Calon N. Drewry and Gurwood Long, University Assistance to Developing Institutions, Institute of Higher Education, Athens, Georgia, 1965

Harold W. Pfautz and Paul D. Davis, A Working Conference on Post-Baccalaureate Education, Providence, Rhode Island, Brown University

Wesley A. Hotchkiss, "Does Integration Threaten the Negro College?" United Church of Christ Council for Higher Education Journal, Vol. 3 No. 7 April, 1965

Carnegie Corporation of New York Quarterly, "Strengthening the American Academic Community." Volume XIII, No. 1 January, 1965

Institute Of Human Relations, The University of Wisconsin, Blueprint for Action by Universities for Achieving Integration in Education, 1964

4. Objectives

The major objectives of the conference will be:

A. To develop guidelines that will enable major colleges and universities to increase the opportunities for and effectiveness of cooperative programs with the smaller institutions. This will be accomplished through a description and evaluative analysis of the histories and range of administrative arrangements of cooperative programs; a description and evaluation of the concrete dimensions of the existing programs; a detailed consideration of the problems encountered, the means by which these problems have been resolved, and a discussion of the future of cooperative programs in the light of past empirical experience.

B. To develop ways for generating data for the evaluation of such programs and to establish a system for the regular exchange of information and data among the participating institutions. In relation to the former it might be useful to develop a standard reporting form dealing with program developments; in the latter instance, a cooperative relationship might be worked out with the American Council on Education which publishes Expanding Opportunities, a clearing house report on the Negro and higher education.

C. To provide a follow-up for the Conference on Post-Baccalaureate Education that was held at Brown University in August, 1964.

Among the questions with which the Conference session can be expected to deal are:

I. Session on History and Administrative Organization of Cooperative Programs.

--What, in fact, have been the original motives, nature of preliminary talks, and personnel involved in the beginning phases?

--What persons, in terms of their official roles and professional competences, have become involved in the administration of cooperative programs?

--What has been the degree of commitment on the part of the institutions involved?

--What has been the degree of involvement of personnel and resources of the participating institutions?

--Given the range of original motivations, administrative arrangements, commitments, and involvements, is there any consensus concerning which are most productive?

--From the point of view of strategy, is it more useful to start with a small program and increase the involvement, or to start with a broad and inclusive concept of cooperation?

--To what extent should the administration of cooperative programs involve a separate staff?

II. Session on Working Dimensions of Cooperative Programs.

--What kinds of activities have the working relationship of such programs involved?

--Could there be any priorities concerning the concrete dimensions: for example, student, faculty, administrative exchanges; developmental and public relations operations; alumni relations; physical plant and academic planning; recruitment and admissions?

--Is there any consensus on the minimum productive time for faculty, student and administrative exchanges?

--How much of the cooperative working relationships involve primarily research activities?

--What have been the results to date of the post -baccalaureate educational programs?

III. Session on Problems and Plans for the Future.

--How do such cooperative programs relate to the local and national communities and to the Negro protest movement?

--What types of resistance have been encountered among faculties, students, alumni, administration, and others?

--To what extent is the "style" of such programs important in their success?

--Are there any criteria which would suggest the kinds of colleges that present the best probabilities for successful cooperative working relationships?

--To what extent have the private foundations and government agencies understood and supported such cooperative programs?

--Is there some logical division of function between the private foundations and the federal government in their support of such programs?

--Given the trend for college professors to shift their loyalties from the local institution and teaching to research and the discipline, what approaches have been successful in persuading faculty members to volunteer for participation in cooperative programs?

--In connection with student, faculty and administrative exchanges, what mechanisms have been employed to overcome differentials in tuition and salary when they exist?

--Should an attempt be made to establish a central organization for the administration and funding of cooperative programs, or should they continue to be operated on an individual basis?

--What, in fact, are the costs involved in such programs -- financial, psychological, administrative?

5. Procedures

All of the above questions, and such others as may be proposed in the interim, will be considered in as systematic a way as possible at the conference. The conference will be designed for approximately 30 to 35 persons, each of whom will be expected to participate in every session. Each session will be concerned to discuss substantive issues and related research hypotheses and methods. Each participant from an involved institution will be asked to prepare a brief descriptive statement covering the history, administrative organization, and working dimensions of the program with which he is familiar.

The following tentative schedule is suggested:

FRIDAY

9:00 - 10:00 a.m. ..... Registration and orientation

10:00 - 12 noon ..... Working session on history and administrative organization

12:15 -1:15 p.m. ..... Lunch

1:30 -3:00 p.m. ..... Session on the concrete activities involved in cooperative programs

3:00 - 3:30 p.m. ..... Refreshment break

3:30 - 5:00 p.m. ..... Working session on concrete dimensions of the program

6:00 p.m. ..... Dinner

SATURDAY

9:30 - 11:30 a.m. ..... Working session on problems and plans for the future

12:00 noon - 2:00 p.m. ..... Lunch and summation session

Among the invited participants will be several college presidents, representatives of eight of the existing cooperative and exchange programs, representatives of private and government agencies with a direct interest in the subject of the conference, and scholars in fields directly relevant to the subject of the conference, such sociology, psychology, and educational tests and measurements.

8. Personnel

The conference director is Dr. Robert H. Brisbane, Jr.

Among those who will be invited to participate:

Tougaloo College - Brown University

√ President George A. Owens, Tougaloo

President Barnaby C. Keeney, Brown

√ Dr. Harold W. Pfautz, Professor of Sociology at Brown and Director of the Brown-Tougaloo Cooperative Program

Dr. Robert T.Beyer, Professor of Physics, Brown

√ Mr. Paul D. Davis, Development Office, Brown

Hampton Institute -Cornell University

President James H. Holland, Hampton

√ Dr. John Summerskill, Vice President for Student Affairs, Cornell

√ Dr. Hugh Gloster, Dean, Hampton

Texas Southern University - North Carolina College - A & T College of North Carolina- University of Wisconsin

√ President Samuel M. Nabrit, Texas Southern

√ Prof. Cecil Patterson, Director, the Summer School, North Carolina

Dr. S. A. Williams, Director of Extended Service, North Carolina A&T

√ Mr. Donald McNeil, Special Assistant to the President,Wisconsin

√ Dr. Lawrence Howard, Director, Institute of Human Relations,Wisconsin

Tuskegee Institute - University of Michigan

√ Dr. Russell Brown, Vice President and Dean of Graduate Studies,Tuskegee

Dr. Roger Heyns,Vice President for Academic Affairs, Michigan

Dr.Richard Wasserstrom, Dean, Tuskegee

Stillman College - University of Indiana

√ Dr. Charles Turner, Executive Vice President, Stillman

Dr. John W. Synder, Associate Dean, College of Arts and Sciences, Indiana

Knoxville College-University of Tennessee

√ President James A. Colston, Knoxville

√ Dr. Herman A. Spivey, Vice President for Academic Administration, Tenn.

Florida A & M University -Florida State University

President George W. Gore, Jr., A & M

Dr. Charles M. Grigg, Professor of Sociology, Florida State

Dr. Vincent Thursby, Professor of Government, Florida State

Winston-Salem State College-Southern Illinois University

Dr. Lafayette Parker, Dean of Instruction, Winston-Salem

Dean Elmer T.Clark, College of Education, Southern Illinois

U.S. Office of Education

Dr. Francis A.J.Ianni, Director, Division of Educational Research

Mr. Henry Loomis, Deputy Commissioner

√ Dr. Broadus N. Butler

Dr. John Blue

Dr. Peter Muirhead, Chief, Division of Higher Education

Mr. Richard G. Axt, Acting Deputy Associate Commissioner

Others

√ Dr. Theodore Marchese, American Council on Education, Washington, D.C.

Dr. Gustave Arlt, Association of Graduate Schools in the United States, Washington, D.C.

√ Dr. Herman Branson, Howard University

√ President Benjamin E. Mays, Morehouse College

√ Dr. Samuel Proctor, Associate General Secretary for Communications, National Council of Churches

√ Dr. Hans Rosenhaupt, Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, Princeton, New Jersey

Dr. Winfred L. Godwin, Director, Southern Regional Education Board, Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Donald C. Agnew, Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. John Griffin, Southern Education Foundation, Atlanta, Georgia

PA ✓
SA ✓
MJ-file

A WORKING CONFERENCE ON COOPERATIVE PROGRAMS AMONG UNIVERSITIES AND PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO COLLEGES

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

AUGUST 20 – 21, 1965

DR. ROBERT H. BRISBANE, DIRECTOR

PROGRAM

Friday, August 20

8 – 8:45	Breakfast
9 – 9:45	Registration
9:45 – 10:00	Greetings from President Benjamin E. Mays
	Orientation – Robert H. Brisbane Director
10:00 – 12 noon	Working Session on History and Administrative Organization
	Dr. Harold W. Pfautz, Brown University, Moderator
	Reports from representatives of:
	Texas Southern University
	North Carolina College
	A & T College of North Carolina
	University of Wisconsin
	University of Michigan
	Tuskegee Institute
12:15 – 1:15	Lunch

1:30 – 3:00	Session on the Concrete Activities Involved in Cooperative Programs President George A. Owens, Tougaloo College, Moderator Reports from representatives of: Tougaloo College Brown University Hampton Institute Cornell University
3 – 3:30	Refreshment Break
3:30 – 5:00 p.m.	Working Session on the Concrete Dimensions of the Program Dr. William J. Schlatter, University of Michigan, Moderator Reports from representatives of: Stillman College University of Indiana Knoxville College University of Tennessee
6 p.m.	Dinner

Saturday, August 21

8 – 8:45 a.m.	Breakfast
9 – 10	Working Session on Problems and Plans for the Future
	Dr. Hugh Gloster, Hampton Institute, Moderator
	Reports from representatives of:
	Florida A. & M. University
	Florida State University
10 – 10:15	Coffee Break
10:15 – 11:15	Reports from representatives of:
	Winston-Salem State College
	Southern Illinois University
12 noon – 2 p.m.	Lunch
	Summation Session, President James A. Colston, Knoxville College, Presiding

CONFERENCE ON COOPERATIVE PROGRAMS

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

AUGUST 20-21, 1965

Dr. Donald Agnew
Southern Association of Colleges and Schools
795 Peachtree Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Archie Ayers
U.S. Office of Education
Washington, D.C.

Dr. Robert T. Beyer
Professor of Physics
Brown University
Providence, R.I.

Dr. John Blue
U.S. Office of Education
Washington, D.C.

Dr. Herman Branson
Howard University
Washington, D.C.

Dr. Russell Brown
Vice President and Dean of Graduate Studies
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dr. Broadus N. Butler
U.S. Office of Education
Washington, D.C.

Dean Elmer J. Clark
Southern Illinois University
Carbondale, Illinois

President James A. Colston
Knoxville College
Knoxville, Tennessee

Mr. Paul D. Davis
Development Office
Brown University
Providence, R.I.

Dr. J. Curtis Dixon
National Representative
Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Galen Drewry
Director, Institute of Higher Learning
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Sam Duncan, President
Livingstone College
Salisbury, North Carolina

Dr. Donald Gray
Department of English
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana

Dr. Hugh Gloster
Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia

Mr. Ted Hammock
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Mr. Wesley Harris
Wilberforce University
Wilberforce, Ohio

Dr. Tom Henderson, President
Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

Dr. Lawrence Howard
Institute of Human Relations
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

President Barnaby C. Keeney
Brown University
Providence, R.I.

Dean Thomas R. Lewis
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Dr. Herman Long, President
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

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Mr. Donald McNeil
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dr. Paul Messier
U.S. Office of Education
Washington, D.C.

Dr. James Miller
Southern Regional Education Board
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Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. John Monro
Harvard College
Cambridge, Massachusetts

President Samuel M. Nabrit
Texas Southern University
Houston, Texas

President George A. Owens
Tougaloo College
Jackson, Mississippi

Mr. Robert Owens, III
Southern University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dr. Lafayette Parker
Dean of Instruction
Winston-Salem College
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Prof. Cecil Patterson
Director, The Summer School
North Carolina College
Durham, North Carolina

Dr. Benjamin Perry
Florida A. and M. University
Tallahassee, Florida

Dr. Harold W. Pfautz
Professor of Sociology at Brown and
Director of the Brown-Tougaloo
Cooperative Program
Brown University
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Dr. Samuel Proctor
Associate General Secretary for
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National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dr. James F. Rogers
U.S. Office of Education
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Dr. Hans Rosenhaupt
Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship
Foundation
Princeton, New Jersey

Dr. William J. Schlatter
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Dr. Herman Spivey
Vice President for Academic Administration
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dr. John Summerskill
Professor of Administration
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

Dr. Charles Turner
Executive Vice President
Stillman College
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

Dr. Arnold Zurcher
Alfred P. Sloan Foundation
630 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

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"An Achievement in Cooperation"

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

NORTH CAROLINA COLLEGE AT DURHAM
Durham, North Carolina

CONCRETE ACTIVITIES INVOLVED IN THE WISCONSIN EXCHANGE PROGRAM

1. Visits by 11 UW Faculty Members to discuss various phases of the Program

2. Visit by 3 NCC Faculty Members to UW (Madison) to participate in Project Workshop

3. Participation by one NCC Faculty Member in Articulated Instructional Media Conference at UW (Madison)

4. One short term teacher exchange (UW--Milwaukee)

5. One cooperative research project (Project English Sequence)

6. Five NCC Faculty Members Engaging in Long-term Study toward terminal degree

CONCRETE ACTIVITIES PERIPHRAL TO OR GROWING OUT OF THE EXCHANGE PROGRAM

1. Project Understanding (Visit of 30 students from various UW campuses to NCC during Easter vacation, 1965)

2. Use of UW Placement Service to recruit Faculty Members for NCC

3. Proposed Student Exchange with UW Marinette Center

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
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JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
523-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

January 6, 1968

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: John Morris

RE: A proposal for SRC

Pursuant to our recent conversation and my tape recorded remarks, attached is an initial written draft of what I propose to SRC for its consideration as a special program.

I intend to send copies of this for purposes of their reactions to: Harold Fleming, Ken Clark, Les Dunbar, Bayard Rustin, Tom Pettigrew and possibly one or two other friends whose opinions I would value.

If there are persons you would like to suggest I submit this to, let me know. If it were not inappropriate I'd send it on my own to members of the SRC Executive Committee.

Here in the office I'll share it with Vernon, Weldon, Marvin, Pat, Emory and Jim Wood and John Lewis.

Your reactions will be welcomed.

file

AN SRC PROGRAM FOR THE CONSIDERATION AND ADVOCACY OF NATIONAL GOALS

An Initial Draft from: John Morris
January 6, 1968

Background Considerations

1. There has been, until recently, a national liberal consensus vis-a-vis the kind of society we were seeking in the United States: i. e., a racially integrated pattern of community life without any restrictions imposed by law or custom concerning the mobility of persons insofar as race. With the Court decisions of the early fifties this ideal moved still further to include a more dynamic expectation and hope for an actually integrated society.

2. The SRC, as I see it, has functioned heretofore in a context in which it was not ordinarily necessary for it to assume any role of advocacy within the liberal community of the country. Rather, it enjoyed enormous prestige as the, or one of the, Southern articulations of the national liberal consensus. Goals were assumed for the most part, albeit these varied and extended themselves as relative success characterized the Civil Rights Movement of the decade of 1955-1965.

3. Selma was both the climax of "movement" days as well as something of an afterthought appendage. The decline of consensus as to goals for the country within the liberal community had begun with the first fracture concerning Vietnam and the joining of the peace and civil rights movements. Watts later that year made visible an emerging and escalating mood within part of the black community and gave weak liberals their excuse for retiring. The Meredith March of June, 1966, became the ceremonial embodiment for the new dichotomy as SCLC and SNCC staff clashed in their respective cries of "Freedom Now" and "Black Power".

The Current Situation As Concerns Goals

1. With the vital energy of the liberal community absorbed in the Vietnam conflict, much dissipation of concern going into redefining and debating the merits of Black Power, the often-nihilistic orientation of the New Left and the dubious affinity between ultra-Black Militants and white masochists - there is now no real or viable consensus in the country's liberal community as concerning ultimate goals or commitments racially speaking.

2. "Integration" as a goal for American society is now out in many circles of the liberal community, especially so in the North or non-Southern parts of the country. To the extent that this is, in part, a reaction against paternalistic white liberalism, it is understandable - but the pendulum now hangs hard over against the ideal of an integrated society within the radical sector of the liberal community.

3. Though never termed "separate-but-equal", such is the import of the stated ideology (to the extent there is a framework of values) of many liberals and radicals today. Eschewing integration, they advocate an apartheid-type society, even at times validating the slogans of the right such as "separate development".

4. The arrival of both right-wing and left-wing exponents at something of the same conclusion insofar as integration is concerned suggests, without remedial efforts, another long night in American history and our race relations, marked by a stand-off and increased alienation - with even more frightening potential consequences in terms of the power of suppression and who ultimately holds this.

On Balance And An Hypothesis

Whatever can be said about the pace or proportion of integration in American society, a casual visitor from afar would notice a greater degree now as compared with ten years ago. Whether adequate is another question, but it's at least been enough to potentially seduce some liberals into thinking the issue is settled. I suggest that the manifestations of progress we do see are to be correlated, not only with legislative gains, but with the era now passing when integration was a part of the syndrome of national goals for the liberal community. With this consensus now in the process of evaporating it will show itself later in a recession of outward signs of integration, except where economic advancement is involved. For instance, what is the future of efforts to promote actually integrated housing in a climate where more value is attached to identification with one's racial group?

The hypothesis is that the views and opinions of leadership people today can become the norm for greater numbers of citizens tomorrow, so that the collapse of consensus vis-a-vis integration within the liberal community will shortly merge, and is merging, with the already-racist tone of our society to produce a new and undesireable national standard - i.e., separate-but-equal, at best. Currently, but fast waning, there is a national standard in terms of what is respectable, or what it is assumed the "government" sanctions, that includes integration. The foundations for a continuance or strengthening of this standard are not now in evidence in the liberal community.

Conclusion: A Proposal For A New SRC Thrust

It is proposed that SRC should launch an "exploratory program" or "study" in pursuit of what our national goals are or should be as a country in terms of integration and related subjects. This should be aimed in a low-key fashion at leadership persons in the following fields: academic, press, government, religious and civic groups, and human relations organizations themselves. The format would be chiefly the printed word in terms of a series of publications, and these mostly by way of the record of conversations between selected and imminent persons - as at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions at Santa Barbara. Some topics would be covered in single treatises, as commissioned by the SRC. Distribution would be carefully planned and encouraged among those persons in leadership roles now having profound effect on the thought of the country. In some instances, as after a high-level conference of well-known public figures, more wide-spread press attention might be sought.

As For Instance: Some Topics -

Pertinent subject matter for either major "conversations" or occasional papers might include and come under the following headings:

Separatism vs. Integration: A Collision in National Goals

Manifestations of Racism: Black and White

The Maintenance of Ethnic Identity And the Pursuit of An Open Society

White Masochism: A Distortion of Guilt

Black Initiatives for "Reverse" Integration

The New Forms of White Paternalism

The New Vocabulary in Race: Its Merits & Ambiguities

Black Studies and Academic Integrity

Integration in the United States: Blender or Melting Pot?

Incentives for An Integrated Society

Such are simply some of the topics I see as either central or related to the study of national goals. Obviously these are only starters, but, then, various combinations and additions of subject matter would have to evolve from a process including the thoughtful attention of some advisory committee or group of consultants.

Procedure and Process

1. Almost before anything further were finalized, SRC should call together a small group of persons believed to share these general concerns for the purpose of evaluating the need and scope of such a program. If it were subsequently undertaken, said persons might constitute some sort of advisory committee.

2. In lieu of or in addition to the above procedure, an SRC staff person might call upon selected authorities for their reaction to a proposal and its need - this being done either in person, by correspondence or both.

3. Because of its seminal nature, it would seem that the first conversation for prospective publication would be on the essential question of Integration vs. Separatism: the Goals We Have For American Life. Such a consultation might be so successful in its own right, that it would merit repetition amongst other leadership people - with or without the publication of proceedings.

4. The more specific and technical subjects might be developed as papers commissioned by SRC, to be done by selected and respected authorities after due consultation.

5. If something verging on the recovery of consensus among liberals as to national goals were to emerge from initial phases of the program, SRC staff might then be in a position to move out more in the role of advocate as circumstances allowed.

How and How Much?

1. I propose to submit this to Paul Anthony of SRC and selected friends elsewhere and invite commentary, with the possibility of preparing a more detailed and refined proposal based on feedback.

Your reactions, full and frank, will be appreciated.

2. Unless it's to be only the effect of one person talking around with key people, such a program should be substantially funded so that the right people could be asked to participate in forums and significant distribution of publications could ensue.

- John B. Morris
4655 Jett Road, N. W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30327

file

March 27, 1969

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: John Morris

SUBJECT: Report on meeting of National Civil Liberties Clearing House, March 20 - 21, 1969, Washington, D. C.

Much of the discussion and substance of the meeting was good, in my estimation, but the overall effect of the occasion was as if it were a wake for an era now gone. This is not to suggest that I did not enjoy being there, for it was great fun seeing many old friends and it was helpful to me to learn what some of the new current concerns are elsewhere in the country.

The opening session on Thursday afternoon, March 20, was on the subject "Community Control---It's Meaning and Implications; A Growing Issue For the Nation." Panelists included Bayard Rustin, Eleanor Holmes Norton of the ACLU, and Harold Flemming filling in for a participant who was unable to be present. Underlying the discussion was the whole New York school situation and all of the tension and disruption within the liberal community which it has entailed.

Bayard Rustin delivered what I considered to be an eloquent defense of community participation, but he rejected community control if it meant that we were in another phase of black withdrawal and separatism. Miss Norton passionately defended community control and said that Bayard was "old fashioned," displayed the typical "liberal bias against small units," and epitomized the "built-in anti-democratic set" that has developed over the last twenty years. Harold Fleming, while essentially agreeing with Rustin, sought to reconcile between their two points of view.

Actually, I felt that Rustin had considerable appreciation for what Miss Norton was saying but she had little for what he was trying to communicate. Her arguments, while eloquent and conveying much of the understandable anger within the black community, were chiefly just that---a representation of the fury and impatience within the angrier elements of black leadership today.

The dinner on Thursday evening featured Senator Gale McGee whom I found surprisingly attractive in what he had to say. The title of his talk was "Dissent v. Disruption." He spent much more time expressing concern for repressive measures against dissent than he did in expressing anxiety about disruption. All in all, of course, it was a very much balanced statement in which he deplored extremism on all sides. Former attorney general Ramsey Clark was one of the honored guests at the head table and received a very substantial ovation.

One weakness in the conference was evident in the makeup of the head table which, among about twenty persons, included only one black person. This was my friend, the Rev. Raymond Mitchell of Richmond, Virginia, who delivered the invocation that was tediously long. It seemed that nearly everyone else at the head table was some functionary in one of the Jewish agencies. All of this did not go unnoticed by several black militant friends and the National Council of Churches friends with whom I was sitting. Someday I shall write a book on how to construct a balanced head table in terms of the respective conference or occasion.

The session on Friday morning had the general title of "Our Civil Rights Laws: The Gap Between Promise and Performance," with Clarence Mitchell presiding. I thought that William Taylor delivered a very good address on the strengths and weaknesses of what had gone on in government in terms of civil rights affairs, although it was done in a rather dry and low-key fashion and was much too long and lost a lot of people. Vernon then came on strong with a very excellent delivery of his prepared paper on voting rights and the need for extension of the 1965 Act. Peter Libassi was good, although it was kind of a defense of his administration of HEW.

The dichotomy again between integration and separatism come up during the question period, with a black militant Unitarian announcing that he would play the role of the black militant which he proceeded to do in excoriating all of the speakers. There arose substantial tension between Clarence Mitchell and the chair and this young black militant, which Vernon ameliorated by an appropriate and brief humorous response to the Unitarian.

The afternoon session on Friday was really quite dry, dealing with the subject of "The Challenge of Crime Today to Law and Order---and Justice." I must say that I used this occasion to step out several times and greet and chat with old friends. However, I was back in the room at the close when there came a minority report from a handful of the black militants

who declared that the conference was totally without any recognition of black thinking or black consciousness. This persuaded me all the more that the conference really would have been much more effective if it had dealt with the question of integration v. separation and the mood in the black and white communities.

file

April 1, 1969

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Paul Anthony and several other colleagues

FROM: John Morris

SUBJECT: A blue ribbon commission on the King death

With a responsibility in the area of "program development" I interpret this to mean that it is my role to propose and I accept the fact that it is yours to dispose. Thus the following thoughts, somewhat far out in terms of SRC's ordinary programing, but worth considering, I believe.

The death of the judge in the James Earl Ray case may bring a new trial according to the news, and undoubtably there are many other things underway which may precipitate this trial, with the attendent possibility that such proceedings will then allow for investigation into the whole question of conspiracy charges. But, assuming that nothing new happens and that the case remains adjudicated as it is and the whole question of a conspiracy remains unresolved in the public mind, then I believe that some initiative by private agencies is in order if not by public ones.

Ever since Martin King's death I have been hearing more and more traces of a belief that there was some conspiracy involved in the murder. Since the trial and sentencing of James Earl Ray this has become quite substantial, especially in the black community. The death of Judge Battle, for whatever natural causes, will not serve to ease this concern.

One has only to take note of how much confusion in the public mind followed after the Warren Commission investigation into President Kennedy's death. Without any kind of a blue ribbon commission inquiry,with the built-in racial factors operative, and, indeed, even with the possible exploitation of fears by Ray himself, I forsee that we will have a steadily increasing strain of confusion in the public mind as to what actually happened. It certainly will not be healthy for human relations in the United States if the black community moves increasingly to feel that it was a white conspiracy which killed King.

I suggest, therefore, that the Southern Regional Council either by itself or in concert with other similar agencies do one of two things depending on the outcome of other developments in association with the case:

(1) Call upon the President or the Congress for the appointment of a commission to make full and public inquiry into the King murder.

(2) Ourselves, either acting as a major civil rights organization within the region, or in concert with others, appoint a blue ribbon commission made up of persons substantially respected in both the black and white communities. I believe that it should be something like two-thirds or three-fifths black in make-up. Such a commission should have staff and funds for a full investigation and preparation of testimony that would then go into a report.

Obviously there are technical questions which might make such an inquiry difficult such as the lack of subpeona powers. At the same time it is possible that it would be better to have such investigation on an unofficial basis than to have nothing at all.

I do not believe that Huie's new position, that there was no conspiracy, will serve significantly to offset the growing body of mystery and suspicion that exists within the public mind over this factor.

While I think that a prestigious committee is necessary in order to gain public acceptance, I do not discount the possibility that something along this line might be achieved by a very competent writer in New South. At any rate, in the absence of anyone else taking initiative to try to clear up the mystery I believe that we have at least some responsibility.

Mrs. Jessie

May 31, 1957

Mrs. J. D. Murphy, Hostess
Atlanta University Dormitory
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Murphy:

You have sailed through the last three conferences with much understanding. Please convey to your staff, especially to Mrs. Anderson, our deep appreciation. Were we to bother you much more, we would have to start considering you a staff member.

We are most greateful for your help and for the indispensable facilities of Atlanta University.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

March 12, 1958

Mr. Frederick P. Muhlhauser
Executive Vice-President
Salzburg Seminar in American Studies
17 Dunster Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Muhlhauser:

Thank you for your letter of March 6th. A word of explanation and apology is in order.

Your first letter was, in fact, received and the order was mailed to Salzburg on February 6th. as you requested. I discovered, however, that you had not been notified of the shipment, for which I am apologetic. Our invoice was sent to the Seminar address in Cambridge several days ago.

We are pleased that Professor Franklin feels that a file of New South will be useful to his forthcoming seminar and similar ones in the future.

With every good wish.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:fcl

SALZBURG SEMINAR IN AMERICAN STUDIES

Kirkland 7-7070

17 DUNSTER STREET · CAMBRIDGE 38 · MASSACHUSETTS

Feb 6 — Sent app. two ago to Austria address. Orig bills.

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GEORGE W. ADAMS, *Director*

March 6, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Professor John Hope Franklin is going to teach at the Salzburg Seminar this summer and has requested that we acquire, for the benefit of his students, a complete file since 1945 of New South. We hope very much that such a file may be made available to us, since we feel that it would be of great value, not only for Professor Franklin's seminar, but also for many future seminars on racial relations in the United States.

If you are able to provide these issues of New South, would you please send them to: Salzburg Seminar, Schloss Leopoldskron, Salzburg, Austria, and advise this office, at the above address, of any charges.

Thank you very much in advance for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick P. Muhlhauser
Executive Vice President

FPM/d

P. S. A similar letter was sent to the Southern Regional Council about one month ago, but we did not have the correct address at that time, and so it must have gone astray.

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February 4, 1959

Multi-Ad Services Inc.
106 Walnut Street
Pedria, Illinois

Gentlemen:

Enclosed is one dollar for your "Clipper Creative Art Service" offer.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Enclosure

Have you ever tried to give away $20.00 bills?

If you'll send us a dollar bill to cover shipping cost - we'll send you a FREE copy (the current issue) of the "Clipper Creative Art Service" that sells as a single copy for a $20.00 bill. It's yours to use, FREE!

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We'll also send along a special introductory offer - thats a real "Gem Dandy"!

MULTI-AD SERVICES INC
106 WALNUT STREET
PEORIA, ILLINOIS

P.S. Don't let the rough treatment of this note fool you! The "Clipper Creative Art Service" is mighty elegant, but we just had to get your attention because we knew you wouldn't want to miss this offer!

May 25, 1961

Mrs. Alice Murphy
67 The Prado, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Alice:

Bravo, for your letter to the Birmingham News.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mf

741

to F.L. (Red) Holland, editor of the editorial page, The Birmingham News

67 The Prado, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.
May 19, 1961

Dear Red,

Although I lack praise for the so-called "freedom riders" and whatever motivation carried them on their way, if it took this to bring you down out of your ivory tower, the tragic and embarrassing events of the past few days may at least have accomplished something.

It somehow astounds me, although I think you have at last written an editorial with guts, to find The Birmingham News asking "Where Were The Police?"

It is all too recent history for anyone to forget who The Birmingham News supported in the recent city elections. I know from personal, first-hand experience that your newspaper knew generally what to expect with this kind of administration. There is no ground for naivete' in Birmingham these days.

Certainly it is an equally penetrating and hurtful question to ask "Where Was The Birmingham News?"

Just as the police department was a public body charged with the responsibility of law enforcement, it is my very strong conviction that the free press was charged with the public responsibility of establishing an enlightened community where law and order would prevail. It has been my opinion that for the last several years your editorial page has helped to create an almost diametrically opposite effect.

Of course it is a well known fact that there was at least a bus load of "outside agitators" in Birmingham for the melee. But you will do yourself and Birmingham a great disservice to assume that many of the mobsters were outsiders, rather than everyday homefolks and readers of The Birmingham News.

I hope no further violence will be required to help the News understand why new industry does not choose to locate in Birmingham. Unhappily I anticipate further violence and my best guess is that you do too. I do, however, feel that some soul searching on the part of you, city leaders and citizenry is truly called for now and its necessity made clear.

In regard to the incidents of the past week, I in no way believe that The Birmingham News is above reproach.

Cordially,

Alice Murphy

VIA AIR MAIL May 4, 1961

Mr. Benjamin Muse, Jr.
Parnassus Book Service
Route 6-A, Box 33
Yarmouth Port, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Muse:

The staff is interested in acquiring as a gift' for Harold Fleming, the former director, a set of the complete works of Shakespeare. We have discussed this matter with Mr. Muse, Sr., and he thinks that you might be able to help us. If so, we would appreciate it.

In checking we have determined that the Yale University or the New Cambridge editions would be best for our purposes. Both, however, raise questions which we have not been able to answer. With the Yale series we note that some of the volumes have been out for a number of years and some have been revised. If we selected this series we would, of course, want the latest revisions. With the New Cambridge edition there is some question in our mind as to whether or not it is complete. Could you shed any light on these questions as well as the question of price?

As one final complication, we would like to have a selected set by May 27 - which is very likely impossible.

If you can help us in this we would be most grateful.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf

PARNASSUS BOOK SERVICE

RTE. 6A, BOX 33
YARMOUTH PORT, MASS.

Ph - Invest 2-6420

Home - EX 8-2987

May 18, 1961

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

39½ $78

Yale University Press has advised us that the complete Yale Shakespeare currently comes to thirty-nine volumes. The fortieth volume SHAKESPEARE OF STRATFORD is out-of-print and will be replaced in the fall by SHAKESPEARE: A BIOGRAPHICAL HANDBOOK. You mentioned the possibility of revisions. Yale advises me that as a volume is revised the binding is changed from a dark blue to a light blue. At the moment there are seventeen revised volumes. The list price per volume is $2.00.

$135

Cambridge University Press has advised me that the NEW Shakespeare edition of the works of Shakespeare, edited by Quiller-Couch and Dover Wilson contains thirty-six volumes and all are available. The list price per volume is $3.75.

You mention you would like to have the set by May 27. If we can receive a reply from you by Monday, May 22, we could place a phone-call with the publisher of the selected set and have the volumes sent special-delivery. From previous experience, publishers

PARNASSUS BOOK SERVICE

RTE. 6A, BOX 33
YARMOUTH PORT, MASS.

will usually ship the same day of receipt of phone-call. This would almost guarantee delivery of the books by May 27.

Assuring you of our continued cooperation in this matter, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse, Jr., mgr.
PARNASSUS BOOK SERVICE

June 8, 1961

Mr. Benjamin Muse, Jr.
Parnassus Book Service
Route 6-A, Box 33
Yarmouth Port, Mass.

Dear Mr. Muse:

Enclosed is our check for $35.99 in payment of your invoice of May 31. The books arrived on time and we are very grateful for your assistance in this matter.

Since we have only the revised volumes in this series, we would like if possible to secure the others --in revised form--as they become available. Would it be possible to place a standing order with the publisher to have these shipped as they are released? If so, would you please place this order, the volumes to go to Harold C. Fleming at the Potomac Institute, 1501 18th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. (If it would be simpler, the order may be placed in the name of SRC and we will forward the volumes.); the bills should be sent to the Southern Regional Council.

Again, we deeply appreciate your assistance.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive assistant

PA:A
Enclosure: ck. #3205

May 15, 1962

Mr. Benjamin Muse, Jr.
Parnassus Book Service
Route 6-A, Box 33
Yarmouth Port, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Muse:

In reviewing our correspondence apropos of the Yale Shakespeare which the Council staff bought through you last June as a gift for Harold Fleming, I find that we r received no answer to our last letter. My main purpose in writing is to ascertain where we stand as far as acquiring the remainder of the set to complete the gift.

I would very much appreciate it if you could confirm the following: it is our understanding that Mr. Fleming has received 17 volumes of the revised edition. It is the Council's desire to purchase the additional volumes as they are published and we do need to know if Mr. Fleming has received more than 17 through your good offices and also, incidentally, if you do know whether more are available from the Press.

We ~~we~~ very grateful for your assistance with this matter in the past and while we can procede to deal directly with the publisher if you would prefer us to, we do need to know the present situation.

Thank you for your attention, Mr. Muse.

Sincerely,

BP:s

(Mrs.) Barbara Patterson

Make folder:
Muse, Benjamin Jr.

June 30, 1965

Mr. Benjamin Muse, Jr.
Parnassus Book Service
Route 6-A, Box 33
Yarmouth Port, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Muse:

I am writing to you in the hopes that we can clear up an old matter. In the spring of 1961 we ordered from you a set of the Yale Shakespeare. You shipped to us 17 volumes, Invoice #3917, dated May 31, 1961. We requested as subsequent volumes in the series were revised you would mail them to Mr. Harold C. Fleming at the Potomac Institute, 1501 - 18th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., and bill us for the same. We wrote to you on May 15, 1962 regarding the status of the order; our files do not show a reply, nor have we been invoiced by you for any subsequent volumes.

We would be very grateful to you if you could clarify this matter for us.

Have any volumes beyond the original 17 been mailed?

Do you still wish to handle this order, or should we purchase the remaining volumes elsewhere?

Could you give us a list of the 17 volumes which were delivered on your Invoice #39177 We do not have any record, except your invoice and it does not show any of the titles.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

August 24, 1965

Mr. Benjamin Muse, Jr.
Manager
Parnassus Book Service
Route 6-A, Box 33
Yarmouth Port, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Muse:

We have your letter to Mr. Dunbar of July 3 regarding our 1961 order of the Yale Shakespeare. You indicated in your letter that you are waiting word from Yale University as to the number of volumes now available, and that you would let us know something within a week or so. We would certainly like to clear this matter up as soon as possible, and some word from you would help us to determine next steps to be taken.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

Rec'd 7/8/65

PARNASSUS BOOK SERVICE

RTE. 6A, BOX 33
YARMOUTH PORT, MASS.

July 3, 1965

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5, Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Attn: Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar:

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

If I remember correctly we received notice from Yale University Press that the volumes you did not receive were out-of-stock and no date for printing had been set. However, I have writtento Yale this evening to find out what volumes are available and will notify you. Unfortunately I am unable to find your order card in our files so I am not certain as to which volumes were forwarded. So I would suggest that you wait until I hear from Yale, and I will forward a list of the available volumes and maybe we can find out from Mr. Fleming as to which ones he did not receive. I will drop you a letter in a week or so, as soon as I hear from Yale.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse, Jr., mgr.
PARNASSUS BOOK SERVICE

December 22, 1961

Mr. Ben Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Inadvertently we omitted from our letter of yesterday the enclosed memo, containing information from clippings on Albany, Georgia.

Incidentally, Les has asked me to call to your attention the availability of some good material on the Negro Market. The full title of the report is "The Growing Power of the Negro Market," published by the Public Opinion INDEX for Industry, Princeton, New Jersey. We have this report in the office. We can either let you look at it through the mail or hold it for your perusal on your next trip in.

Best wishes to you and your wife for a delightful holiday season from all of us here in the office.

Sincerely,

Jim Moss

JM:nm
Enclosure

FILE COPY

February 26, 1962

Ben Muse

Jim Moss

When you were here I think I expressed reservations, both mine and Les's, about reproducing the Sitton piece on Memphis if it included three paragraphs which implied criticism of using outside organizational efforts in effecting desegregation thus far in Memphis.

While Claude Sitton was quite willing for the article to be reproduced without these paragraphs, the Managing Editor of the New York Times refused such permission.

Considerable recent attention directed toward schisms within the Negro civil rights organizations, we believe, will tend to cloud some of the more important continuing achievements of these organizations because of what are minor frictions between personalities more than over programs. We feel that we ought not to contribute to what we feel is a mi-directed emphasis.

For these reasons I concur with Les that we ought not to reproduce the Sitton piece on Memphis as an L-report for distribution.

JAM:jl

See B Murse cc to Dave Freeman

RECEIVED MAY 18 1962

Ten-Year Review

1. The May 17, 1954, Supreme Court decision.

   a) Immediate reaction "North" and South

   b) Beginning several years in anticipation of Brown decision, much of the South now rushed to bring its Negro schools more in line with the principle, laid down in an earlier Supreme Court decision, of "separate but equal" facilities. School equalization programs get under way.

2. Further hearings and Supreme Court decree of May 31, 1955 -- Reaction.

   a) Deterioration of interracial relations -- a necessary severing of obsolete master-servant relations before a new relationship could be built on the basis of equal citizenship.

3. Substantial desegregation of public schools in the District of Columbia and the border states.

4. The problem of enforcing a Supreme Court ruling in a region hostile to it in the constitutional and political framework of our government -- Inaction in the executive and legislative branches of the federal government -- Inaction or aggressive defiance by constituted authorities in the eleven former Confederate states.

5. How and why the NAACP became in effect the activating agent of this vast, Supreme Court-ordered social change -- "A generation of litigation" -- Comprehensive picture of the NAACP (including the Legal Defense Fund) and its leaders.

6. The loyalty and integrity of most federal district judges in the South -- Exceptions -- Personal sketches.

7. The rising tide of defiance of the Supreme Court and racial intolerance.

a) Early roving inciters to riot and violence: Bryant Bowles, John Kasper, Asa Carter.

b) Resuscitation of the Ku Klux Klan.

c) Origin and spread of the Citizens Councils movement.

d) Davis Committee Report -- Sedulous misrepresentation of the District of Columbia experience as an argument against desegregation.

e) Attempt to identify liberalism on the race issue with Communism.

f) Revival of State Rights agitation.

g) Intimidation and suppression of liberal and moderate opinion.

8. Attitude of the Southern press -- Liberal, moderate, hostile and inflammatory newspapers -- John Temple Graves, Tom Waring, Jack Kilpatrick, etc., "intellectual" voices of defiance.

9. Attitude of the clergy -- Declarations of official church bodies -- Attitude of individual ministers -- Persecution of moderate clergy.

10. Hostility of Southern politicians and its effect upon the public -- Southern Manifesto -- The issue dominates electoral campaigns as candidates compete in the extremism of their anti-Negro and anti-Supreme Court utterances -- Moderate exceptions, Collins, Hodges, Hartsfield, etc.

11. "Anti-integration" legislation -- Interposition -- Setting up of official commissions to combat integration efforts -- State efforts to publicize "Southern position" -- Stratagem and chicane instruments of public policy in most of the South.

12. Interracial organizations working for compliance with the desegregation ruling: SRC, CHR, AFSC, etc.

13. Attitude of Southern Negroes -- Initial hesitation and bewilderment followed by general support of desegregation by the Negro masses -- "extremists," "moderates" and "Uncle Toms". Conspicuous collaborationists: Percy Greene, Davis Lee, etc.

14. Anti-Negro vendetta, convulsion and violence.

a) Clinton, Montgomery, Tuscaloosa, Orangeburg, Emmett Till, Poplarville, Nashville, Beaumont, Little Rock, etc. (Though the border states' story has largely been told under 2, we refer again to early Delaware and Kentucky violence here). The Orangeburg "economic war."

15. School-closing experiment, and its collapse -- Virginia -- Little Rock -- Save-the-schools movements -- Belated concern of business men.

16. The miniscule progress made in school desegregation in the former Confederate states by October, 1959.

The fifth year closed approximately with the reopening of Virginia and Little Rock schools and the incipient collapse of "massive resistance" as an all-Southern attitude. Hostility and recalcitrance rose to a peak in the first four-to-five

years and subsided steadily during the second five-year period. The broadening of the Negro desegregation target to include lunch counters, transportation facilities, etc., and the election of a new President in 1960 are further indications of the appropriateness of breaking the overall story at the end of this 5-year period.

I would sandwich here in 11 chapters the separate stories of the 11 former Confederate states (following somewhat the structural pattern of V. O. Keys' "Southern Politics.") -- after which we resume the general story.

28. Growing recognition of the inevitability of compliance with the Supreme Court ruling.

a) The dispatch of troops to Little Rock in 1957 confirmed the ultimate supremacy of federal power.

b) Reaction to the collapse of massive resistance in Virginia and to the retreat of Faubus in Little Rock.

c) Gallup polls, hedging by politicians, softening of editorial protest, weariness and frustration on the part of champions of segregation

d) State legislatures recover from racist obsession.

29. The new aggressiveness of Negroes against discrimination in many fields -- Broad Negro upsurge in the United States, coinciding with the rise of colored races throughout the world -- Lunch counters, hotels, churches, libraries, parks, buses, employment -- Southern whites discover the new Negro.

30. The continuing debacle of massive resistance to school desegregation -- Georgia, New Orleans, etc.

31. Growing national concern for the effect upon foreign opinion, especially in the new African nations, of race discrimination in the U.S. -- Alabama riots of 1961, Mississippi jailings, etc.

32. Desegregation of institutions of higher learning (briefly) and desegregation of Catholic parochial schools.

33. Brief reference to the attitude of the Eisenhower Administration toward public school integration -- Extensive review of the performance of the Kennedy Administration in this field.

34. Prince Edward County.

35. Rarity of spontaneous adjustment to Supreme Court decision -- Continued reliance upon court action.

36. The experience of Negroes in predominately white schools -- educational and psychological effects -- Hardships imposed by merely token integration.

37. The legal picture -- Evolution and amplification of the Supreme Court command to desegregate public schools.

Bring up to date and summarize. In the former Confederate states, a period, generally speaking, not of school desegregation, but of ferment with the inevitability of desegregation widely recognized, the authority of the Supreme Court firmly sustained and substantial desegregation at last under way at its close.

file

June 21, 1962

Mr. Charles Bolte
Viking Press, Inc.
625 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Bolte:

Mr. Vernon Eagle may have mentioned to you our interest in doing a book on the first ten years of school desegregation, for publication in 1964. Our planning is not altogether settled, though far enough along that we can start working very soon. There would be, of course, a great advantage in our having the advance interest of a publisher, and I am writing to inquire if Viking Press might see this as something which it would like to publish.

The enclosed outline is really a compendium of topics and will at an early stage need to be re-worked into a sharply defined concept of a book. It will serve us however, for initial organization of material and I believe may give you an idea of the manner in which we would approach the subject.

The Southern Regional Council has tried to merit a reputation for combining accurate understanding of the South with a scrupulous handling of facts with an unambiguous liberal point of view.

The book, if we do it, would be guided by the same values.

The writing of the book would be the responsibility, chiefly, of Mr. Benjamin Muse, of our staff. I have, myself, an utter lack of faith in books, or any writing, produced by a committee of people. On the other hand, we would like for this publication to represent the point of view of the Southern Regional Council and to draw from our accumulation of experiences as well as files. The working and the personal relationships between Ben Muse and myself and the officers of the Council assure that this can be both an individual assignment and a collective responsibility.

Ben Muse, before joining our staff in 1959, did a regular column for the Washington Post on "Virginia Affairs," has written a number of articles for the magazines, is a former Virginia legislator and Foreign Service officer, and for the past three years has travelled extensively throughout the South and from innumerable conversations with political, civic, and press leaders has acquired unequalled insights into southern thinking of these three years. His book, Virginia's Massive Resistance, was published in 1961. (He has another - a World War I book - now at the publishers.)

Because this would be a book with a point of view, and you may not be fully familiar with our's, I am enclosing two things: an address by our president, James McBride Dabbs, and an article of mine. Under separate cover I am sending also a copy of Virginia's Massive Resistance. Certainly the ten-year sweep of events in the region will require a less episodic treatment than Ben gave Virginia, but the book does illustrate well the quality of his work.

I regret writing at this length, but I did wish to give you a full picture. We shall be delighted to

provide other information you may need, and either Ben or I or both would be glad to come to New York, if you should wish to discuss the proposal.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - Ten-Year Review Outline
New South, November 1961
"Annealing of the South"

bcc: Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Mr. Benjamin Muse

Separate mailing: Ben Muse's, Virginia's Massive Resistance

Separate mailing: Virginia's Massive Resistance

June 21, 1962

Mr. Richard B. McAdoo
Editor
Social and Economic Books
Harper & Brothers
49 East 33rd Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. McAdoo:

Thank you for your letter of June 8. There really is very little more that I can tell you about our plans except to reiterate that we think there is a very worthwhile book here to write and that we believe, perhaps immodestly, that we can do it competently. I would be pleased at any time to provide you with further information in accord with your interest.

I had meant when in New York to present you a copy of Ben Muse's book, Virginia's Massive Resistance which we are now sending under separate cover. Certainly the ten-year survey of the region will require a less episodic treatment than Ben gave Virginia, but the book does illustrate well the quality of his work and we would like for you to have it.

With very best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

bc: Mr. Benjamin Muse

HARPER & BROTHERS

PUBLISHERS SINCE 1817

49 East 33rd Street, New York 16, N.Y.

June 8, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thanks for your letter of June 7. I too enjoyed our meeting and hope you will keep me posted on any writing plans that crystalize in your office.

With best regards,

Cordially yours,

Richard B. McAdoo
EDITOR
Social & Economic Books

RBM:gg

RECEIVED
JUN 11 1962

CABLE ADDRESS : HARPSAM • TELEPHONE : MURRAY HILL 3-1900

June 7, 1962

Mr. Richard B. McAdoo
Editor, Social and Economic Books
Harper and Brothers
49 East 33rd Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. McAdoo:

I enjoyed greatly our conversation of last Thursday. It is welcome news that Harper has an active interest in a book about school integration, and whether or not we work directly with you on it I hope you will turn to us for any service or assistance we may be. I look forward to hearing from you as your plans progress.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Southern Education Reporting Service

P. O. BOX 6156, ACKLEN STATION
1109 NINETEENTH AVE., SOUTH
NASHVILLE 12, TENNESSEE

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NASHVILLE, TENN.

Publishers of
SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS
CYpress 1-1262

May 25, 1962

RECEIVED
MAY 28 1962

Dear Les:

I enjoyed seeing you, your two Pauls and your visitor Bob Baker while I was in Atlanta Wednesday.

Let me know what you decide about buying our new clipping service. We will be prepared to supply it anytime after July 1.

The name of the Harper representative who wrote me is Richard B. McAdoo, editor, Social and Economic books. The address is Harper and Brothers, 49 East 33rd Street, New York 16, New York.

mw. 3-~~900~~
1900

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Executive Director

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Southern Education Reporting Service

P. O. BOX 6156, ACKLEN STATION
1109 NINETEENTH AVE., SOUTH
NASHVILLE 12, TENNESSEE

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NASHVILLE, TENN.

FELIX C. ROBB
PRESIDENT
GEORGE PEABODY COLLEGE
NASHVILLE, TENN.

REED SARRATT
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
SOUTHERN EDUCATION
REPORTING SERVICE

JOHN SEIGENTHALER
EDITOR
THE TENNESSEAN
NASHVILLE, TENN.

DON SHOEMAKER
EDITOR
THE HERALD
MIAMI, FLA.

BERT STRUBY
GENERAL MANAGER
THE TELEGRAPH & NEWS
MACON, GA.

THOMAS R. WARING
EDITOR
THE NEWS & COURIER
CHARLESTON, S. C.

HENRY I. WILLETT
SUPT. OF SCHOOLS
RICHMOND, VA.

STEPHEN J. WRIGHT
PRESIDENT
FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE, TENN.

May 14, 1962

Dear Les:

I plan to be in Atlanta on Wednesday, May 23 and would like to see you while I'm there. We're going to start a new service July 1, and I think you may be interested in it.

No need to answer this. I'll call you Wednesday morning to make an appointment.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

file - SLC
Ten yr. Review
book

June 21, 1962

Mr. Charles Bolte
Viking Press, Inc.
625 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Bolte:

Mr. Vernon Eagle may have mentioned to you our interest in doing a book on the first ten years of school desegregation, for publication in 1964. Our planning is not altogether settled, though far enough along that we can start working very soon. There would be, of course, a great advantage in our having the advance interest of a publisher, and I am writing to inquire if Viking Press might see this as something which it would like to publish.

The enclosed outline is really a compendium of topics and will at an early stage need to be re-worked into a sharply defined concept of a book. It will serve us however, for initial organization of material and I believe may give you an idea of the manner in which we would approach the subject.

The Southern Regional Council has tried to merit a reputation for combining accurate understanding of the South with a scrupulous handling of facts with an unambiguous liberal point of view.

The book, if we do it, would be guided by the same values.

The writing of the book would be the responsibility, chiefly, of Mr. Benjamin Muse, of our staff. I have, myself, an utter lack of faith in books, or any writing, produced by a committee of people. On the other hand, we would like for this publication to represent the point of view of the Southern Regional Council and to draw from our accumulation of experiences as well as files. The working and the personal relationships between Ben Muse and myself and the officers of the Council assure that this can be both an individual assignment and a collective responsibility.

Ben Muse, before joining our staff in 1959, did a regular column for the Washington Post on "Virginia Affairs," has written a number of articles for the magazines, is a former Virginia legislator and Foreign Service officer, and for the past three years has travelled extensively throughout the South and from innumerable conversations with political, civic, and press leaders has acquired unequalled insights into southern thinking of these three years. His book, Virginia's Massive Resistance, was published in 1961. (He has another - a World War I book - now at the publishers.)

Because this would be a book with a point of view, and you may not be fully familiar with our's, I am enclosing two things: an address by our president, James McBride Dabbs, and an article of mine. Under separate cover I am sending also a copy of Virginia's Massive Resistance. Certainly the ten-year sweep of events in the region will require a less episodic treatment than Ben gave Virginia, but the book does illustrate well the quality of his work.

I regret writing at this length, but I did wish to give you a full picture. We shall be delighted to

provide other information you may need, and either Ben or I or both would be glad to come to New York, if you should wish to discuss the proposal.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - Ten-Year Review Outline
New South, November 1961
"Annealing of the South"

bcc: Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Mr. Benjamin Muse

Separate mailing: Ben Muse's, Virginia's Massive Resistance

MJ - send pictures to BM done 7/2

file

HARPER & BROTHERS

PUBLISHERS SINCE 1817

RECEIVED
JUL 2 1962

49 East 33rd Street, New York 16, N.Y.

June 28, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

The copy of Ben Muse's book, "Virginia's Massive Resistance" has arrived on the heels of your letter of June 21, and I will be writing again when I have had a chance to read this.

Best regards.

Cordially yours,

Richard B. McAdoo

Richard B. McAdoo
EDITOR
Social & Economic Books

RBM:gg

CABLE ADDRESS : HARPSAM • TELEPHONE : MURRAY HILL 3-1900

file

file
Ten-Year Review
(Proposed book-Sec)

PUBLISHERS · THE VIKING PRESS INC · NEW YORK 22 NY

Cable address · Vikpress 625 MADISON AVENUE *Telephone · PLaza 5-4330*

June 28, 1962

RECEIVED
JUN 29 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thanks so much for your good letter of June 21st, which I found when I returned from an out-of-town trip. I've now shared it with a couple of my senior colleagues, and we would very much like to pursue further the possibility of our publishing the book.

The outline seems to cover the topics that need to be covered in the book: but I agree with you that it needs to be "reworked into a sharply defined concept of a book."

I take it you want the book to appeal to the general reading audience, not simply to members and friends of the Southern Regional Council. This approach would emphasize your own point about having it be Mr. Muse's book rather than a committee product.

Perhaps the next time you or Mr. Muse is in New York, we could get together to discuss the proposal further. I look forward to hearing from one of you at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Charles G. Bolte

BEACON PRESS, 25 Beacon Street, Boston 8, Massachusetts

CApitol 7-3660

COPY

July 24, 1962

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Parnassus Bookshop
Yarmouth Port
Massachusetts

Dear Ben:

You know how seriously we considered ALREADY A LONG TIME AGO, and therefore you realize with what reluctance I return the manuscript. We have reviewed the field of books of this type, weighed the value that illustrations might give, considered the matter of total length and impact; and we conclude, finally, that this book is not quite right for Beacon. It certainly reads well and reveals a sensitive nature, but we simply do not find the punch in it. It's almost too good-natured, considering the subject. Also the length is against it.

I wonder if your father had considered Duke University Press (being a Duke man), or Univ. of N. C. Press (being a native of that state)?

It would have been fun to make this book, Ben; but we have to choose with very great discrimination for a list as small as ours. Many thanks for letting us see it. Your Dad can certainly write.

Best,

Edward Darling
Director

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

July 24, 1962

file

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I think an imaginative publisher ought to be able to see that we have in prospect a publishable book. On the other hand we (I) haven't offered much realistically to go upon at this stage.

I am nearing completion of a tentative comprehensive outline. It will undergo many changes during coming months, but it will give me a frame on which to hang research and should give a publisher a better idea of the kind of book we have in mind.

I shall send a copy in a few days for your approval. We might forward copies then to both Harper's and Viking.

A little later I should have a draft of an opening chapter or two which would set the tone of the book.

Unless we get a definitive response, I suggest that we try to keep the proposition alive for a while with both Harper's and Viking, and we might find it desirable to approach other publishers.

Looking as far ahead as May, 1964, for a publication date, I feel that we can move with deliberate speed at this stage in the matter of an agreement with a publisher, though I think we should move.

Sincerely,

Ben

August 2, 1962

Mr. Charles Bolte
Viking Press
625 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Bolte:

Benjamin Muse has completed a revised and more detailed outline of the book we are proposing to do, and I should be glad to send a copy of it up if you would like at this time to see it. I have not yet myself finished reviewing it.

We do, of course, wait with much interest to hear your further reaction to our proposal.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

bcc: Benjamin Muse/w/copy of ltr from Harper + Bros. dtd 7/31/62

S.L. Proj.
"Ten-Year Review"

file

August 6, 1962

Mr. Charles G. Bolte
The Viking Press, Inc.
625 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Bolte:

Mr. Dunbar is away on vacation and will return to the office next Monday. We have told him this morning of your letter and contract and he has asked that we tell you he will be in touch with you immediately upon his return.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mmj

SLP -
10 Year Review

THE VIKING PRESS INC · PUBLISHERS
625 MADISON AVENUE · NEW YORK 22 · NY
Cable: Vikpress *Telephone: PL 5-4330*

August 6, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Our letters crossed. Of course I'd be delighted to see Mr. Muse's revised outline of the book.

Sincerely yours,

Charles G. Bolte

RECEIVED
AUG 7 1962

SLR
10 Year Review

August 15, 1962

Mr. Charles Bolte
Viking Press, Inc.
625 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Bolte:

Thank you for your letter of August 3, 1962, and the enclosed contract, which arrived while I was away on vacation.

We are greatly pleased. I am confident that Mr. Muse will produce an excellent book, and that our association with you will be mutually satisfying.

You may regard this as our letter of intent to execute the contract. We have, however, a few small points which we would like clarified, either by an exchange of correspondence or by a revised contract as seems best to you:

(1) We (including Mr. Muse) would prefer that the copyright be in the name of the Southern Regional Council. As a matter of fact, there may be a slight inconsistency in the contract as now written, inasmuch as "the Author" referred to in paragraph 3 of Part One has been defined in the introduction as SRC.

(2) The royalty schedule is satisfactory, based on our understanding that non-payment of royalties on the first 6,000 and the payment of 12½% beginning at 15,000 is in consideration of your undertaking

to set a lower price for the book. I wonder if a tentative retail price, based on the estimated length and the agreed royalties, might not be indicated?

(3) We understand the need for paragraph 4A of Part Two, and shall fully respect it. We are confident that you realize that the nature of our work requires that we publish from time to time reports, pamphlets, etc., which deal with the school desegregation problems of the South. We shall scrupulously avoid "basing" these on Mr. Muse's work for this book, even if they may deal with parts of his same subject.

I am enclosing a copy of Ben's revised and more detailed outline. I simply have not yet had a chance to study this critically and pass on suggestions to him. I would like, nevertheless, for you to have it for your files, and I am sure that Ben would be appreciative of any comments you or your editors may have. It has always seemed to me that outlining has to proceed in two stages: one for material gathering and a latter one for writing.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

cc: Mr. Benjamin Muse
Mr. Joseph Haas

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

August 28, 1962

PERSONAL

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I know you will be interested in the vicissitudes of my little book about World War I, both on my own account and by way of commentary on the publishing game.

I first wrote to the Indiana University Press by way of clearing the matter with it in view of its contractual option. I had no idea that this kind of book would interest a university press; as, in fact, it didn't. But the standing rule among publishers, I find, is to keep a maximum number of Mss. coming in and then reject them at leisure. So Indiana replied that this was a great idea and they would love to get the Ms. After a few weeks waste of time, I got a la-de-da letter which gave no indication that the Ms. had been examined beyond noting how short it was. However, the director indulged in some 1914-1918 memories of his own, wished me good luck and said it was not the type of book for the Indiana University Press. (I was expressly relieved of any further option obligation.)

My son, Ben, Jr., then reminded me of his friendship with Director Darling of the Beacon Press, and he handed the Ms. to Darling.

While the Ms. was reposing on the Beacon shelf, I visited the Washington office of the pay-as-you go publisher, Vantage. Vantage wanted to read the Ms. even without an option and I sent a copy to it. A few weeks later I got an enticing pile of literature from Vantage, including a contract ($2,000 down for a 40 per cent royalty) and a review of my Ms. by a Vantage editor. Flattery is a part of the business of these people, but the review was a really intelligent treatment of my effort, which seemed to catch the spirit of it. I received come-on letters from Vantage every few weeks thereafter.

Beacon finally read my Ms. and it was for several weeks a subject of debate in the Beacon office, of which my son was given a running account. However, the final decision was negative. I enclose a copy of Darling's letter to Ben, Jr., which is not altogether discouraging.

I am today giving the signal, and a check, to Vantage.

Sincerely,

Ben

BM/tt

Enclosure

SLP - 10 year Review

August 31, 1962

Ben Muse

Leslie Dunbar

The Book

Publishers are undoubtedly indispensable but undoubtedly also a collection of wrong-headed nuisances. I feel sure that if you had had the stamina you could have found a publisher who would have been pleased to have your book, but I can fully understand your impatience. Best of luck and I am glad we shall soon be able to read the book.

The enclosed letter is self-explanatory. I am both officially and personally deeply pleased that you have been honored and shall do the best I can to represent you adequately.

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

Birth of Aviation
Thos. Dickson — author

Black Monday — no.

September 7, 1962

Mrs. Barbara Patterson
Secretary, Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Barbara:

I thank you for the bibliography which you sent. Two cartons of clippings also have arrived.

If they can be spared for a few months from the SRC library, I would like to have:

Schools in Transition Williams & Ryan
Action Patterns in School Desegregation
Public Education in the South Today and Tomorrow
You and Segregation
Race Relations and American Law -- and
The Case for the South

sent 9/10/62

Have we a pamphlet on the Kansas City school desegregation story?

I can pick these up when I come on September 19.

Les suggested that I call on you for some research help. Help I do need. I feel somewhat overwhelmed and the time is all too short for one of my slow pace. Will you try this assignment?

I would like to have you collect some illustrations of what I might call segregation of the mind. Some items under this head would be:

1) the "purging" of libraries and school reading lists;

2) instance of the banning of Life, Look, Time, etc.;

3) rejection of liberal TV presentations and reprisals against their sponsors;

4) the furor over distinguished liberal speakers visiting the South (Frank Graham, etc.) and reprisals against institutions inviting them;

Birmingham

5) brief story of the New York Times trouble in Alabama;

6) the Rabbit's Wedding incident;

7) curtailment of cultural resources occasioned by the refusal of members of the Actors' Equity Association and the Metropolitan Opera to appear before segregated audiences, the refusal of the N. Y. Museum of Art to allow collections to be exhibited in segregated situations, etc.

It is not quite fair to ask for research there when you have sent me the 1954-1958 clippings, but I doubt if there is much directly on this theme in that file. You should be able to gather much from the Southern School News, other clippings and other sources. Take your time over this, and I shall be happy if you let me have something, perhaps, in November.

With best regards.

Sincerely,

Ben Muse

Benjamin Muse

September 12, 1962

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Leslie asked me to read the first three chapters of your manuscript, and I have done so with great interest indeed. All in all, I think you have the makings of a fine book, one which reveals an ability I found all too seldom in the manuscripts submitted to LSU Press: the ability to combine style with scholarship.

I have also looked over your outline of the book. I would say it is about as thorough a coverage of a complex and controversial subject as one could possibly imagine. In fact, it may well be too thorough. From my limited experience with publishing, I would caution you on one thing: don't make the book too long, try to hold it to 400 pages or less. There is a definite reluctance in publishing circles these days to take on books the size of War and Peace (unless, of course, they happen to be the kind of best-selling trash turned out by Herman Wouk or Francis Parkinson Keyes) simply because printing costs are soaring into out space along with John Glenn & Co. Also, it seems to me that you have an excessive number of chapters and that it might be well to combine some, making them longer but fewer in number.

As for the first three chapters, the only comments and/or criticisms I have to offer are of the nit-picking sort. Since I have not seen Leslie's critique, they may well be repetitions of his comments. Whatever the case, I am attaching them separately, and I hope they will be of some use to you. I also hope you'll allow me the pleasure and privilege of seeing additional chapters as they are completed.

I gather you'll be in Atlanta later this month, and I looked forward to seeing you at that time. Until then,

Best regards,

SDB:bp
enclosure

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

TEN YEARS OF BROWN: A CRITIQUE

Page 1, Para #1 -- Think phrase "very great" sounds a bit redundant; why not just say "a milestone in the history ..." Also, considering the type of audience who will buy and read this book, see nonnecessity to explain what the Emancipation Proclamation did. In place of "Great Republic," personally prefer "American Republic," but that's up to you.

Page 1, Para #2 -- "The race problem ... fired the controversy which tore the nation asunder from 1861 to 1865." Allan Nevins would certainly agree with you, but other historians might dispute this statement, saying there were other factors and forces involved as well. To keep peace in the groves of academe, might tone down somewhat, saying something like "it was largely responsible for" or "it was one of the principal causes of." Again, though, that's up to you.

Page 1, Para #1 -- lower case nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Page 2, Para #2 -- Woodward's book title should be italicized.

Page 3, end of Para #1 -- Seems to be a mixture of metaphors here: "segregation was invented ... the segregation movement was born." Suggest opening of Para #2 be changed, eliminating phrase "it was ... that," to something like this:

"The segregation movement actually began in the 1890's and reached its peak toward the end of the first decade of the twentieth century."

Page 11, Chap. 2, top of page -- Thought Langston Huges was a noted Negro poet and playwright; is there a noted NAACP lawyer by the same name? If so, would make some distinction between two (e.g., "no relation to the playwright and poet of the same name.")

Page 11, Para #2, last sentence -- think "would not be long" should be changed to "were not long in presenting themselves."

Page 13, Para #2, third sentence -- would replace semi-colon following phrase "of the population of each" with a colon.

Page 16, Para #1, last sentence -- for "onetime nominee of the Democratic Party for President of the United States," suggest this change: "presidential nominee of the Democratic Party in 1924."

Page 18, bottom of page -- Considering Darden's somewhat incredible statement (at least it's incredible to me), think you might mention that besides being "a former governor of Virginia," he was also "president of the University of Virginia in 1954." Statement sounds like the politician got the best of the educator.

Page 22, opening # -- Think this should be rewritten. Particularly since the Times, along with umpty-umph other newspapers, has a habit of patting itself on back for completing a "feat rare in the annals of journalism." Why not open with an overall statement, saying something like "the significance of the Court's

decision on that momentous Monday afternoon in May, 1954, was immediately apparent to the press of the nation and the world. The New York Times, with typical thoroughness and depth, hit the streets the next morning with a 600-page edition ..." In short, an opener which tells the reader that you're going to discuss and describe how the decision was greeted by the press.

September 13, 1962

Mr. Richard B. McAdoo
Editor
Social and Economic Books
Harper & Brothers
49 East 33rd Street
New York 16, N. Y.

Dear Mr. McAdoo:

We read your letter of July 31 with interest and appreciation, but also a certain measure of regret. I perhaps wrongly supposed after our conversation last May and our earlier correspondence that we should look into other publishing possibilities. We accordingly spoke with Viking, and found there considerable response. Viking offered us a contract, shortly before your letter of July 31 was received. I postponed informing you because a few small points in the contract needed clarification. This is now satisfactorily accomplished.

We would have been delighted to work with Harper's. We had, however, got sufficiently into it with Viking that to turn about would not have been courteous. There was also the question of whether the book should be broadened to include the northern experience, and I think all of us here felt more comfortable with a book limited to the South.

Finally, I want to thank you for your kind comment about my Virginia Quarterly Review article. I often wish that it were possible for me to disengage myself from this office and get some writing done.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

copy sent to B. Krause 8/2/62

HARPER & BROTHERS

PUBLISHERS SINCE 1817

49 East 33rd Street, New York 16, N. Y.

July 31, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I have had a chance now to read the copy of Benjamin Muse's book which you kindly sent along several weeks ago, and also to read the other materials which you left with me here.

They are all valuable, but let me say that I was particularly impressed by the strength and grace of your own piece reprinted from the Virginia Quarterly Review.

The lines of the book idea I had first suggested to the Southern Education Reporting Service have got a bit tangled; let me try to sort them out. Though I have not had any specific word as to whether the directors of SERS would approve the writing of a book in that organization, I gather they have little interest in the idea and even less in a book that would take a definite position, as I proposed.

I gather that such a book is of definite interest to you, but you have some reservations about writing on the situation in the North, considering it outside your regular territory. How, then, would you feel about drawing in another author on the work who would be qualified to write on the progress and problems of desegregation outside of the South?

I am going to be away from the office for the next three weeks, but hope I may hear from you toward the end of August.

Best regards.

Cordially yours,

Richard B. McAdoo

Richard B. McAdoo
Editor
Social & Economic Books

RBM:aw

10 years later

GBV
MA file

8 October 1962

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas
Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

I'm delighted that we have succeeded in working out a contract on your book, which continues to impress us as a potentially valuable contribution to the public welfare.

I have now circulated your revised outline to a couple of our senior editors, and we think it is much better organized than the first one. It does look awfully long, don't you think? One suggestion is that you limit it to what has happened since the court decision and not try to go so deeply as your outline suggests into the story of the decision and its background. But this is only a possibility for you to consider.

We'd be delighted to be of any assistance during the course of your composition, which I hope is proceeding vigorously.

I don't think I ever wrote to thank you for your nice words about the AVC memorandum on desegregation of the National Guard. This does seem to be the most useful area in which the organization is working these days.

Sincerely yours,

Charles G. Bolté

CGB:las

CC: Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Southern Regional Council

October 3, 1962

Mr. Charles G. Bolte
The Viking Press, Inc.
625 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Bolte:

I enclose signed copies of your letter of September 25 and of the original contract. Thank you very much for amending the contract to suit our wishes.

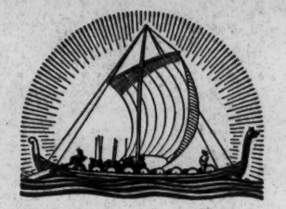
With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A
Enclosures

file



PUBLISHERS · THE VIKING PRESS INC · NEW YORK 22 NY

Cable address · Vikpress 625 MADISON AVENUE *Telephone · PLaza 5-4330*

September 25, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

This letter will serve as an amendment to and an integral part of the contract between us, dated August 2, 1962, for a book on school desegregation by Benjamin Muse.

Clause 3 is amended to read, "The Publishers agree to take all steps necessary to obtain copyright in the name of Southern Regional Council, Inc. and thereby secure..."

Clause 4A, Part Two, is amended to read, "...to impede or reduce its sale, except that the Author may from time to time publish reports, pamphlets, and other materials in the regular course of his work which deal with the same subject matter."

We cannot now indicate a tentative retail price. However, we undertake to set the price at a figure which reflects the royalty schedule.

If you agree to these amendments, please sign both copies of this letter and return one with one signed copy of the contract.

Sincerely yours,

The Viking Press, Inc.

Approved:

for Southern Regional Council, Inc.

cc: Benjamin Muse
CGB/pg

PUBLISHERS · THE VIKING PRESS INC · NEW YORK 22 NY

Cable address · Vikpress 625 MADISON AVENUE *Telephone · PLaza 5-4330*

September 11, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Many thanks for yours of August 15th, which arrived when I was away on vacation.

We are now about to go into sales conference, so I'm swamped at the moment, so this is simply an interim word that all of the proposals you make are entirely agreeable to us. I will shortly be revising the contract and will send you new copies, together with a covering letter which would clarify the remaining points. At the same time I will send you any comments we may have on the new outline, which, at a quick glance, looks fine.

Sincerely yours,

Charles G. Bolte

CGB:lk

Memo from **PAUL ANTHONY**

LWD:

Joe Haas raises several questions about attached — will discuss.

PA

THE VIKING PRESS INC · PUBLISHERS
625 MADISON AVENUE · NEW YORK 22 · NY
Cable: Vikpress *Telephone: PL 5-4330*

August 3, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Please disregard our somewhat incomprehensible letter of August 2nd. The attahhed is what we meant to say.

Sincerely yours,

Cathy Wyler

Sec'y to Mr. Bolte

RECEIVED
AUG 6 1962

PUBLISHERS · THE VIKING PRESS INC · NEW YORK 22 NY

Cable address · Vikpress 625 MADISON AVENUE *Telephone · PLaza 5-4330*

August 3, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Sorry for the delay in writing you about the proposed book on school desegregation; we've had a lot of absences here with vacations. However, I've now had a chance to consult with the senior editors, and I'm happy to send you two copies of a contract. I'm also sending Mr. Muse a copy, together with a copy of this letter; perhaps the two of you will consult and let me know if this is acceptable or if you would prefer something different. If acceptable, please sign both copies and return one to me.

We all think this can be an extremely valuable book, and we look forward to working closely with you on the project.

Sincerely yours,

Charles G. Bolte

cc: Benjamin Muse

Eaton's Fidelity Onion Skin

Agreement

made this 2nd day of August 1962, by and between
The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
the Author and/or Proprietor , party of the first part (hereinafter called the "Author"), and THE VIKING PRESS, INC., of 625 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y., party of the second part (hereinafter called the "Publishers"), respecting a work of non-fiction on schoo desegregation by Benjamin Muse
consisting of approximately 75,000 to 100,000 words

(hereinafter called "said work"), whereby it is mutually agreed between the Author and the Publishers as follows:

PART ONE

Delivery of manuscript

Publication rights granted

1. The Author agrees to deliver the finished work and all relevant material (except Index) mentioned in 2A hereunder to the Publishers by September 1st, 1963 and hereby grants and assigns to the Publishers the sole and exclusive right to publish said work in volume form in the English language throughout the world

and also grants to the Publishers such further rights as are specified in Paragraph 5 hereafter. The phrase "in volume form" shall be defined as meaning publication of the work as a whole, or substantially complete, as a unit or at one time.

Agreement to publish

2. The Publishers agree to publish said work in volume form at their own expense, in style and price as they deem best, within 9 months after receipt of acceptable manuscript but they shall not be responsible for delays caused by strikes, lock-outs, fires, or other circumstances beyond their control.

Copyright

S.R.C.

3. The Publishers agree to take all steps necessary to obtain copyright in the name of Benjamin Muse and thereby secure their own rights and those of the Author under the United States Copyright Acts and the Universal Copyright Convention; and the Author agrees to take out renewals whenever they fall due. Both parties agree to execute, at any time, all such papers and documents as may be necessary in order to protect, assign, renew or otherwise effectuate the rights herein, whether granted to the Publishers or reserved by the Author.

Royalties: regular sales

4. The Publishers agree to pay the Author as follows: (a) no royalty on 1st 6000 copies sold

XXXX (a) A royalty of 10 per cent of the catalog retail price for all copies sold of said work, less copies returned, on the next 9000 copies, 12½% on the next 5000 copies, and 15% on all copies sold thereafter if in printings of 5000 or more at a time, the rate remaining at 12½% on printings of less than 5000.
with the following exceptions:

(a-1) On sales at a discount of 48 per cent or more, other than those mentioned in clause *(b)*, the prevailing royalty less one-half the difference between 44 per cent and the discount granted, but in no case less than one-half the stipulated rate unless specifically mentioned in this agreement.

export and special sales

book club sales

(b) On copies sold for export, and on copies sold at a special discount of 60 per cent or more from the catalog retail price, such as sales to Canada, sales to employees for personal use, or sales in bulk to recognized Book Clubs or Reading Circles, a royalty of 10 per cent of the amount which the Publishers charge, with no deduction for cash discounts or bad debts, but if said work is sold to a recognized Book Club which pays an outright sum or a royalty for a license to publish said work for distribution to its members or subscribers, the Author shall receive 50 per cent of the amount received by the Publishers;

sales from later small editions

(c) On copies sold in any six months' royalty period in which the regular sales do not exceed 500 copies, provided that such copies are from a reprinting made two years or more after first publication, one-half the royalty rates named in *(a)* above; this provision being made for the purpose of keeping the work in print and in circulation as long as possible.

text-book sales

(d) On copies of any text-book edition at a retail price lower than that of the regular trade edition, a royalty of 10 per cent of the amount which the Publishers charge, as qualified above;

overstock

(*e*) On copies of overstock which the Publishers, after one year from the first publication of the said work, deem it expedient to sell at less than one-half the catalog retail price, a royalty of 10 per cent of the amount which the Publishers charge, but if such copies be sold at or below cost, no royalty shall be paid;

cheap or reprint edition

(*f*) On all copies sold of a paperbound edition published by the Publishers (if there should be one), a royalty of 5 per cent of the retail price (3⅓ per cent on export sales); on all copies sold of any hard-cover cheap edition which they publish (as authorized in 6A hereunder) at a price not more than two-thirds of the original retail price, a royalty of 10 per cent of the amount which the Publishers charge, as qualified above; but if the Publishers license publication of a hard-bound or paperbound cheap edition by another publisher, the Author shall receive 50 per cent of the amount received by the Publishers;

mail-order Preview copies

(*g*) On copies sold direct to the consumer through the medium of mail-order coupon advertising or direct-by-mail circularization, a royalty of 5 per cent of the amount which the Publishers charge; should copies be sold to the "Preview Associates," a royalty of 6 cents per copy.

Additional rights:

5. The Publishers shall have the following exclusive rights with respect to which they alone may make arrangements both on their own behalf and on behalf of the Author when necessary, and the division of the net receipts from the sale or other disposition of these rights shall be as follows:

editions in English abroad

(*a*) Publication by British or other foreign publishers of editions in English outside of the United States on a royalty basis or for an outright sum, 75 per cent to the Author and 25 per cent to the Publishers; but if the Publishers supply sheets or bound books at a price inclusive of royalty, the Author shall receive 20 per cent of the amount received by the Publishers;

first serial

(*b*) Publication of separate parts, or of the work as a whole or abridged in two or more instalments ("first serial"), in magazines or newspapers before publication in volume form, 75 per cent to the Author and 25 per cent to the Publishers;

digests, second serial, anthologies, mechanical reproduction

(*c*) Publication of the book as a whole, substantially complete or condensed ("book digest" or "book preview"), in one issue of a magazine or newspaper, before or after book publication (provided such publication will not conflict with "first serial" publication); second serialization; syndication; reprinting in whole or in part or excerpts or digests in anthologies or other volumes, magazines or newspapers; mechanical rights (visual and/or sound reproduction and recording of the text other than by motion picture, radio or television); public readings: 50 per cent to the Author and 50 per cent to the Publishers;

radio

(*d*) Radio and/or television broadcasting, 75 per cent to the Author and 25 per cent to the Publishers;

motion-picture and dramatic

(*e*) Motion-picture and/or dramatic (stage) rights, 75 per cent to the Author and 25 per cent to the Publishers, who shall pay any agency commissions out of their share;

translation

(*f*) Translation, 50 per cent to the Author and 50 per cent to the Publishers.

All rights not herein specifically granted to the Publishers are reserved by the Author.

Option on other work

6. The Author hereby grants to the Publishers the option to publish the Author's next **book-length work of non-fiction on** ~~on the terms of the present agreement~~ **fair and reasonable terms to be agreed upon.**

The Publishers shall exercise this option within two months of receipt of the completed manuscript, but not necessarily until at least one month after the publication of the next preceding book, and they shall publish the new book within one year of the date of its acceptance. If one of the option books should not be accepted, the Publishers' option on subsequent books shall become null and void.

PART TWO

Author's failure to deliver MS.

1A. Default in delivery of manuscript by the date above stated may be deemed cause for the termination of this agreement if the Publishers should so elect, and, in such case, they shall have the right to recover from the Author any and all amounts which they may have advanced to him or spent in the expectation that the agreement would be adhered to; but should the Publishers consent to accept the manuscript at a later date, they shall not be required to publish within the limit of time above stated.

Final copy, index, illustrations, etc.

2A. The Author agrees to deliver to the Publishers final revised copy satisfactory to them in content and form and ready for the press; if it should not be, the Author shall have the option of revising it or of commissioning the Publishers to have it properly prepared at the Author's expense. If an index is required or if drawings, photographs, tables, maps, charts, or other illustrative matter should be deemed necessary by both parties, the copy shall be prepared or supplied by the Author or, in his default, by the Publishers at his expense. If copyrighted matter is quoted, the Author shall obtain all necessary authorizations in advance at his own expense. If alterations in the proof are made at the Author's request (or because of the Author's failure to deliver accurate copy for the printer) which cost more than 10 per cent of the cost of composition, exclusive of the cost of correcting printers' errors, the Author shall be charged for such excess. The Author agrees to pay any and all such charges when billed by the Publishers.

Proof corrections

Author's guarantee as to proprietary rights, libel, etc.

3A. The Author represents and warrants that he is the sole author and proprietor of said work, and that he has full power to make this agreement and grant, that it in no way infringes upon any copyright or proprietary right of others, and that it contains nothing unlawful, libelous, or in violation of any right of privacy. The Author agrees to indemnify and hold harmless the Publishers against all liabilities, losses, damages, and expenses of any kind whatsoever resulting from any claim, action, or proceeding (whether or not based on a warranty, indemnity, or undertaking of the Publishers) asserted or instituted on the ground that the said work violates any copyright or proprietary right or contains anything unlawful, libelous, or in violation of any right of privacy.

Defense of copyright

In case of any infringement of the copyright of the said work by others, the Publishers may in their discretion sue or employ such remedies as they deem expedient, and all such suits or proceedings shall be at the joint expense of Author and Publishers, and the net proceeds of any recovery shall be divided equally between them, but the Author shall not be liable for any expenditure for such purposes in excess of $500.00 undertaken by the Publishers without his previous consent in writing.

Competitive material

4A. The Author agrees that he will not, without the written permission of the Publishers, publish or permit to be published in book or pamphlet form, while this agreement is in force, any material based on said work, or of such a nature as to impede or reduce its sale.

Prior publication elsewhere

5A. If the Author retains the right to first serialization of the work, he shall notify the Publishers promptly of any such arrangement for publication, in order that the Publishers, when they publish the said work, may be in a position to comply fully with all requirements under the United States Copyright Acts, and if any registered copyright therein shall be in the name of any person or party other than that stipulated in Paragraph 3 he shall deliver to the Publishers promptly legally recordable assignment or assignments of such copyright; he shall not require the Publishers to postpone publication, in order to permit serialization, beyond the season for which the book has been catalogued, without compensation satisfactory to the Publishers. If the Author should arrange for publication of said work elsewhere than in the United States (provided Paragraph 1 permits him to do so), he agrees that it shall not precede publication in the United States without the Publishers' consent in writing; and that, if publication elsewhere has taken or will take place with the Publishers' consent, they shall not be responsible for securing American copyright if it should be impracticable to obtain it without publishing sooner than agreed in Paragraph 2.

Cheap edition: authorization adjustment of royalties

6A. The Author agrees that the Publishers may, after one year from the publication of said work, bring out editions at less than the regular price, or authorize another publisher to do so, and that, if the Publishers adjust the price of the regular edition remaining unsold in the hands of booksellers, the royalty on such copies shall be adjusted to conform to the terms for the cheap edition as stated above.

No royalty on free copies

7A. On copies furnished gratis to the Author, or for review, advertising, sample, or like purposes, or on copies destroyed by fire or water, no royalty shall be paid.

Selections for publicity

8A. The Publishers may publish, or permit others to publish, broadcast, or telecast, without payment, such selections from said work for publicity purposes as they may consider appropriate to benefit its sale.

Author's copies

9A. The Publishers shall give to the Author on publication 10 free copies of said work, and he shall have the right to purchase copies for personal use, but not for re-sale, at 60 per cent of the catalog retail price. Such purchases shall be paid for within 30 days after the date of the Publishers' invoice.

Accounting and payment

10A. The Publishers agree to render semiannual statements of accounts to April 30 and October 31 of each year, on or before August 31 and February 28 following, and to make settlement in cash at the same time. In reporting sales the Publishers may withhold a reasonable reserve for future returns during the period after publication in which books are returnable by the booksellers. After two years following the original publication date regular royalty statements need not be issued by the Publishers until accumulated earnings from all sources, due and payable, exceed $10.00, unless requested in writing by the Author. Should the Author receive an overpayment he agrees that the Publishers may deduct such amount from any further earnings of said work or any other books by him which may be published by the Publishers, it being understood that an unearned advance is not an "overpayment."

Default by the Publishers

11A. If the Publishers should fail to pay moneys due or to deliver statements as agreed, within three months from the date of written demand by the Author or his representatives, this agreement shall

be canceled and all rights in said work granted herein shall revert to the Author forthwith, and without further notice, and without prejudice to moneys due to him from the Publishers.

12A. The Publishers' liability for loss of or damage to any property of the Author shall in no event exceed the amount payable to the Publishers under any insurance carried by them covering their liability for such loss or damage.

Termination of this agreement

13A. Should the Publishers fail to keep said work in print, and after written demand from the Author decline or neglect to bring it back into print within six months, this agreement shall terminate and all rights granted hereunder shall revert to the Author, together with any existing property originally furnished by him at his expense; but it is understood that the work shall be considered to be in print if it is on sale by the Publishers in any edition or if it is on sale in a reprint edition licensed by the Publishers during the term of this agreement, or under option for such publication. Should the Publishers after two years from the date of first publication give three months' notice to the Author of their desire and intention to discontinue publication, this agreement shall terminate and all rights granted hereunder shall revert to the Author. In the event of reversion of rights the Author shall have the right to purchase the plates, if any, of said work at one-half of the manufacturing cost (including composition) and/or any remaining copies or sheets at one-half of the manufacturing cost of same, exclusive of overhead, in default of which the Publishers shall dispose of the same as they may see fit, without prejudice to moneys due to the Author.

Assignment of this agreement

This agreement shall be binding upon the heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns of the Author, and upon the successors or assigns of the Publishers, but no assignment shall be binding on either of the parties without the written consent of the other party to this agreement.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the parties hereto have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year first above written.

IN THE PRESENCE OF:

_____ Witness

_____ Author and/or Proprietor

THE VIKING PRESS INC.

_____ Witness

By _____

PUBLISHERS · THE VIKING PRESS INC · NEW YORK 22 NY

Cable address · Vikpress 625 MADISON AVENUE *Telephone · PLaza 5-4330*

August 2, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Sorry for the delay in writing you about the proposed book on school desegregation; we've had a lot of absences here with vacations. However, I've now had a chance to consult with the senior editors, and I'm happy to send you a contract. I'm also sending Mr. Muse a copy, together with two copies of this letter; perhaps the two of you will consult and let me know if this is acceptable or if you would prefer something different. If acceptable, please sign both copies and return one to me.

We all think this can be an extremely valuable book, and we look forward to working closely with you on the project.

Sincerely yours,

Charles G. Bolte

cc: Benjamin Muse

RECEIVED
AUG 6 1962

HARPER & BROTHERS

PUBLISHERS SINCE 1817

49 East 33rd Street, New York 16, N. Y.

October 10, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thanks for your letter of September 13 which has been held for my reply.

I hope you will find the time at some stage to do some writing on your own book, and will let me know when that time appears.

Good luck with the current project.

Cordially yours,

Richard B. McAdoo

Richard B. McAdoo
Editor
Social & Economic Books

RBM:aw

CABLE ADDRESS : HARPSAM · TELEPHONE : MURRAY HILL 3-1900

G. W. Foster, Education and Law:
Segregation in Public Schools

SB –

mailed to Ben Muse
11/5/62

when you are ready
please mail them to
Ben for his use, with
the request that he return
as soon as convenient

Please return to BM

PUBLISHERS · THE VIKING PRESS INC · NEW YORK 22 NY

Cable address · Vikpress 625 MADISON AVENUE *Telephone · PLaza 5-4330*

21 November 1962

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Post Office Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

Thanks so much for your good letter and for the preliminary draft of Chapter 1. I read it with great interest and admiration myself, and two of our senior editors agree with me that it's a good beginning. We also agree with you that it is still a bit too long. One other comment: A few nonobjective words creep in, and we think the narrative would be stronger without them.

However, let me say again that our chief reaction is that it's good, and readable.

We will look forward to future installments, and would be glad to offer any assistance that you may need.

We don't have any printed instructions on matters of style; I suggest you simply write it the way you naturally would, and our copy editors will go through the final manuscript to make sure that it is consistent.

Good luck in your labors, which I am sure will be fruitful.

Sincerely yours,

Charles G. Bolté

CGB:las

P. S. Would you like to have our copy of Chapter 1 returned to you?

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT AND CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 201, 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

BENJAMIN MUSE
CONSULTANT
BOX 312, MANASSAS, VA.

SB. Suggest your file

November 30, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I think it best to move along in preliminary draft and allow for considerable trimming when I can better see the shape of the whole book.

I will appreciate indication of places where the text is too prolix or too dry or downright wrong.

After examination of my outline, Viking wrote that I appeared to contemplate giving too much space to the Supreme Court decision and its background. I forwarded the first two chapters and received the enclosed comment. I am a little disturbed at the objection to "nonobjective words."

Regards.

Ben

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

Jonathan Peel
ADL

The Smith Sanger Manual
ADL
JA 3-1619

December 3, 1962

Mr. Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Staige:

With reference to Page 70 of the draft which I sent you the other day, I would like for you to look out for some good estimates of Ku Klux Klan strength. I took those startling figures from Arnold Rice, The Ku Klux Klan in American Politics, which says (on Page 118): "By 1958 there were well over 100,000 new Knights and more than 500 new chapters..." The figures given in our "Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence" add up to only about a third of that number. John Bartlow Martin (pp. 158-159) ventures no estimate, but seems to be talking about a smaller Klan.

I have a mass of material on "Ole Miss" which I shall deal with only near the end of this journey. However, I would like for you to look out for indications of the attitude of other Southern states toward those events. The information which I requested on school teacher desegregation and school desegregation in the North can wait until February.

It was nice to see you at the Annual Meeting.

Sincerely,

Ben

December 19, 1962

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P.O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

I apologize for my delay in answering your letter of December 3, particularly the query regarding KKK strength. But since the Anti-Defamation League has the best estimates we know of, I have been trying to get in touch with their Klan specialist for more than a week now. (Apparently, the ADL regards itself as a civil rights CIA; Janet Smith called first, was told they couldn't give any figures over phone, and that we'd have to come there to see their lawyer about it. Just why all this hush-hush business is anyone's guess.)

Finally, however, I reached said lawyer (by phone) this morning, explained who I was and why I wanted an estimate or guesstimate. Since SRC seems to be considered cleared for ADL's top secrets, he let me have this information via the Bell telephone:

In January 1961, the ADL got out an estimate of Klan strength at that time. It concluded: "in sum the total south-wide Klan membership is no more than 50,000 and may be about 35,000 or somewhat less." Moreover, my source said that while Klan membership has widely fluctuated since 1954, he is dead certain that Rice's estimate is way off, way too high. He pointed out that the Klan has a habit of going "way overboard" in claiming membership, habitually counting people who have long since ceased to belong (and in some cases long since gone from this earth). He did say, though, that there were some indications of a slight increase in Klan strength this past year, but nothing significant. In Alabama and Georgia, the two states with the largest Klan membership, he estimated that 1) KKK has held its own this year in Alabama, and 2) shown definite signs of increase in Georgia up to September and October (but may be falling off now that the old order has collapsed). At any rate, whatever increase there has been this year or in the past eight years, there is no indication of the Klan rising anew as the Phoenix of old.

To sum up; you are safe in saying that Klan membership has fluctuated widely in the past decade, but at the most never exceeded 50,000 and is likely to have been considerably less throughout the whole period.

I enjoyed reading your latest installments, but did make some edit changes and a few comments. As Les mentioned last week, they'll be forthcoming, together with his. I just wish I could write as fast -- and as well.

Just let us know when you want the material about teacher desegregation and the situation in the North, and we'll send it along. Same for Ole Miss information.

I was glad to see you last month, but sorry we didn't get a chance to discuss your book and other matters at great length. Let's plan on a real session when you come down for the Executive Committee meeting in February. I also enjoyed meeting your wife, as did Bettina, and I hope you'll give her our best.

A Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year to you both.

Best regards,

SDB:bp

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

BP

December 20, 1962

Ben Muse

Leslie Dunbar

Book: 10 years after Supreme Court decision

Dear Ben,

We are returning (enclosed) one carbon copy of Chapters 4 through 7; the other we are keeping here. Both Staige and I have read this and put some marks on it. I believe you will be able to distinguish our handwritings well enough to recognize the culpirt in each case.

I tend, as I believe you know, to agree with Staige when he says that some chapters are too short, but I agree very much with your remark in your letter of November 30 that it is best to move along now with expectation of trimming and shaping when the full draft is completed. If my eye is any good, I visualize that, recognizing how far you still have to go, the draft may exceed the desired length. This would seem to me wholly normal. I think you should continue to write as fully and in as much detail as you feel required, with the realization that when the draft is finished it may have to undergo some pruning. But I think it is best to get it down first as it flows.

I like these chapters very much, particularly Chapter 7. I am amazed and admiring of how much progress you have been able to make.

In addition to a few marginal notations, I have a couple other suggestions (and I think you and I have already agreed that anything Staige or I send you is "suggestions").

Pages 32-57

If you can get over the story of the border states more briefly, I think this would be a possible place to cut. I agree with you that Kentucky, in this context, should hardly be treated as a border state. Also, I think it is worthwhile highlighting the experience in Washington because of its symbolic importance in southern controversy. But for, in particular, Oklahoma, Missouri, Maryland, and West Virginia, I would suggest a minimum of narative. At the same time you might keep in mind for a later point that Oklahoma and Missouri furnished much of the information we as yet have on the question of the effects of desegregation on the employment of Negro teachers--which is bound to become an issue of importance throughout the South.

Page 35

I suspect we are in disagreement, but let me note that I never was able to see that Governor Collins deserved his general acclaim prior to the advent of the sit-ins, at which time he was already on his way out of office. Even though I recognize that a Florida governor'has little controll over the attorney-general's office, it remains true that he did little to interfere with the role of the office as master strategist for Florida school desegregation, very successfully holding desegregation in Florida to tiny proportions. More generally, I would raise with you the question of whether it is fair to single out for praise Hodges, Collins, and Clement, each of whom presided over a fairly moderate state. In their own ways, and faced with very different situations, one might argue that Coleman of Mississippi, Long of Louisiana, and Folsom of Alabama did as well.

Page 51

Because I know St. Louis almost not at all, and know Baltimore pretty intimately, I cannot perhaps be objective about this, but I would, nevertheless, question whether St. Louis has as much or any more of a southern flavor than has Baltimore.

Page 58

I cannot agree that the old relationship was based "for the most part on well meaning paternalism on the part of whites." I question whether the paternalistic spirit was that wide-spread, especially in later years, and I would, even more strenuously, question the adjective "well-meaning."

Page 59 - second complete sentence

A hasty reader might not give proper attention to the "if" and "as". I would suggest you reqord to make clear that this is not your opinion.

Page 60

Miscegenation certainly has been raised openly by many, many critics, Whether or not they were "responsible". As a matter of fact, I am not clear as to who your account, up to this point, has held to be "responsible" critics.

Page 60-61

I agree with you that miscegenation has been a real fear. I am skeptical that Communism has been. I am inclined to think that the Communist boogy has simply been a convenience, and that few, except possibly KKK types, really believe the charges that have been hurled. On the other hand, I believe there is reality in the apprehensions they have about "big government", "outside influences," "federal control," I think it is hard for most southerners to articulate these real but confused and imprecise apprehensions, and that this has all the more contributed tremendously to the big scare labels such as Communism.

Page 69-70

You might take note of an extreme factionalism within the Klan movement of the last few years and the undoubted operation of some Klans simply for profit. I think you might also in some way modify the statement which says that Georgia, Alabama, Florida, South Caroline, and Louisiana became strongholds. My impression is that in only Alabama has the Klan had statewide strength. It is and has been virtually non-existent in Georgia except in the Atlanta area and northward to Chattanooga. In Florida it has had some strength in the area from Pensacola through Tallahassee and over toward Jacksonville and down into middle Florida as far as Orlando and maybe Lakeland. So far as I know, there has been only isolated Klan strength in South Carolina, chiefly in the northeast corner. I wasn't aware of any Klan strength really in Louisiana.

Generally, I confess to a strong bias to footnotes anywhere except at the bottom of the page, unless, as is sometimes sensible, footnotes which are merely citations of sources are put at the end and others at the bottom.

Have you received a copy of the Commission on Civil Rights two new publications titled, Civil Rights: U.S.A. One volume is about public school desegregation in Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia; and the other about five northern cities including St. Louis.

With every good wish for you and Mrs. Muse at Christmas,

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

Muse

February 21, 1963

Mr. Edwin S. Barber
Associate Editor
College Textbook Department
Harper & Row Publishers
49 East 33rd Street
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

As you know, SRC has a contract with Viking to bring out a book on the first ten years after the Brown decision in May 1964. The author of this book, Ben Muse, was in town this week, and he posed two questions which I would like to get your advice about. They are: 1) do trade publishers usually farm out the index of a book to a professional indexer or does the author have to prepare the index himself; and 2) when one wishes to quote from another work, does he have to get both the author's and the publisher's permission?

Admittedly, I should know the answers to these questions myself. But while university press publishers require the author to make his own index, it was my understanding that trade houses arranged to get someone else to do this tedious and troublesome job. Am I right? As for quote permissions, does this depend on the length of the quote, i.e., if it's an extract, permissions is required, but if only a phrase or a sentence, it is not necessary?

We will be mighty grateful for whatever advice you can give about these queries. I'm sure an old publishing pro like Bosley Barber can provide the answers as easily as he demolishes the latest hokum from Hollywood.

Otherwise, there's not much to report at the moment. The weather has been ghastly here this winter, and I've only been able to get on the tennis courts three times thus far in '63. And, oh yes, Betinna appears to be pregnant... and as it must to all husbands... the highly dubious joys of fatherhood... or, as Peter DeVeries once observed, "if there's one thing worse than not having children, it's having them." Take my advice, friend, extricate yourself from your entangling alliance next June before it's too late 'cause the days of wine and roses come to an abrupt end when you say that "I do." Take it slow, let us hear from you.

Cheers & Cheerio,

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SDB/mmj

February 27, 1963

Mr.Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

As promised, I wrote to my friend at Harper's last week and received a reply today. This is what he had to say:

"Indexes are a gray area in publishing. It is standard in every contract to require the author or compiler to put it together. Sometimes, however, if this is inconvenient or if the index is exceptionally complicated, the work is done by a free lancer and the charges levied against the author's royalties. In a very few cases the index might be done in the publisher's offices, but this is rare. All in all, I should say that if Viking is trying to get the SRC to do the index, they are well within their rights and within normal publishing practice.

"When one wishes to quote from another's work, he requests permission from the copyright holder, either author or publisher. It is not necessary to consult both. Of course, quotes of less than 500 words (except poetry) are exempt and may be used without permission, unless they comprise the whole of a work as in the case of a newspaper article, for example."

So it appears you will have to make your own arrangements about the index, though I would still check with Viking before doing this. They may be willing to undertake the task of getting a free lancer or of recommending good outside indexers. If you would like, however, I will be glad to write a D. C. friend who knows an indexer in the Washington area. As for quotes, my advice would be to hold them to less than 500 words wherever possible: it'll save a lot of time and trouble. Good to see you last week, hope to see you again soon.

Janet is sending figures on cities you inquired about.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SDB/mmj

April 9, 1963

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Leslie asked me to copy the enclosed letter and see that it was returned to you.

Let me thank you, too, for your note while I was at the Clinic. I appreciated hearing from you and am now very glad to be back at work and feeling very good despite the juggling involved in moving my family into a new house in Druid Hills.

Sincerely,

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

BP:s
Enclosure: David Freeman letter 4/3/63

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

SB - for you!

Kindly BP - please return to Ben

thermofax

and return

original.

Regards -

Ben

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

April 3, 1963.

Dear Ben:

I am returning under separate cover the copy of your manuscript which you kindly sent me. I am sorry that some of the pages are crumpled - they reached us considerably banged up by the US Mails.

I have found the first seven chapters fascinating reading and have no specific criticisms to offer. I assume you will be checking the description of the NAACP and its Legal Defense Fund with Jack Greenberg or someone there - it occurs to me that the separateness of the two organizations may need to be emphasized a bit more. I hope that when you get to that stage it will be possible to include in the book itself some of the outstanding news photographs.

Many thanks for letting me read these chapters. I will look forward to the finished product as another major contribution by you.

Sincerely yours,

Dave Freeman

David F. Freeman

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Post Office Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Staige:

I neglected to ask you to submit my chapter on Little Rock to Wiley Branton. Probably you thought of it. I would like very much to have his comment and corrections.

Regards.

Ben Muse

April 15, 1963

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

We are returning, enclosed, the long ago received copies of your chapters. As I told you over the telephone, I found them good reading and invariably accurate.

I have put my specific comments on the pages of the manuscript.

At this point my guess would be that you will exceed, in the first draft, the agreed upon length by a good bit. My inclination is to say to you to go ahead and write as you have, and let us, you, and the publisher worry later about length.

The quotation you use on page 106 from With All Deliberate Speed seems to me not as sharp as it could be. I have asked Staige to see if we could not work up some more illuminating figures.

With very best regards, and promises to read the next batch more expeditiously.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 2.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT AND CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE N.E. ATLANTA, GEORGIA
Phone 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date 1/25/63

To: Ben Muse

From: SDB

Subject: TEN YEARS OF BROWN, Installment #3

Ben,

I've now completed your latest chapters, and I think they read very well indeed: you have a real knack for taking a complicated and [redacted] controversial subject and making it clear to a reader. Moreover, the narrative moves easily, never losing the reader in a mass of detail or a maze of footnotes; it makes him feel that the writer has a sure grasp of his facts and a skill in communicating them. Viking may have some nitpicking quibbles, depending on its own particular concepts of style (which seem to vary from house to house), but it certainly should have no hesitation in getting this book into print when it's finished.

Naturally, I have a few comments, which I hope will be constructive. And I've made some minor copyediting changes in the text. These are, of course, all in the form of suggestions, to be accepted or rejected as you see fit.

Before listing specific comments, here, for what they're worth (which may be damned little), are my reactions to the questions posed in your accompanying letter to Les: 1) re footnotes--Les and I may disagree on this, but I prefer fewer to more footnotes. Too many it seems to me take the reader away from the main body of the book, needlessly distract him, and wind up discouraging rather than encouraging his interest in the book. Even the great Freeman, I think, would have been easier to follow if he hadn't put so bloody many footnotes in his Lee and Lee's Lts. Incidentally, as you've doubtless noticed, the trend among trade publishers these days is to put footnotes at the end of the book rather than at the bottom of the page. I like this myself (see The Guns of August), but a lot of scholars (And LWD, I bet) don't. At any rate, it's publisher's perogative, so we won't have to worry about it. I don't think you've overdone or underdone your footnoting thus far; the blend seems just right. 2) I don't think you need give the

publisher when books are mentioned in the text; in fact, I'd advise against it (e. g., Fifty-eight Lonely Men). But it's mandatory in your footnotes.

Now, as for specific comments, herewith mine:

P. 75, 1st graf--Since so few southern clergymen and newspaper editors did dare to raise their voices against those who cried "Never!", I think you might cite by name two or three clergymen and editors who did in the first years after Brown.

P. 76, 2nd graf--I have doubts about discussing the Council's role at length here or elsewhere in this book for this reason: if the copyright is going to read "by the Southern Regional Council," some readers may object to our patting ourselves on the back in this book, particularly those aware of your SRC connection. I think Viking could make mention of the Council in the dustjacket, or, better still, get a notable figure in the civil rights field to write a foreword in which he mentions the Council's role in the changing South of '54-'64. Then, too, I imagine mention will be made of your SRC connection in the note about the author on the jacket.

P. 78, 1st graf--Besides having a personal prejudice against the words "former" and "latter," I think it's a little confusing here as to which "latter" you're referring--1958, temples or bombings.

P. 80, 1st graf, 3rd sentence--Think this sentence should be deleted. It implies, rightly or wrongly, that the Till, Lucy and Montgomery episodes were relatively unimportant to what came later. Doubtlessly, they were, but I see no need to point that out. Besides, a lot of readers are likely to dispute you on the Montgomery incident (which, in my opinion, was something of a major happening in the years after Brown).

Pp. 87-91--While a good way to lead into the chapter, I wonder, considering how much you've got to cover in this book, if you aren't giving a bit too much space to Hodges' speech and if you shouldn't condense and summarize it, particularly the long extract on pp. 87-88. By so doing, I think you'd bring the reader to the real subject of your chapter--"The People's Chosen Representatives"--more rapidly and more effectively.

P. 98, 1st sentence--It seems to me it's unnecessary to tell the reader this (see dash phrase in sentence) since you discuss the manifesto on the very next page.

P. 105, 1st graf, 3rd sentence--Changed text here 'cause so many people in so many books have lain awake nights scheming and dreaming that the phrase has gotten stale and hackneyed.

Hope this is a help. Best Regards,

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

RECEIVED
JAN 18 1963

January 16, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am forwarding under separate cover two copies of the second installment. The clip-in folder, which will accommodate also your copy of the first installment, I suggest that you keep.

I have consolidated Chapters 1 & 2 and 3, 4 & 5 and changed 6 to 3, and 7 to 4 -- so that the pages now being mailed are an addition to Chapter 4 and new Chapters 5 and 6.

In re footnotes: Do you favor more or fewer? I would appreciate indication of places where a footnote is lacking or where I may have overdone the footnoting. Do you think publishers should be given in all cases where books are mentioned, including books mentioned in the text and not in footnotes?

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Ben

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

July 23, 1963

Mr. Vernon Jordan
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordan:

Mr. Muse has instructed me to send you a copy of his letter to Mr. Roy Wilkins.

Yours truly,

Philippa Millard

Philippa Millard
Secretary

C O P Y

April 16, 1963

Mr. Roy Wilkins
Executive Secretary
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th St.
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Wilkins:

You will possibly recall the writer, who has had a number of pleasant associations with you -- from the Capitol Press Club to the Southern Regional Council.

I have been commissioned by the Council and the Viking Press to write a review of desegregation developments during the ten-year period from May 17, 1954 to May 17, 1964. I am, in fact, about half through this rather heavy assignment.

I would be greatly obliged if you would read my references to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the enclosed Chapters 1, 2, 4 and 6 of my preliminary draft, and give me your corrections or comment. I am forwarding the chapters under separate cover. The NAACP is mentioned on Pages 4, 10-17, 26-28, 38-39, 60-63, 125-128, and 134-135. If you should find time to read more than those pages and give me your comment, it would be deeply appreciated.

With warm personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse

P.S. I would appreciate return of the manuscript in due course.

COPY COPY COPY

PUBLISHERS . THE VIKING PRESS INC . NEW YORK 22 NY

625 Madison Ave PLaza 5-4330

VJ ✓
PA ✓
ML ✓
SB ✓

1 October 1963

Mr. Benjamin Muse
c/o Hotel Danville Milliner
Danville, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

I've now read all of your manuscript, and I must send you my felicitations. It seems to me a solid and workmanlike job. I will not make any detailed comments until a couple of my colleagues have had a chance to read it; if we have any editorial suggestions, we will be in touch with you next week. At the moment, however, I see no reason why we can't go right ahead with publication as scheduled.

Sincerely yours,

Charles G. Bolte

PUBLISHERS . THE VIKING PRESS INC . NEW YORK 22 NY

625 Madison Avenue

VJ
PWL
SB

COPY

October 22, 1963

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Post Office Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

Charles Bolte, I know, has told you how much we both like your book. I think he did not mention that we are a little concerned about a possible misinterpretation about the new title. There has been rather widespread fear of violence and bloodshed (although that fear has diminished since the Washington March), and we wonder whether the word "revolution" may not at first glance suggest just this sort of thing. Perhaps we could avoid this danger if you were to explain the sense in which you use the word at the beginning of your Foreword.

In answer to your specific question, let me say that the manuscript is now being copy-edited and should be ready for setting by November 1st. Any further corrections that are to go into the setting copy should be in our hands no later than that date. If you wish to wait for galleys to add last minute material on the civil rights legislation, we'll need to have that by December 2nd. We expect galleys by about November 25th, and these should be read and ready to go back to the printer by December 4th or 5th. Any extensive changes in the galleys or additions to them, as I am sure you realize, will be costly.

We can arrange to have the Index made here, but it will of course be charged to your account. The page proofs from which it will be made ought to be in this office about the middle of December.

Neither Charles Bolte nor I think that this is a book that would be improved by illustrations. We look on it as an authoritative treatment of the subject which will certainly serve as a reference work for many years but which needs no photographic documentation. If this is contrary to your own views, please let us know at once. The inclusion of even a modest number of photographs will naturally affect the list price of the work. There may, however, be good reasons that have escaped us for putting them in.

Sincerely yours,

Denver Lindley

March 25, 1964

Mr. Ben Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

I thought you might be interested in the enclosed item from the current issue of Publisher's Weekly. It is a very nice plug for your book. I might just say that PW does not select just any book to run in its forecast section, and since this section is used by book stores and libraries in determining whether you order a book, this little review certainly won't hurt the sales of the book.

Incidentally, the same section panned Robert Penn Warren's new novel. Our regards to Mrs. Muse.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm
Enclosure

LWD ✓
PA ✓
MA ✓

McMATH, LEATHERMAN, WOODS & YOUNGDAHL
ATTORNEYS-AT-LAW
SUITE 1330, TOWER BUILDING
TELEPHONE FR 4-8293
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
72201

SIDNEY S. McMATH
LELAND F. LEATHERMAN
HENRY WOODS
JAMES E. YOUNGDAHL

JOHN P. SIZEMORE

April 13, 1964

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Vernon:

MA have also his name to receive & be billed

In response to your letter of April 9, 1964, I would like to order a copy of Ten Years of Prelude. I assume I will be billed.

I want to express my appreciation to you for your hospitality in Atlanta a week or two ago. I hope we can make somewhat regular contact here, there, or somewhere in between, as time goes on.

I wish you would convey to Paul Anthony my regrets at not being able to see him in Atlanta or in Little Rock when he was here last weekend. My wife talked to him for a few minutes but we both would like to have the opportunity to sit down with him and discuss the Arkansas Council at some length. I worked some on the draft of the report on the Committee on Procedures presented by my wife to the meeting of the Board of the Council on Saturday and am becoming increasingly concerned with its future, especially in the face of growing need and opportunity.

Under separate cover I am mailing you my old outlines. I really think that they may be completely outdated but if they are of any value to you in preparing for the Arkansas bar examination I would be pleased that I could make any small contribution. I do not really think they are worth mailing back so when you have done whatever you wish with them just throw them away. They do have some historical tradition but I do believe I can bear their destruction.

Best personal regards.

Sincerely,

James E. Youngdahl

JEY:jb

oeiul05aflcio

11 ~~10~~ 9

Categories

Viking list

#

3 - 226

7 - 202

8 - 401

829

17 - 126

955

stop mailing pieces into next mailing

File: N.M.
Ben Muse Book.
Corresp. related to

July 8, 1964

Mr. Charles Bolte
The Viking Press
625 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Bolte:

I do not believe that I have written to you, since Ten Years of Prelude came out, to tell you how pleased we are with the typography, layout, and general appearance of the book. We have also been greatly encouraged by the reviews and other comments we have seen. My good friend Claude Sitton wrote a puzzling review, but the critics' comments, generally, seem to be high. I have, however, noticed that there seems to be little advertising of the book, and I wonder if the good comments it has received would not furnish the basis for some more ads? On the other hand, I have been pleased to see that the book has been on counter display at bookstores down here.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

bc: Mr. Benjamin Muse

May 8, 1964

Mr. Charles G. Bolte
The Viking Press, Inc.
625 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Bolte:

We have, as of today, received only twenty-two copies of the requested seventy-eight copies of Ten Years of Prelude; however, we have been billed for the entire seventy-eight.

We would appreciate receiving the other books as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

March 27, 1964

Mr. Charles G. Bolte
The Viking Press, Inc.
625 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Bolte:

Your card is fine, and we are pleased to have you join us in sending out the copies.

We have seen the notice in Publishers Weekly for March 23. Great!

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE VIKING PRESS INC · PUBLISHERS
625 MADISON AVENUE · NEW YORK · N Y · 10022
Cable: Vikpress Telephone: (212) PL 5-4330

24 March 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thanks for yours of the sixteenth with the list. We will send one copy each to the 22 persons, and send you the other 78.

We would like to be associated with you in sending out the copies, if you agree; I would propose to use the enclosed card. If you'd rather have the SRC card alone, perhaps you could send me some copies.

We won't send out the books to individuals until we hear from you on this, but I'm putting through now the order for the other 78 copies to go directly to you. We certainly would have no objection to your selling them to your board members.

Sincerely yours,

Charles G. Bolté

CGB:las

Enclosure

WITH THE COMPLIMENTS OF
the Southern Regional Council and

THE VIKING PRESS

625 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

To be published May 18

File
"Southern Leadership Prof."
Ben Mays - Gen. Corresp
1964

March 16, 1964

Mr. Charles Bolte
The Viking Press, Inc.
625 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Bolte:

It was good talking with you last week. We are delighted that Ben's book will be out so early and are, as you might well expect, most eager to see it.

We would like to order 100 copies, with the understanding that we may have them at the author's discount. I believe you said that you would be able to mail copies directly. If so, could you have one copy each sent to the twenty-two (22) persons listed on the attached sheet? The other seventy-eight (78) copies, together with a bill for the entire 100 copies should be sent here. If you could include in the copies going directly to individuals some sort of appropriate card, I would appreciate it.

Are we correct in assuming that you have no objection to our offering for sale to our board members some of the copies sent here? We would do so at the price we are paying to you.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (List)

cc? Mr. Benjamin Muse

List of persons to receive Ben Muse book.

1. Miss Deborah Cole
   The Aaron E. Norman Fund, Inc.
   575 Madison Avenue
   New York, New York

2. Mr. Sol Markoff
   New York Foundation
   4 West 58th Street
   New York, New York

3. Mr. Vemnon A. Eagle
   New World Foundation
   475 Riverside Drive
   New York, New York

4. Mr. David Hunter
   Edgar Stern Family Fund
   800 Second Avenue
   New York, New York

5. Mr. Stephen R. Currier
   The Taconic Foundation, Inc.
   666 Fifth Avenue
   New York, New York

6. Mr. Maxwell Hahn
   Field Foundation, Inc.
   250 Park Avenue
   New York, New York

7. Dr. Leland DeVinney
   Rockefeller Foundation
   111 West 50th Street
   New York, New York

8. Mr. Heflip Lee
   Executive Director
   Virginia Council on Human relations
   17 East Cary Street
   Richmond, Virginia

9. Mrs. Frances Pauley
   Executive Director
   Georgia Council on Human Relations
   41 Exchange Place, S. E.
   Atlanta, Georgia

10. Mrs. Alice Spearman
    Executive Director
    South Carolina Council on Human Relations

    1330 Laurel
    Columbia, S.C.

11. Mr. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
101 - 2121 Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

12. Executive Director
North Carolina Council on Human Relations
121 E. Third Street, Room 301
Charlotte, North Carolina

13. Mr. Nathaniel Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

14. The Rev. Charles Kelly
Executive Director
Houston Council on Human Relations
5403 Austin Street
Houston, Texas

15. The Rev. Duncan Gray, Jr.
~~Executive Director~~ President
Mississippi Council on Human Relations
P. O. Box 266
Oxford, Mississippi

16. Mr. Claude Sitton
New York Times Bureau
10 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

17. Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

18. Mr. Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

19. Miss Katharine Jones
Executive Director
Tennessee Council on Human Relations
1106 - 19th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee

20. Miss Janet Smith
~~c/o Southern Regional Council~~ 137 Peachtree Hills Ave. N.E.
~~5 Forsyth Street, N. W.~~
Atlanta, Georgia

21. Mrs. Barbara Patterson
~~c/o Southern Regional Council~~ 1284 Oakdale Road. N.E.
~~5 Forsyth Street, N. W.~~
Atlanta, Georgia

22. Mr. Louis Mitchell
Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
356 South Beach Street
Daytona Beach, Florida

625 ✓ gs

Deborah Cole - the Baron Norman 575 - 2 ~~55~~ Ave

Sol Markoff - N Y Foundation 4 W. 58th, N.Y.

Vernon Eagle - New World Fd. 475 Riverside Drive

David Hunter - Stern Family Ex. Dir. 800 Second Ave 17

Stephen Currier, Jocanie 666 5th ave

Mac Hahn, Field Fd 250 Park ave

Helen de Vinney, Rock. Fd. 111 W. 50th St.

Healy Lee, V.C.K.R.

Elec dir N Carolina Coal

France Farley

Spearman

Mitchell

Jemerson

Jones

Gunnell

Kelly

Gray

Claude Sellers, 10 Forsyth St. [illegible] Green

Harold Fleming

Burke Marshall

Janet Smith c/o S.R.C. 5 Forsyth St.

Barbara Patterson "

March 9, 1964

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

As the enclosed copy indicates, we have instructed Viking Press to adhere to your request for distribution of the author's copies of Ten Years of Prelude. I should think they will comply.

It was good to see you and Mrs. Muse at Nashville's airport a fortnight ago. Somehow or other, we unfortunately could not locate each other after checking in with the airlines. Here's hoping however, that we will get to see you soon.

My best regards to Mrs. Muse.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJJr:nm
Enclosure

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

March 6, 1964

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

An officious person at Viking (who signs herself "Emily Horsley, Secretary to Thomas H. Guinzburg") has written to say that bound books of TEN YEARS OF PRELUDE will be ready about March 16th, but that, in view of our contract, the ten author's copies must go straight to SRC unless you instruct otherwise.

In filling out the Viking form last November, with your approval, I requested the following distribution:

1 to Mr. David H. Freeman, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N.Y.
4 to Benjamin Muse, Box 312, Manassas, Va.
5 to Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth St., N.W. Atlanta 3, Georgia.

If you have no objection, I would appreciate your making this official in a letter to Mr. Guinzburg so I can see our book!

Sincerely,

Ben

March 10, 1964

Mr. Thomas H. Guinzburg
The Viking Press, Inc.
625 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Guinzburg:

Please be advised that Southern Regional Council desires the ten author's copies of Ten Years of Prelude by Mr. Benjamin Muse of our staff, be distributed as per Mr. Muse's request to you on the Viking form last November.

Mr. Muse, with the Council's approval, requested the following distribution:

One (1) book to Mr. David H. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Four (4) books to Mr. Ben Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Five (5) books to Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

We would appreciate very much your compliance with Mr. Muse's request for distribution of the ten author's copies.

We look forward, with eager anticipation, to this publication.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr
Assistant to the Executive Director

VEJ:nm
cc: Mr. B. Muse

Make Goodwin
Sent Muse

December 3, 1963

Mr. Ben Muse
~~Box 312~~
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

This is to answer your inquiry of November 7, to Les, concerning the information and help from Viking Press in connection with the promotion of our book.

Be assured that you can draw on SRC for compensation and expenses pursuant to time spent and promotion of the book.

Attached hereto is a list of magazines that Staige and I feel will be disposed to give special attention to the book, exclusive of the regular review media. We have no additional names to add to those who are to receive complimentary copies, and have no quarrel with those you have already listed.

We are in agreement with you on the selection of those persons to receive author's possessive copies. On the matter of names and addresses of friends, professional associates, and personal announcements, on/or before publication, we can forward to Viking tapes giving names and addresses of such persons. We can make this information available to Viking almost immediately. The approximate number of names is 1,202.

Mr. Ben Muse
Manassas, Va.
December 3, 1963

Ben, I believe this answers all of the inquiries; if not, let me know, and I will try to be more exacting. See you at the Annual Meeting, whenever we can get it convened. We expect that it will be the latter part of January.

My best regards to Mrs. Muse.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

November 7, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I have received from Viking a long printed form requesting information and help in connection with the promotion of our book.

I am asked if I would be willing "to take active part in the promotion of the book." Specifically, would I "appear at bookstores to autograph the book?" Would I appear at press conferences or on radio or TV? This sounds awful, but I suppose I should cooperate in some of this if it should develop.

May I ask -- since this is likely to occur after my June 1, 1964, retirement from the SLP — if compensation and expenses for time spent in promotion of the book are not furnished by someone else — whether I can draw from SRC?

Viking would like to have a "list of magazines, newspapers or other media of publicity that would be disposed to give special attention" to the book -- exclusive of the "regular review media, to which we send copies as a matter of routine." I presume that would mean all the magazines, bulletins, etc. published by civil rights and human relations organizations. Could our research department compile a list of these?

"Give brief list of people who will be interested in your book and whose influence is sufficient to warrant sending a complimentary copy in advance of publication. (Please do not include those to whom you wish to send for personal reasons, or those who might legitimately be expected to purchase a copy.)" I would expect these to buy the book, but might suggest here nevertheless:

Senator Douglas, Brooks Hays, Burke Marshall, Luther Hodges. Any more?

"What disposition do you wish us to make of your free author's copies when ready?"

Is this all right:

1 Dave Freeman
4 Benjamin Muse
5 SRC

"Give list (on additional sheets) of the names and addresses of friends, acquaintances, or professional associates to whom we should send a personal announcement on or before publication. This list, forming a nucleus of potential readers, can be a useful aid to a book in the first weeks of its career)."

Here, I think, we should make available the maximum mailing list of the SRC. Shall we offer to actually address and mail the announcements? Can I advise Viking now of the approximate number of addresses on our list?

Sincerely,

Ben

Benjamin Muse

Southern School News
P. O. Box 6156
Acklen Station
Nashville, Tenn,

Journal of Negro Education
Bureau of Educational Research
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Howard Law Journal
Howard University Law School
Washington 1, D. C.

Harvard Educational Review
Lawrence Hall
Kirkland Street
Cambridge 38, Mass.

Phylon
Atlanta University
223 Chestnut Street, S. W.
Atlanta, 14, Ga.

Virginia Quarterly Review
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Va.

Sewanee Review
University of the South
Sewanee, Tenn.

Freedomways
799 Broadway
New York 3, New York

Liberator
224 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York

Norfolk Journal & Guide
Guide Publishing Co., Inc.
719 - 23 East Olney Road
Norfolk, Virginia

Interracial Review
233 Broadway
New York, 7, New York

Student Voice
6 Raymond Street
Atlanta, Georgia

North Carolina Law Review
University of North Carolina
Law School
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Atlanta Inquirer
953 Hunter Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Atlanta Magazine
Commerce Bldg.
Marietta Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Duke Law Review
Duke University Law School
Durham, North Carolina

Integrated Education
1424 North Orleans Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

Crisis
16 West 40th Street
New York, 18, New York

Negro Digest
1820 S. Michigan Avenue
Chicago 16, Illinois

SCLC Newsletter
334 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Journal of Southern History
2901 Byrdhill Road
Richmond, Va.

A.M. - Files
re: Ben Nunes Book
Ten Years ....

July 22, 1964

Mr. Charles G. Bolte
The Viking Press, Inc.
625 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Bolte:

We are delighted to hear of the second printing of Ten Years of Prelude. We are, of course, also pleased to know about further advertising plans.

After consideration, we think we would be interested in taking up your suggestion that we mail a flyer to some of the persons on our mailing list. We have tentatively picked four (4) lists, which total something over 1,000 names, and which we would regard as offering ~~supp~~ful possibilities for sales. If you could supply the mailing pieces, we shall send them out. I do not, however, quite understand how the sales would be handled. Perhaps you could explain that. Would we forward any orders to you?

All good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Rec'd 7/16/64

MA please see me

THE VIKING PRESS INC • PUBLISHERS
625 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022
Cable: VIKPRESS *Telephone:* (212) PLAZA 5-4330

15 July 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thanks for your nice note about TEN YEARS OF PRELUDE. I'm glad to say that the sales have moved so quickly that we have already ordered a second printing. We usually schedule additional advertising on these occasions, and we have already reserved space in the August 16 New York Times Book Review. To date we have spent more than $1600 in advertising, which is actually more than the budget warrants, but we hope the book will continue to sell well enough so that we can schedule further ads in the fall.

I presume you've taken steps to make sure that your own members know about the book's availability. Mr. Muse said that you had a list of approximately 1200 names and addresses to whom announcements could be sent. We would be glad to provide a mailing piece, quoting some of the reviews, if you would like to undertake a mailing. This might be turned to profit for the SRC: if you would sell the books directly to this list, we could let you have them at a 40% discount.

Sincerely yours,

Charles G. Bolté

CGB:jdc

January 5, 1965

Mr. Charles G. Bolte
The Viking Press, Inc.
625 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Bolte:

Please forward this office, at your earliest convenience, one copy of the British edition of Ten Years of Prelude, by Benajmin Muse, and bill us accordingly.

Thank you for your attention in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Nobbie H. Morgan
Secretary to Mr. Jordan

/nm

January 29, 1965

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Have you heard anything from Viking? We have not, and unless you have I think I shall write to Bolte. According to the contract we should have had by now, two reports on sales and royalties, if any.

How are you? I was glad Lloyd Elliott got a chance to come out for a visit.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:nm

Rec'd 2/17/65

Copy sent to BM - 2/17/65

THE VIKING PRESS INC · PUBLISHERS
625 MADISON AVENUE · NEW YORK · N Y · 10022
Cable: Vikpress *Telephone: (212) PL 5-4330*

PWV
SW-file

10 February 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We are preparing royalty statements now, and you should have one on TEN YEARS OF PRELUDE before the end of this month. Sales to date are over 4000 copies, and it continues to go along steadily; we think it will last for a long time.

No news from England as yet; I'll let you know when and if we hear anything.

Sincerely yours,

Charles G. Bolté

CGB:jdc

February 8, 1965

Mr. Charles G. Bolte
The Viking Press, Inc.
625 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Bolte:

As you can well imagine, we have a strong curiosity about the sales of TEN YEARS OF PRELUDE and about the fortunes of the English edition. I know that it has not sold in great quantity; we have hoped that it would, however, move along steadily. We have not yet received a statement from you, and I wonder if you could have one sent to us when convenient.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw

bcc: Benjamin Muse

Rec'd 2/8/65

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

February 2, 1965

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Etc.

Dear Les:

As I read Paragraph 10A of the contract, the first statement is due "on or before February 28." The August 31 statement mentioned would have been "to April 30," which was before the date of publication. My last word from Bolte (November 20):

"TEN YEARS OF PRELUDE continues to make its way, not spectacularly, but solidly. I am sure it will have a long and useful life."

Viking has never mentioned any figures. I suspect they will be disappointing.

I am plowing along on the next book and shall forward several chapters shortly for your kind (and , if necessary unkind attention). Pat Watters and Lloyd Elliott might be interested in aspare mement, if any, and I would value their criticism, but I wouldn't like to impose any obligation. I shall request Lloyd's help definitely when I get into the economic phase.

The Potomac Institute will sponsor this book, with invaluable help from Harold and company and a financial contribution covering my operating expenses.

Sincerely,

Ben

See
BM
for Viking file

February 25, 1965

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Here it is, as of last Halloween.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

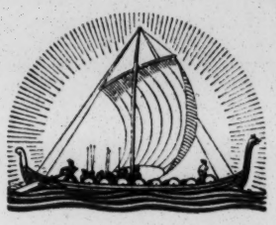
LWD:slw
Enclosure -- Statement from Viking Press, Inc.

Re: Ten Years of Prelude

file from DM

THE VIKING PRESS, INC. 625 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

Royalty Statement



TO The Southern Regional Council, Inc.

TITLE TEN YEARS OF PRELUDE by Benjamin Muse

PUBLISHED 5/18/64

SIX MONTHS ENDED 10/31/64 RETAIL PRICE $5.00

EXPLANATION	COPIES SOLD	RECEIPTS	RATE	CHARGES	EARNINGS
REGULAR EDITION	3370		NO ROYALTY		-0-
PAPERBACK EDITION					
LIBRARY BINDING					
EXPORT & SPECIAL					
REGULAR EDITION	128		NO ROYALTY		-0-
PAPERBACK EDITION					
LIBRARY BINDING					
OTHER INCOME					
BOOK CLUBS					
REPRINT EDITIONS					
PERMISSIONS					
FOREIGN					275.00
ADVANCES, PAYMENTS					
UNEARNED ADVANCE, PRIOR REPORT					
					275.00

SALES TO DATE	REGULAR:	EXPORT & SPECIAL:
REGULAR EDITION	3,370	128
PAPERBACK EDITION		
LIBRARY BINDING		

May 18, 1965

Mr. Charles G. Bolte
The Viking Press, Inc.
625 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Bolte:

We wish to have on hand ten copies of Ten Years of Prelude by Benjamin Muse. Do we still get the author's discount? At any rate, bill us, and send the books as soon as convenient. People visiting the office are often interested in acquiring a copy while here, especially when Mr. Muse is here to autograph it for them.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

September 10, 1965

Mr. Charles G. Bolte
The Viking Press, Inc.
625 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Bolte:

We have received no royalty statement for Ten Years of Prelude by Benjamin Muse since the one for the period ending October 31, 1964. We would appreciate being brought up to date on sales of the book.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

RHA/mmj

Lisa ✓ File - Southern Leadership Proj. Ben Muse's Ten Years of Prelude Done

Rec'd 9/15/65 RHA

JS - copy letter + statement for B. Muse

THE VIKING PRESS INC · PUBLISHERS
625 MADISON AVENUE · NEW YORK · N Y · 10022
Cable: Vikpress Telephone: (212) PL 5-4330

14 September 1965

PA ✓
PW ✓
SA ✓
MJ - file

Mrs. Ruth House Alexander
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Alexander:

We sent you a statement on TEN YEARS OF PRELUDE at the end of August; I hope you have it by now. If not, let me know and I will send you a duplicate.

The book continues to sell steadily, and is now over the 5000 mark.

Sincerely yours,

Charles G. Bolté

CGB:jdc

Rec'd 9/10/65 RHA

THE VIKING PRESS, INC. 625 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022

Royalty Statement

TO The Southern Regional Council, Inc.

TITLE TEN YEARS OF PRELUDE by Benjamin Muse

Published 5/18/64
SIX MONTHS ENDED 4/30/65 RETAIL PRICE $5.00

EXPLANATION	COPIES SOLD	RECEIPTS	RATE	CHARGES	EARNINGS
REGULAR EDITION	1,132		NO ROYALTY		-0-
PAPERBACK EDITION					
LIBRARY BINDING					
EXPORT & SPECIAL					
REGULAR EDITION	22		NO ROYALTY		-0-
PAPERBACK EDITION					
LIBRARY BINDING					
OTHER INCOME					
BOOK CLUBS					
REPRINT EDITIONS					
PERMISSIONS					
FOREIGN					
ADVANCES, PAYMENTS					
UNEARNED ADVANCE, PRIOR REPORT					
					-0-

SALES TO DATE	REGULAR:	EXPORT & SPECIAL:
REGULAR EDITION	4,502	150
PAPERBACK EDITION		
LIBRARY BINDING		

Rec'd 9/23/66

File

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

September 22, 1966

File
Music - Ten Years of Production
cc: Mr. Field Fd.

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

The letter you received from the young lady at Viking seems to me clearly to suggest that she either misunderstood your inquiry or doesn't know what in the world she is talking about. I can only suggest, therefore, that you write again saying very firmly that you own a copyright on a book, that according to the contract you are in two designated months of the year to receive a report on royalties, and that you have not received one since whatever that date was.

I thought that discussion last weekend was remarkably unproductive, but the company was indeed good.

All best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la

November 28, 1966

The Viking Press, Inc.
625 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Gentlemen:

It is my understanding that the Southern Regional Council is to receive periodic statements on the sale of the book, on which we own the copyright, Ten Years of Prelude, by Benjamin Muse. I find no record of such a report since April 30, 1965. At your convenience, may we have this information?

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File "Ten Years of Prelude"

MS

THE VIKING PRESS INC • PUBLISHERS
625 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022
Cable: VIKPRESS *Telephone:* (212) PLAZA 5-4330

November 30, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

In reply to your inquiry of November 28 regarding royalty reports on TEN YEARS OF PRELUDE, by Benjamin Muse, I can report that the reason you have received no accounting from us since the report covering the six months ending April 30, 1965 is that there have been no earnings on this title since then. Under the provisions of Paragraph 10A (Part Two) of our agreement we are not obligated to make accounting at our regular times unless earnings for the period exceed $10.00.

We hope that in the future there will be additional monies to report: there are a couple of licenses out on foreign-language editions which will hopefully bring further earnings, and we of course continue to stock our trade edition for regular sales.

Sincerely yours,

Phyllis Gelbman

Phyllis Gelbman
Contract Department

pg

September 3, 1968

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Heron House
Reston, Virginia 22070

Dear Ben:

I thought you would be interested in the enclosed report on Ten Years of Prelude.

I have just finished reading your latest book, and have written Indiana University Press as enclosed.

Warm regards to you and Mrs. Muse.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures - 2.

THE VIKING PRESS, INC. 625 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022

Royalty Statement

TO The Southern Regional Council, Inc.

TITLE TEN YEARS OF PRELUDE by Benjamin Muse

SIX MONTHS ENDED 4/30/68 RETAIL PRICE $5.00

EXPLANATION	COPIES SOLD	RECEIPTS	RATE	CHARGES	EARNINGS
REGULAR EDITION	2	Exempt NR			
	7		.50		$ 3.50
PAPERBACK EDITION					
LIBRARY BINDING					
EXPORT & SPECIAL					
REGULAR EDITION	1	2.00	10%		.20
PAPERBACK EDITION					
LIBRARY BINDING					
OTHER INCOME					
BOOK CLUBS					
REPRINT EDITIONS					
PERMISSIONS					
FOREIGN					
ADVANCES, PAYMENTS					
UNEARNED ADVANCE, PRIOR REPORT					
					$ 3.70

9-3-68
K.M.

SALES TO DATE	REGULAR:	EXPORT & SPECIAL:
REGULAR EDITION	6,007	168
PAPERBACK EDITION		
LIBRARY BINDING		

September 3, 1968

Mrs. Susanne W. Howard
Publicity Assistant
Indiana University Press
10th and Morton Streets
Bloomington, Indiana 47401

Dear Mrs. Howard:

Thank you so much for sharing an advance copy of The American Negro Regolution by Benjamin Muse.

Mr. Muse has written a sound and accurate accounting of one of the most difficult and misunderstood periods in American history. The book is certainly of value to anyone who would try to understand that period. And, it will be invaluable for readers and scholars in the future.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Mr. Muse

file

INDIANA UNIVERSITY PRESS

Tenth and Morton Streets
Bloomington, Indiana 47401
Area Code 812 Tel. No. 337-4203

August 8, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am taking the liberty of sending you separately an advance copy of THE AMERICAN NEGRO REVOLUTION: From Nonviolence to Black Power, 1963-1967, by Benjamin Muse, which we are publishing on September 6, 1968. Since the book relates to your field of scholarship, I felt it might be of interest to you.

Should you happen to have any comments to make about the book we would be glad to hear from you. May we have permission to quote you?

Very cordially,

Susanne W. Howard

Susanne W. Howard (Mrs.)
Publicity Assistant

BENJAMIN MUSE
HERON HOUSE
RESTON, VIRGINIA 22070

September 9, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Paul:

Thanks for yours of September 3 and its enclosures of a statement from Viking on TEN YEARS OF PRELUDE and a copy of your good letter to the Indiana University Press on my new book.

The Viking statement is not very revealing. In fact it is not clear that it covers all receipts in which the Southern Regional Council as copyright-holder is entitled to share.

A few bound copies of the book were sold for an outright sum to Darwen Finlayson, Beaconsfield, England, where they were given new dust jackets as an English edition. (I have a copy of this English edition.) This deal must have been included in "Export and Special 168."

There was also the letter of September 9, 1966, which Viking addressed to you and of which you sent me a copy, reporting "exclusive Portugese language rights sold to Edicoes G.R.D., Brazil; and non-exclusive French language rights for distribution in Africa and former Associated States of Indochina, publisher not yet known."

I received two copies of the Portugese language edition. However, Viking advised me February 27, 1967, that " the French edition of TEN YEARS OF PRELUDE, which is being published through the USIA, has not yet appeared." I suspect that this French edition failed to materialize.

It seems that Viking should give us information on these transactions at least as a matter of courtesy.

Regards.

Sincerely,

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

National Student Association

SEE - United States National Student Association

BULLETIN

North Carolina Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers, Inc.

Organized 1927 Incorporated 1923

VOLUME 10 OCTOBER-NOVEMBER, 1946 NUMBER 1

Jordan-Sellars High School Band which is making an excellent record in the western section of the state. It has been financed and received 100% support from the P. T. A., which has had unusual success in every department of school activities this year. Mr. R. L. Carmical, Ex-Marine, is director of the band.

Officers

Honorary Presidents

Mrs. L. B. Yancey, Henderson

Miss Marie McIver, Raleigh

Mrs. D. M. Jarnagin, Fayetteville

President—Mr. B. F. Ferguson, 301 Moore Street, Fayetteville

First Vice President—Mrs. O. H. Davis, Mary Potter School, Oxford

Second Vice President—Mrs. S. D. Williams,, Teachers College, Elizabeth City

Secretary—Mr. S. D. Williams, State Teachers College, Elizabeth City

Asst. Secretary—Miss Willie Mae Jeffries, Box 187, Rich Square N. C.

Treasurer—Mrs. M. L. Turner, Box 184, Warsaw

Auditor—Mr. Thebaud Jeffers, Highland High School, Gastonia

Historian—Mrs. G. E. Cheek, 1014 Smithfield street, Raleigh

Parliamentarian—Mr. Neil A. McLean, Bricks Rural Life School, Bricks

Field Worker—Miss Marie McIver, 133 E. Hargett Street, Raleigh

---

Executive Secretary—Mrs. D. M. Jarnagin, 1010 Smithfield Street, Raleigh

---o---

District Presidents

District No. 1—King A. Williams, Winfall

District No. 2—G. E. Swinson, Belhaven

District No. 3—Mrs. O. H. Davis, Oxford

District No. 4—Mrs. Ida Fulmore, Box 287 Fairmont

District No. 5—Mrs. Hattie Royals, Mt. Olive

District No. 6—Mrs. W. B. Wicker, Box 424, Sanford

District No. 7—Mrs. H. T. Starr (Acting), High Point

District No. 8—Mrs. J. T. Johnson, Salisbury

District No. 9—L. G. Green, 708 Baldwin Street, Charlotte

District No. 11—John W. Mitchener, Rt. 1, Box 120, Smithfield

State Committee Chairman

Publicity—Mrs. Willie Mae Porter, Charlotte

State P.T.A. Camp—Mrs. L. B. Yancey, Henderson

Safety Education—Mrs. Mary C. Holliday, Statesville

Parent-Education and Home Life—Mrs. C. E. Dean, Gibsonville

Health Education—Mrs. Mae Rudd Williams, Fayetteville

---o---

A Message From the President

Now that the vacation period of schools is over and the children from all over the state are returning to their classrooms, to resume their studies, we are happy to greet the P.T.A. Family again. We sincerely trust that every child had a very pleasant vacation. I hope that our activities in the P.T.A. have not been neglected during these summer months. There is no let up in P.T.A. activities. The child is always with us and thus we must continue to set up standards for a better world of tomorrow. Never before in the history of this great organization, have we had an opportunity to play such a vital part in rebuilding and reshaping the policies of our great democracy, which so vitally affects the life of the child. We are called upon to cooperate with the various agencies throughout the country, that are working to the end, that we have a greater and better America—whose ideals of democracy are lived up to. At this period, the nation and the world still flounders in the contradiction inherent in this period, as in other periods of history. What these will lead to and how long they will last, we do not know. We can hope and at the same time, do whatever we can in our small way, to guide the forces over which we have some control, towards a policy which may lead to some economic and social improvement in the conditions of oppressed people throughout the world.

May I appeal to every P.T.A. unit throughout the state of North Carolina, to do your bit in bringing about better conditions for the children of your community. Children can only grow physically strong, mentally awake and morally straight in proportion to their environments or general surroundings. We should cooperate very closely with our Health Department in communities where they are found. Take the children regularly to clinics, have them vaccinated and a general check up as to their health at least once a year. Organize community groups for the purpose of studying community problems among children. Make a house to house canvass and invite parents to attend these meetings. Discuss freely the problems in your community that effect the life of the child. I am convinced that this is one of the most effective ways by which we can minimize juvenile delinquency. If we are to do an effective job in the salvation of youth, we must go in the slums and any place where vice and crime are rampant and there radiate our influence for good. As P.T.A. workers, let us look forward to a larger service this year. The date of the Annual Meeting of the Congress is November 29 and 30 at Washington High School, Raleigh. Many of the districts will be meeting in annual session in November, also. The Executive Sec-

retary and I will be happy to visit as many of the meetings as is possible and convenient. If we can be of service to you, please call on us. May we work together to build a stronger and better organization. I close with this poem:

BUILDING A TEMPLE

"A Builder builded a temple,
He wrought it with grace and skill;
Pillars and groins and arches
All fashioned to work his will.
Men said, as they saw its beauty,
'It shall never know decay;
Great is thy skill, O Bulider'
Thy fame shall endure for aye."

A Mother builded a temple
With loving and infinite care,
Planning each arch with patience,
Laying each stone with prayer.
None praised her unceasing efforts,
None knew of her wondrous plan,
For the temple the Mother builded
Was unseen by the eyes of man.

Gone in the Builder's temple,
Crumpled into the dust;
Low lies each stately pillar,
Food for consuming rust.
But the Temple the Mother builded
Will last while the ages roll,
For that beautiful unseen temple
Was a child's immortal soul.

—B. F. Ferguson

o

PERSONAL NOTES

The sturdy, unwavering president of District Four is not only a P. T. A. Worker, but a parent in the true sense of the word. We are happy to chronicle that she has three sons and all served in World War II: Clarence R. Fulmore, 26, U. S. Army, fifteen months, honorably discharged because of a fractured ankle in 1944 at Clayborne, Ga.; Milton D. Fulmore, 24 years old, U. S. Army at Camp Ellis, Illinois, discharged Sept. 1945; Edward Griffin Fulmore, age 21, U. S. Navy in the Pacific Theatre, with 22nd Special 1c Sea Bees and Pontoon Assembly, Devnarle Island, Pacific and was honorably discharged Nov. 1945.

Mrs. C. F. Blount, New Hanover County Council President, sent in a most interesting pamphlet on Home Demonstration Federation Clubs meeting during August, and also regrets at not being able to attend Workshop at Bricks. She is a faithful in District Five.

Mrs. Mary Foster McDavid, Honorary President of the National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers, and Chairman of Special Committee on Re-organization, wanted all N. C. P. T. A. workers to know that she deeply appreciated the fine spirit of helpfulness extended here while she had to remain a patient at Lincoln Hospital during the meeting of the National this summer. She was especially grateful to the Durham group of which she said—"I have had excellent care. It seems as thought the Durham P. T. A. has adopted me."

We deeply regret to hear of the untimely and unfortunate illness of Mr. C. B. Nixon, Principal of Little River High School, Durham County, and who is serving as Co-ordinator for Durham County Schools for this term. We extend sympathy to his loyal wife and wish for him a speedy recovery.

Mrs. Flemmie P. Kittrell, Head of Department of Home Economics, Howard University, has sent in membership fee for the North Carolina Chapter of the National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers. She wanted to be a member of the Congress of her own home state. We are proud, honored and happy to welcome this outstanding and distinguished North Carolinian into our folds.

Mr. C. E. Boulware of the N. C. College faculty, delivered the keynote address at the National Congress Convention in Durham last summer, using as his subject: "Today's Children and Tomorrow's World." Music for N. C. Night was rendered by the Burton School P. T. A., under the direction of Mrs. Martha Stanley; group singing was led by Mr. J. L. Moffitt, Vocational Agriculture teacher, Little River School, Durham County.

Miss A. M. Dunnigan spent a restful and relaxing vacation in points north where she rested from her labors of planning for the National Congress meeting in Durham this summer. Miss Dunnigan served as chairman of the local Planning Group, with Mrs. D. F. Spaulding, Co-chairman. Others of the committee were: Mrs. M. L. Edgerton, Mrs. M. L. Newby, Mrs. I. W. Parrish, Mrs. Lottie Adams, Mrs. Martha Stanley, Mrs. Addie Barbee, Mr. N. A. Cheek, and Mr. W. W. Barbee, President of Durham City Council, who planned the special feature for the delegates to visit the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company.

M.r and Mrs. R. E. Ransom, and Mrs. Mary Wortham of Warren County Unit, veteran P. T. A. workers, visited friends and relatives in New York and Washington, D. C. this summer.

Mr. S. D. Williams, Secretary of N. C. C. C. P. T., was guest speaker for the Warren County P. T. A. Fall meeting, October 24, it has been announced by President, Mrs. Lula R.Davis. Mr. Williams will use as the topic of his address: TODAY'S CHILDREN.

o

THE EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE NORTH CAROLINA CONGRESS OF COLORED PARENT SAND TEACHERS, MET IN RALEIGH ON SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, AND TRANSACTED THE FOLLOWING BUSINESS:

1. Asked Committee on Awards to continue their efforts to secure trophies.

2. Decided to hold Annual Meeting November 29-30 in Raleigh at Washington High School.

3. Agreed to use theme "Building New World Through Parent Education" and to organize meeting for group discussions.

4. Voted to go on record as being willing to work with the State Department of Public Instructions in helping to solve local educational problems.

5. Received the report of the camp committee and agreed to pay the deficit incurred.

District News

DISTRICT SEVEN:
No family is complete without all of the members living, working in unity together. So it is with our P.T.A. family. Each unit, in each county that makes up the district must organize and coordinate to make a complete family.

Therefore, the following counties that make up District Seven met at Hillsboro High School, Hillsboro, N. C., on Saturday, October 26 from 10:00 A.M. to 1:00 for the purpose of organizing this district: SURRY, STOKES, CASWELL, GUILFORD, ALAMANCE, ROCKINGHAM, ORANGE.
Mr. A. L. Stanbuck is principal of the school and Mr. A. D. Morrow, is county-wide president of Orange County. Mrs. Norman Snipes, the supervisor of Orange County Schools is putting forth every effort to make the meeting a success, as well as the other officials. Miss Marie McIver, state organizer will be present and state president, B. F. Ferguson.

o

Annual District Meetings:

DISTRICT THREE—Mrs. H. S. Davis, President.

The annual conference will hold a one day session at Henderson Institute, Henderson, N. C., Saturday, November 2, beginning at 9:30 A.M. The Executive Committee will meet at 8:00 A. M. the same morning, and the president has sent out a CALL to all eight counties represented in the district to be present 100%. Special workshop sessions on P. T. A. procedure and other special needs have been planned as well as inspirational speaker for the day.

DISTRICT THREE LEADS THE STATE IN ACTIVITIES AND MEMBERS. LET US HAVE SOME FRIENDLY COMPETITION AND SEE WHICH DISTRICT WILL BE FIRST THIS YEAR!

DISTRICT FOUR—Mrs. Ida M. G. Fulmore, President.

District Four will hold its annual meeting Saturday, November 9 at 10:00 A.M. Up-Church High School, Raeford, N. C. The president has sent out the following appeal to all members: "Now that vacation days are over let us turn our attention to the welfare of our boys and girls now entering school for the 1946-47 term. Our organization can do many helpful things to promote their welfare, in every nook and corner of the district and state. Let us work with our county units assuming new ideas, projects and activities that will entertain the community unit, in the realization of our fondest dreams. We hope to realize gratifying reports from each county that make up the fourth district, namely, Bladen, Columbus, Harnett, Sampson, Hoke, Scotland, Cumberland and Robeson. Let each president see to it that the activities and projects of your local, be properly recorded and filed in your county report, all units should have a membership drive to regulate your objectives in group work. Let every parent feel that service through the P.T.A. is what you owe to your child or children and become an **active member of the P.T.A. in your school community?** Can we depend on you? Annual meeting of the Fourth District will convene with UpChurch High School Saturday, November 9, at 10:00 A.M., Raeford, N. C. Be there, won't you. Best wishes for success to all.

NINTH DISTRICT—Mr. L. G. Green, Charlotte, President.

The Ninth District is going forward with plans for an interesting annual meeting for the year. The meeting will convene Saturday, November 9 at the Cleveland High School, Shelby, N. C. Now that we do not have the problem of gas and tire rationings, we look forward to an increase in attendance at not only our district meeting but to our annual state meeting also.

Much emphasis is being placed upon increased memberships and representation in the state and national organizations.

Our District Program. The chief objective of our district for the year will be to arouse every local organization in full compliance with the state and national organization—15 cents for each active member—and seeing to it that every local organization is reached by our executive staff in some way before the end of this year.

o

Nineteenth Annual Convention

North Carolina Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers
November 29-30, 1946,
Washington High School, Raleigh, N. C.

THEME: "BUILDING A NEW WORLD FOR CHILDREN THROUGH PARENT EDUCATION

A Challenge to Parental Interest

Study groups, special sessions of groups on phases of Home and Family Life, and inspirational lectures will be special features. Executive Committee will meet in session Friday afternoon, Nov. 29 at 3:30 P.M., and a night session and all day Saturday, closing in the afternoon with brief business of the convention. Special music will be furnished by Fayetteville and Burlington Bands and other musical aggregations.

o

STATE PRIZES TO P. T. A. UNITS FOR 1946-47

These prizes are planned to stimulate units to greater activities, and to encourage increased memberships for greater unity for the sake of larger numbers of children throughout the state.

AWARDS

1. Largest membership in the state.
2. Largest increase in membership for the year.
3. Council having largest membership.

The contest is open to all units—the only requirement—is meeting the deadline by NOVEMBER 15. All membership fees must be in the office of tre secretary at that time. The books are closed for the P.T.A. year by that date.

Mrs. M. P. Lane, 213 Cabarrus Street, Raleigh, N. C., is serving as chairman of local housing committee, and those desiring overnight lodigng will please write in early. I do not think we need to urge you to do this, knowing how acute the housing situation is in every town and hamlet these days.

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Notes From President's Office

Since our last publication of the bulletin, we have made some very fine contacts with P.T.A. workers. There are many units that have continued their activities during the summer months. I mention particularly the canning project. Canneries have been installed in many sections and are being used to a very great advantage.

NORTH CAROLINA WAS THE HOST STATE TO THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF COLORED PARENTS AND TEACHERS IN ANNUAL CONVENTION, which convened at the North Carolina College for Negroes, July 22-23. The Convention was acclaimed to have been one of the finest in the history of the organization. The Theme of the meeting was "Preparing for the World of Tomorrow." Mrs. Wm. W. M. Henry of Dover, Delaware, President of the organization, presided at the opening session on Monday. North Carolina Night marked one of the highlights of the convention. On behalf of the Congress, I wish to express our thanks and appreciation to Dr. James Shepard for throwing open the facilities of the college in order to make our stay pleasant, and to express thanks and appreciation to Miss Ruth Rush, Dean of Women, for her tireless labors on our behalf and to the local Durham Committee, under the able leadership of Mrs. A. M. Dunnigan, for contributing to the success of the convention.

Visit to P. T. A. Camp

On July 26-27, I visited our P.T.A. Camp for boys and girls at Bricks. On arriving I was greeted by 25 fine boys who were there enjoying the many things which camp life affords a boy. I had the pleasure of eating, hiking and playing with the boys. Our brief stay was a very pleasant one. This camp has meant so much to the children of the state. I hope that we will give more attention to the camp this year.

Parent-Teacher Workshop

At close of the camp period, a Parent-Teacher Workshop, sponsored by N. C. Congress and Bricks Rural Life School was conducted from August 12-17, under the direction of Mrs. Ada M. Jarnagin, Executive Secretary and Mrs. C. E. Dean, Chairman of Parent-Education. The theme of the conference—"studying Methods and Procedures in Strengthening Family Life—Children and Youth Growth" was ably discussed by leaders and workers in the field of Parent-Education. It was one of the most enjoyable weeks I have spent in P. T. A. work.

o

State Office Notes

THE NORTH CAROLINA CONGRESS BULLETIN is a practical help to every unit in the state. All P.T.A. workers will receive valuable help and inspiration from the messages and information contained therein. It it published three times a year, with 2000 printed copies distributed throughout the state. READ THE BULLETIN FROM COVER to COVER AND THEN PASS IT ALONG TO SOME ONE ELSE.

The President, Mr. B. F. Ferguson, has just announced that the 1946-47 Parent-Teacher Manuals have been received. There will be distributed at the State meeting next month, but if any unit or local president is in need of a copy, just address a postcard to Mr. Ferguson, 301 Moore Street, Fayetteville, N. C.

We still have units for which the outgoing president has not sent in the names and addresses of the newly elected president and other officers for this school year. Do this at once, so that you will not fail to receive the Bulletin. This is important.

o

Visit Your School—American Education Week
November 10-16, 1946

General Theme: "Education for the Atomic Age." The week's topics follow:

Nov. 10—Practicing Brotherhood
Nov. 11—Building World Security
Nov. 12—Facing New Tasks
Nov. 13—Developing Better Communities
Nov. 14—Strengthening Home Life
Nov. 15—Investing in Education
Nov. 16—Promoting Health and Safety

o

MEMBERSHIP DRIVE!
Goal: 25,000 by November 15, 1946

It is a wonderful feeling to be able to look your child in the face and say—Yes, I am a member of the P.T.A.—an organization that "promotes the welfare of children and youth in home, school, church and community; that raises the standard of home life; that secures adequate laws for the care and protection of children and youth; that brings into closer relation the home and the school; that parents and teachers may cooperate intelligently in the training of the child; that develops between educators and the general public such united efforts as will secure for every child the highest advantages in physical, mental and spiritual education."

P. T. A.
Pull Together Always
Join Today

"Four things come not back:
The spoken word
The sped arrow
Time past
The neglected Opportunity!"

Don't let this opportunity pass—JOIN YOUR P. T. A. TODAY

Send in all membership fees directly to the secretary by **November 15, 1946.**

o

Fall Executive Meeting Held in Raleigh, Sept. 28

The Executive Board Meeting of the North Carolina Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers met in the office of supervisor of elementary schools, Raleigh, September 28 at 10:00 A.M. The following persons were present: Mrs. Willie Mae Jeffries, Mrs. H. S. Davis, Mrs. L. B. Yancey, Mr. J. R. Barnes, Mrs. M. L. Turner, Mr. and Mrs. S. D. Williams, Mrs. D. M. Jarnagin, Mr. B. F. Ferguson.

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News From District Organizations

NINTH DISTRICT:

Children's Camp at Lincoln Academy

For the first time, camping was made possible for the children in the western part of North Carolina. The camp was conducted at Lincoln Academy, Kings ountain, from July 14 through July 28, with a total enrollment of 52 children. The enrollment by weeks: 48 for the first week, 44 second week. The enrollment went beyond our anticipation.

The following counties were represented: Cabarrus 2; Catawba 2; Cleveland 2; Gaston 15; Mecklenburg 25; Rutherford 1; Union 1; Iredell 2; with 1 from Virgniia and 1 from Washington, D. C. We look forward to a more favorable camping season for the western section next summer.

EDITOR'S NOTE:

The Children's Camp at Kings Mountain,

N. C., was sponsored by the Parent-Teacher Association of Charlotte. It was with regrets that the Congress could not find it possible to run a western camp this year, but it is hoped that this will be a reality for the summer 1947, for it is a long felt need in this section.

o

Summer Camp for Girls and Bays Under the Exclusive Direction of North Carolina Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers Closed a Successful NINTH SEASON for 1946 at Bricks Rural Life School.

By James R. Barnes, Director

The camp was divided into two period of three weeks—for girls and boys and the following counties and children were represented:

Counties	Girls	Boys	Total
Currituck	6	3	9
Vance	4	1	5
Halifax	5	0	5
Granville	4	8	12
Northampton	1		1
Hyde	1		1
Tyrrell	1		1
Robeson	1		1
Johnston	1		1
Duplin	2		2
Orange	5	3	8
Nash	4	4	8
Edgecombe	5	2	7
Cumberland	1		1
Beaufort	3		3
Harnett		4	4
Durham		1	1
Washington, D. C.		1	1
Totals	44	27	71

CAMP (CONCLUDED)

Special visitors included Dr. Fred Brownlee, New York City; Lieutenant J. J. Mayes, Fort Bragg, N. C.; Mrs. N. Nesmith, Washington, D. C.; Mr. Leon Barnes, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Perry Smith and Mrs. Codington, Dunn, N. C.; Mr. Battle, Washington, D. C.; Mr. and Mrs. J. N. Gill, Seaboard, N. C.; Mr. William Baptist, Mr. and Mrs. Hawley, Dr. H. S. Davis, Oxford; Mrs. Cleopatra Wilson, Currituck County; Mr. and Mrs. L. L. Peace, Henderson; Mrs. Annie Bonner, Columbia; Mr. and Mrs. Chalmers, Faison; Mrs. L. B. Yancey, Henderson; Mrs. A. M. Jarnagin, Chapel Hill and Mr. B. F. Ferguson, Fayetteville; Mrs. Cora Parker, Rocky Mount.

Special projects included Field trips—studying local environments and collecting clay to mold many things founr or observed; and taking part in Brick Tri-county annual Fourth of July Celebration.

Workers for 1946 Camp Period

James R. Barnes, Director, Henderson.

Miss Mildred Martin, Recreational and Musical Director, Henderson.

Miss M .E. Bemborg, Personnel Director and Handicrafts Instructor, Edenton, N. C.

Miss Naomi Plummer, Recreation Director, Weldon.

Miss Alice Yancey, Dietitian, Middleburg

Mrs. Jennie Washington Battle, visiting Nurse.

Dr. J. E. Bryant, visiting physician, Enfield.

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OUT AMONG THE LOCALS!

Highlights of Jordan-Sellars P.T.A.

The Band pictured on our cover page is a worthy example of useful, instructive, educational and cultural leisure-tie activities for our boys and girls. The P.T.A. of the school purchased $1,000.00 worth of instruments for the group and parents bought $1,000.00 worth. The band has had a most successful year, taking part in music contests and musical, and have had several out-of-town engagements and requests.

Other highlights for the year were:

1. September—The establishment of Health Centers for both school buildings, and assisted with securing nurse for the center.
2. Purchased $272.00 worth of equipment for football team.
3. November—Purchased $186.16 worth of equipment for basketball team for boys and girls.
4. Bought playground equipment.
5. Assisted in student aid fund
6. Purchased visual aid machine.

The efficient, alert and wide awake president of the unit is

MRS. MAUDE P.MOULTRIE, Burlington

Mrs. Maude P. Moultrie, Burlington
Mrs. G. M. Whitted, Secretary
Mr. H. C. Goore, Principal

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Parent-Teacher Workshop at Bricks

By MRS. C. E. DEAN
Chairman Parent Education and Home Life

From 16 counties came interested and intensely serious P. T. A. workers to spend five days of intensive training in "STUDYING METHODS AND PROCEDURES IN STRENGTHENING FAMILY LIFE, CHILDREN AND YOUTH GROWTH" at the workshop conducted by the N. C. C. C. P. T. in cooperation with Bricks Rural Life School, Aug. 12-17, 1946.

Among the features of the program were presentations, discussions and individual helps given by specialists in the field—Mrs. Annie Lee Davis. consultant in Field and Social Services, Chlidren's Bureau, Washington, D. C., Mrs. Marie S. Key, Consultant, Planned Parenthood Federation, New York; Mrs. S. E. Duncan, State Supervisor, High Schools discussed Leadership Trainng ias a Community Responsibility; Mrs. Charles H. Miller, Specialist in Juvenile Delinquency, and Dr. Ralph T. Hinton Jr., Clinical Psychologist, State Board of Public Welfare; presentation and methods for study groups, Mr. Neill A. McLean, Director of Rural Life School, Bricks; Round Table discussion led by Miss Marie McIver, State Supervisor, Elementary Schools; and "Our Needs in Recreation" by Mr. W. J. Kennedy of the N. C. Recreation Commission.

Worship periods each morning, recreation after supper and in the evenings, with special movies were definite parts of the Workshop.

It brought to light many new and important aspects of parental education and provided rich and stimulating material for further research and study. A more comprehensive report of the entire proceedings will be mimeographed and distributed at the State Meeting in Raleigh, Nov. 29-30. By this means the value of the workshop will be extended to those who were not able to come and it will be made more permanent for those who were fortunate enough to be present.

o

North Carolinians Attending National Meeting

Seen among those attending the National Convention in Durham this summer from out-of-town were these loyal P. T. A. workers: Mrs. Mary Holliday, State Chairman of Safety Education, and Supv. Iredell County School; Mrs. T. C. Beam, Supv. Caswell County Schools; Mrs. L. B. Yancey, Vance County Schools; Mrs. L. G. Herring, Buncombe County; Mrs. Clara Mann of New Bern; Mrs. M. L. Turner, Treasurer, Duplin County Schools; Mrs. Hattie Royal, President, Fifth District; Mrs. L. G. Green, President Ninth District, and Mrs. Willie Mae Porter, Chairman Publicity, Charlotte; Mrs. G. E. Cheek, Historian, and Mr. Cheek of Raleigh; Mr. and Mrs. H. V. Brown, Goldsboro; Mrs. Pattie L. Edwards, Mrs. L. E. Cook, Mrs. Susie Matthew, Mrs. E. E. Queen, Weldon; Mrs. J. T. Gunn, Mrs. Mary Hanner, Mrs. Maude Moultrie, President, Local Unit, Burlington; Mrs. C. E. Dean, State Chairman, Parent Education and Family, Gibsonville; Mrs. Willia McIver of Raleigh and Sedalia—a host of others were sent greetings and regrets that they could not attend because of summer school and other pressing engagements at that time.

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Training School Entertains Parent Workshop Group

One of the most delightful experiences happened at the close of the exciting and regarding week spent at Bricks when delegates attending the Workshop in Parent Education, ended the Community Tour at the State Training School for girls in Rocky Mount, at the request of its Superintendent, Miss Mae D. Holmes, as an expression of cordial cooperation and a belief in the possibilities of service and expansion of the Congress. We made an extended educational tour of the entire plant, and realized it was nothing short of a miracle to witness the happy, contented girls, as well as the efficient and able staff, and the splendid work they are doing there. We were served refreshments in the dining hall at the close of the unhurried visit through each department and unit.

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District No. 11 Issues Clarion Call!

MOTTO: "A P. T. A. IN EVERY SCHOOL—

Every Patron a member."

No school can do its best without a live active P. T. A. So says the newly elected president of District Eleven, Mr. John W. Mitchener, who has issued a call for every unit in the district to be present at the meeting Saturday, October 26 at 10:30 A.M., Dillard High School, Goldsboro, N. C., rain or shine He also urged them to work hard for Bigger and Better Schools, Churches and Communities and Better Citizens and a District second to none.

o

District Five Meets in Wilmington

Mrs. Hattie Royals, President

Executive Board of District Five met at Kenansville, N. C., and formulated plans for the meeting to be held at Williston School, Wilmington, November 16 at 10:00 A. M. Theme: "BUILDING A NEW WORLD THROUGH HEALTH EDUCATION."

—MISS LUCILE NEWKIRK,
Secretary of District and reporter

o

TO INSURE UNINTERRUPTED DELIVERY OF THE BULLETIN AS WELL AS FACILITATE HE WORK OF THE CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT, EACH P. T. A. UNIT IS REQUESTED TO SEND CORRECTED AND UP-TO-DATE ADDRESSES OR CHANGES IN OFFICES WITHOUT DELAY.

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, Inc.

National Board
EDUARD C. LINDEMAN
Chairman
CHARLES S. JOHNSON
Vice-Chairman
ALFRED BAKER LEWIS
Secretary-Treasurer
MRS. MARY McLEOD BETHUNE
ANNE BLAINE
ALBERT SPRAGUE COOLIDGE
MALCOLM BOYD DANA
MAX DELSON
FRANK P. GRAHAM
SIDNEY HERTZBERG
MRS. RAYMOND V. INGERSOLL
JAMES LOEB, Jr.
FRANCIS J. McCONNELL
MORRIS MILGRAM
EDWARD L. PARSONS
JENNINGS PERRY
MRS. GIFFORD PINCHOT
ELIOT D. PRATT
ARTHUR RAPER
IRA DeA. REID
NORMAN THOMAS
HARRIET YOUNG
CHARLES S. ZIMMERMAN

501 FIFTH AVENUE
New York 17, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 2-8186

HAZEL WHITMAN
Secretary

February 24, 1948

Dear Friend:

A few days ago I received a letter from John and Stella Gorman which I would like you to read.

John and Stella Gorman and their four children are a hard-working and industrious migrant family who have fought against increasing odds for a decent home to live in, a good education for their children and a chance to "enjoy life as other American people do."

Mr. Gorman has been employed for two and a half years at the DiGiorgio Farms Corporation, the world's largest fruit producing corporation at Bakersfield, Calif. On October 1st, Mr. Gorman and 1100 members of the National Farm Labor Union (formerly the Southern Tenant Farmers Union) went out on strike at the DiGiorgio Farms after corporation officials refused to meet with union representatives to discuss wages, hours and working conditions. Through the long months since then, Mr. and Mrs. Gorman and their fellow union members have been walking the 19½ mile picket line in one of the longest agricultural strikes in our history!

These brave men and women face the powerful and bitter opposition of the Associated Farmers who are determined that no one shall challenge their right to run California agriculture without regard for the rights of the workers who grow and process the food. The Associated Farmers have thrown their full weight into breaking the strike because they know that if the men and women of the National Farm Labor Union succeed, California agriculture will be organized and will no longer be at the mercy of their feudalistic rule.

Why, in the face of this bitter opposition, have John and Stella Gorman and their fellow union members stayed out on strike? They have no resources to fall back on, no bank accounts, no extra clothing or shoes, no warm coats for walking the wintry picket line.

These forgotten men of American agriculture have dared to challenge one of the most powerful combinations of landlords in the world because they know that if they win, a new life will begin to open up for them.

Through the grapes of wrath grapevine, thousands of migrant workers have learned of the DiGiorgio strike. Their hopes are high as they see the first cracks appear in the vast agricultural empires of California.

I hope you will read the enclosed letter from Mr. and Mrs. Gorman which tells you in their own words what they are fighting for. Won't you contribute <u>today</u> so that these men and women who are fighting for an expanding democracy in America will know that their fellow citizens all over the country support them in their struggle for a better life?

Sincerely yours,

Eduard C. Lindeman

Eduard C. Lindeman

490

Dear Sir

All my life I have worked hard so that some day I and my faimly could have a home and a feature, I come to california two and a half years ago. upon arrival I got employment at Di Giorgio farms my wife 4 children setup house keeping in two tin shacks in the farm migitory Camp near ~~El~~ Arvin Calif. through great sacerfice we were able to send our two children to a near by school each day. though poorly clothed and feed ~~the~~ our children still continue to go to school. my wife and I are very unhappy to know these things are true; I do not want charity I want to work for to gain the proper care for my family and enjoy life as other American people do. I dont want to see my children poorly fed and clothed and cold in a small tin house. since our goverment released control of mozilory camps Big associated farms has gained protection of the camps our rent has doubled our medical clinic taken awarp and it has put me in an awful

strain to pay rent now. But I worked hard and sacrificed a little bit more, One day while at work, a Fellow ask me what I thought about the Union (national Farm Labor Union Well I said I realy didnt know my self, But we realy must have something to give us a chance as other Americans I said for Prices where they are and our rent doubled, He ask me to come to Arvin to a Union meeting they hold every thurs. night, I went, I got a greater and clear understanding of Union and the urgent importance it ment to People like my self, we went on strike at the Di Giorgio Farm Oct 1st 1947. I pray to God for Victory to our Union, so that I and many other just as I may live and amerecan way of life.

Your truly

John and Stella Gorman

N —
National Community
Relations Advisory
Council

March 1, 1948

National Community Relations
Advisory Council
292 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Sirs:

Will you be good enough to send me a copy of the FEPC Manual which, I understand, you published in January, 1948.

I shall appreciate your forwarding the pamphlet and billing the Southern Regional Council at the above address.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

N - N.Y. State Commission vs. Discrimination (See materials file)

STATE OF NEW YORK
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
STATE COMMISSION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION
270 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

CHARLES GARSIDE
CHAIRMAN
ELMER A. CARTER
EDWARD W. EDWARDS
NICHOLAS H. PINTO
CAROLINE K. SIMON

JOHN R. FOX
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
HENRY SPITZ
GENERAL COUNSEL
JOHN B. SULLIVAN
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS, EDUCATION AND RESEARCH

May 3, 1948

RECEIVED
MAY 5 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dear Friend:

I am sending, under separate cover, a copy of our latest Annual Report and other materials relative to the program of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination.

We are anxious to make our materials and services available to you, and look forward to cooperating with you in the development of better inter-group relations.

With the exception of the Annual Report, all of our materials are available in quantity on request to the Educational Division of the Commission.

Sincerely yours,

John B. Sullivan

John B. Sullivan
Director of Education

N

May 25, 1948

Mr. Leo Nejelski
Nejelski and Company, Inc.
Management Counsels
162 East 38th Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Nejelski:

At the suggestion of Mr. Philleo Nash, I write you for what you can conveniently send me about the management survey,

Our small organization has plans for unreeling a series of small community self-surveys. Our particular problem~~s~~ will be on development of questionnaires and leadership training.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures: Fleming pamphlet; "By the People"
GSM:eb
Dictated but not signed

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

N — Nat'l Conf. on Citizenship (See Subject Files for most Material on this conference)

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

June 4, 1948

RECEIVED
JUN 14 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dear Fellow Citizen:

Enclosed are copies of Dr. Ruth Cunningham's thumbnail reports of the discussion sessions of the Third National Conference on Citizenship. Also enclosed are copies of the speeches, and the "Who's Who" of the Conference.

The printed report carrying the proceedings of the Conference will be sent to you by the National Education Association as soon as it is ready for distribution.

It is desired to have as complete a picture as possible of the news coverage of the Conference. Will you, therefore, be kind enough to send to this office clippings of all items on the Conference carried in your local press.

Sincerely yours,

Carl B. Hyatt

Carl B. Hyatt, Director
Attorney General's Citizenship Program

n — Nat'l Conf. on Citizenship

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
WASHINGTON

June 2, 1948

RECEIVED
JUN 4 1948
Southern Regional Council

My dear Fellow Citizen:

It was indeed a pleasure to see you during the recent sessions of the Third National Conference on Citizenship.

May I take this occasion to commend again the unselfish spirit of service that prompted your participation at considerable personal sacrifice of time and effort.

The enthusiasm engendered by the give and take of the Conference discussions, the fine discourses, and the other parts of the program should help us all in our effort to carry out our responsibility as citizens on local, national and international levels.

Sincerely,

Tom C. Clark
Attorney General

~~Website~~
~~file~~

2(- National Conf. on Citizenship

The National Education Association

of the United States

and the

United States Department of Justice

request the honor of the participation of

Mr. George S. Mitchell

in the

Third National Conference on Citizenship

to be held in Washington, D.C.

May sixteenth through nineteenth, 1948

102 Willard

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
WASHINGTON

April 29, 1948

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your acceptance of the invitation for your organization to participate in the Third National Conference on Citizenship, to be held in Washington, D. C., May 16-19, 1948, inclusive. I am glad to receive your name as a delegate.

You will be gratified to learn that the spirit of cooperation shown by the replies from the various individuals and organizations who will take part in the meeting assures a most successful Conference.

A brochure setting forth the purpose and organization of the Conference is being sent to you by my office for your information and consideration.

It will be a pleasure to see you and talk to you while here.

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

Tom C. Clark
Attorney General

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Nat'l Conf. on Citizenship

April 27, 1948

The Honorable Tom Clark
The Attorney General of the United States
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Attorney General:

I appreciate the invitation in your letter of April 8 to participate in the Third National Conference on Citizenship, to be held in Washington May 16 through 19, 1948.

I shall attend and represent the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D.C.

April 8, 1948

RECEIVED
APR 12 1948
Southern Regional Council

Gentlemen:

I am pleased to extend to your organization an invitation to participate in the Third National Conference on Citizenship, to be held in Washington, D. C., May 16 through 19, 1948. It will be warmly appreciated if you will send the names and addresses of those selected as your delegates, as promptly as possible, so that personal invitations may be sent to them.

A brochure setting forth the purpose and organization of the Conference is enclosed for your information and consideration. I think it is very vital that everything possible be done to stress the worth and meaning of American citizenship in these times.

Looking forward with pleasure to your participation in this timely and important Conference, I am,

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

Tom C. Clark
Attorney General

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

LIMITATION ON NUMBER OF DELEGATES

Space and housing conditions necessitate a ceiling of 1,000 delegates. Therefore a limitation of three delegates from each organization has been set, in order that all organizations wishing to participate may do so. Delegates should be selected on the basis of interest, experience, and ability. Wherever possible, the president (or ranking officer) and the chairman of the citizenship committee (or of any committee that corresponds to that designation) should be chosen.

HEADQUARTERS AND REGISTRATION

The Great Hall of the Department of Justice will be the Conference Headquarters, where registration and information desks will be located. The registration fee of $3.00 covers not only the regular registration fee but also the luncheon on Monday. The price of the dinner on Monday evening is $5.00, and that of the luncheon on Tuesday $3.00. The dinner and luncheon meetings are integral parts of the program, and delegates should plan to attend all three as keynote speeches for the discussion groups and general announcements will be made at these meetings.

SPONSORSHIP

National Education Association
- Citizenship Committee
- Advisory Committee on the Third National Conference on Citizenship
- National Commission for the Defense of Democracy through Education

Department of Justice
- The Attorney General's Advisory Committee on Citizenship

All communications relating to the Third National Conference should be addressed to:

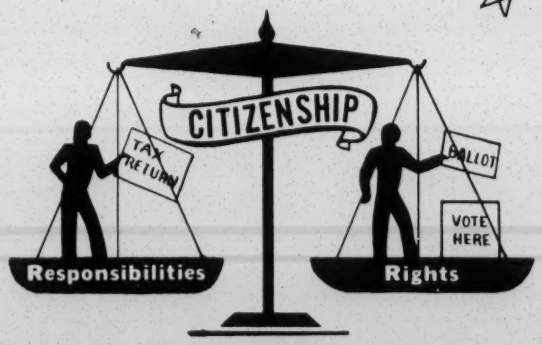
Judge Carl B. Hyatt
The Third National Conference on Citizenship
United States Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

THIRD NATIONAL CONFERENCE on "CITIZENSHIP"

TO BE HELD IN

WASHINGTON, D. C.

MAY 16-19, 1948



SPONSORED BY

The United States Department of Justice

AND

The National Education Association

CHALLENGE

Put democracy's "creed into deed."
Build together tomorrow's world.
Accent responsibilities that are the counterbalance against which rights must be weighed.

This challenge confronts not only individuals but organizations, not only single groups but all the groups that might work together toward the mutual goal: alert, enlightened, conscientious, and progressive citizens with both courage to tackle and ability to solve the perilous problems of today.

HISTORY

The series of national citizenship conferences which began in Philadelphia, May 17-18, 1946, grew out of the effort of the Citizenship Committee of the National Education Association to discover what was being done in the field of citizenship and to cooperate with other organizations working in the same area. Both the First Conference in Philadelphia and the Second Conference in Boston, May 8-10, 1947, had the advice and cooperation of the United States Department of Justice, under the administration of Honorable Tom C. Clark, Attorney General. In the Third Conference the Department of Justice has become co-sponsor with the Association.

OBJECTIVES IN BRIEF

To re-examine the functions and duties of American citizenship in today's world.

To assist in the development of more dynamic procedures for making citizenship more effective.

To indicate the ways and means by which various organizations may contribute concretely to the development of citizenship.

THEME

Rights and responsibilities of citizenship will be discussed on three fronts:

(1) The world-minded American citizen.
(2) Basic human rights and attendant responsibilities.
(3) Citizenship in action in the local community.

Varying from the pattern of previous years where conferees have discussed the contributions of special interest groups to citizenship, this year all groups will consider simultaneously the same problems, in an effort to arrive at some general agreements and devise a program of joint action.

Special Features

"I Am an American Day", Sunday, May 16, 1948, will be observed by a gigantic out-door celebration in the Sylvan Theater, Washington Monument Grounds. The local "I Am an American Day" Committee will be in charge of the arrangements. However, the theme of the Conference will highlight the program, and the Conference delegates will be guests of honor.

America's Town Meeting of the Air will move to Washington for its regular broadcast on Tuesday evening, May 18. Outstanding speakers will present the "pros" and "cons" of "How Should Democracy Deal With Groups Which Aim to Destroy Democracy."

Exhibits

The Great Hall of the Department of Justice will be used to exhibit citizenship materials. The exhibit will be open to delegates on Sunday from 3 to 6 P.M., and on Monday and Tuesday from 9:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M.

Program

In addition to the special features outlined above, the program will include addresses by nationally known authorities on the general theme of the Conference and the specific discussion topics.

Luncheon and dinner meetings will give special interest groups opportunity for round-table discussion, and also serve as media for presenting "thumbnail" reports of discussion-group progress.

26 - N - Misc - Nat'l Citizens Council on Migrant Labor

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NATIONAL CITIZENS COUNCIL FOR MIGRANT LABOR

1751 N STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

Telephone:
ADams 0945

RECEIVED
JUN 25 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Director, Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Miss Lucy Mason suggested the possibility of your assisting us with a survey of conditions of migrant labor.

Because of the increasing problems for migrant laborers due largely to the abolition of the Federal program, the Board of Directors decided at its May meeting to make a survey of conditions across the country. Since the Council has no funds, the members of the Board of Directors and Council and others who are interested, are being asked to assist voluntarily.

If you have the opportunity and are in the field, we would appreciate your assistance in the use of this questionnaire to give us some first-hand information.

At the meeting of the Council in October, we hope to present a report based on this material, as well as to issue a pamphlet throughout the country. In order to get this done, we have set September 1 as the deadline for receiving the questionnaires.

We would appreciate any suggestions that you might make to us regarding this survey, or any additional people who might be willing to undertake, and are in a position, to give us a hand.

The attached questionnaire and covering letter give further specifics of what we are trying to do.

Sincerely yours,

Gay B. Shepperson
National Citizens Council
for Migrant Labor

GBS:d
Enclosures

DR. PAUL TAYLOR
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NATIONAL CITIZENS COUNCIL FOR MIGRANT LABOR

1751 N STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

Telephone:
ADams 0945

June, 1948

TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS AND OF THE COUNCIL:

You remember that our first annual meeting is scheduled for October. When that time comes we must have an up-to-date, first-hand knowledge of the migrant labor situation throughout the country. This summer promises to be one of the worst times in history for migrant workers, now that all of the services which the Federal Government has provided in recent years have been liquidated, and since foreign workers are being imported by growers and growers' associations in large numbers. Our budget does not yet permit us to send out field representatives, nor does it permit the officers of the National Citizens Council for Migrant Labor to travel around the country and observe conditions.

We must, then, depend upon you. Will you try to find out, wherever you go in the next three months, what is happening with regard to migrant labor? Will you talk with workers, with employers, with local and county officials, with United States Employment Service officials, and with anyone else who can give you information? Will you send that information on to us? If you take any pictures showing the working or living conditions of migrant workers, please send copies to us.

The Board of Directors at its last meeting decided that the material which you send in must be prepared in the form of a pamphlet for use at the annual meeting. The Board of Directors also recommended that where we have or can borrow persons who are in a position to do so at their own expense, we ask them to make special reports on conditions in certain specified areas. We expect to ask a number of people in key localities to give us such reports.

We are enclosing an outline of the information we would like to have. It may be helpful to you in your observations. We will be glad to send additional copies of the outline if you care to have them.

Please send in your reports, by September 1, to:

NATIONAL CITIZENS COUNCIL FOR MIGRANT LABOR
1751 N Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Sincerely yours,

Thomas B. Keehn
Chairman

181

TBK:H

QUESTIONNAIRE ON MIGRANT LABOR
Summer, 1948

Date_____

1. Name of observer:_____

2. Place of employment of migrant workers: County_____State_____

3. Name of employer or employers:_____

4. How are workers recruited: Labor contractor?_____Direct by employer?_____

   U. S. E. S?_____

5. Are workers hired by contract or by verbal agreement?_____

6. Describe transportation facilities from recruitment center to work area (kind, by whom furnished, who pays.)

7. Crops being harvested or type of work done.

8. Wages: Per hour:_____ Piece-work basis:_____

9. Approximate number of workers:_____ Family or single men:_____

   Are they primarily Mexican:_____ Native American:_____ Other:_____

   What percent are residents of state?_____ Of U. S.? _____

10. Housing furnished: Private:_____ Public:_____ None:_____

    If public, by what agent is it operated?_____

    Where is housing located? (On or off property of employer)_____

    Rent: (Amount, who pays?)_____

    Number of houses available:_____

    Condition of houses: (Include suitability, utilities, physical surroundings, etc.

11. Water supply:

12. Sewage disposal:

13. Health and medical facilities: Hospital:_____

    Clinic:_____ Doctor:_____ Nurse:_____

    Other_____

    Who pays for medical care?

    Is this adequate?_____ What disease control measures are taken for protection of community?

14. Educational facilities: Are these within the regular school system, or are there special provisions?

    Is tuition free?_____ If not, who pays?_____

    What is the duration of school term for children of migrant families?_____

    Do children attend regularly?

15. Describe recreation opportunities: (Free and pay - operated by what agents, etc.)

16. What provision is made for religious activities?

17. Facilities for care of small children:

18. Were children at work? (If so, describe - ages, type of work, length of day, attendance at school, etc.)

19. What public assistance is available for workers stranted in the community?

20. Do you know of any state or Federal departments operating in community for enforcement of state laws? (Health, education, welfare, labor, police, insurance, etc.)

21. What provision is made by employer and employees for good labor relations?

Are workers organized into unions?_____

22. If possible, give name and address of any citizen or citizens interested in the general welfare of these migrant workers.

23. Comments:

Please return, by September 1, 1948, to: NATIONAL CITIZENS COUNCIL FOR MIGRANT LABOR
1751 N Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

26 - N -
Nathan, Dorothy

July 16, 1948

Mrs. Dorothy M. Nathan
Community Service Department
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Mrs. Nathan:

Thank you for your kind offer of July 8 to let us have a thousand copies of the reprint from the June, 1948, Coronet, entitled, "How a Southerner Licked Intolerance."

If you will send us a thousand copies, we will get them out to various of our people.

This is most generous help from you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

Telephone MURRAY HILL 5-0181

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For SRC

July 8, 1948

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Enclosed is a reprint we have just made of an article entitled, "How a Southerner Licked Intolerance", which appears in the June issue of Coronet. If you consider this item suitable for distribution by your Council, we shall be glad to make up to 1,000 copies of it available to you without charge, and to provide additional copies at cost.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy M. Nathan

(Mrs.) Dorothy M. Nathan
Community Service Department

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.
dmn hh
enclosure

RECEIVED
JUL 15 1948
Southern Regional Council

250

Coronet

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Subscribers changing their addresses should notify the Coronet Subscription Department, Coronet Building, Chicago 1, Illinois, one month before the change is to take effect. Both old and new addresses must be given.

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Cover

Wedding Bells . . . . . WESLEY SNYDER

How a Southerner Licked Intolerance

by ERNEST CONINE

Here is the frank confession of a normal Southerner whose lifelong ideas about Negroes were shattered during the war

THREE YEARS ago I angrily left a crowded Army theater because a Negro soldier had taken a seat beside me.

Last week I was one of 20 guests in a minister's home. Eight were Negroes. I had no feeling of discomfort, no awareness of difference in color. We were just American citizens discussing common problems. And this gathering took place not in the North, but in Dallas, Texas, deep in the land of Jim Crow.

How did a Southern white, reared in the common tradition, escape the shackles of intolerance? My initiation into human decency came after passing through two stages: first, acquisition of the *desire* to learn the truth about Negroes; and second, finding an *opportunity* to do so. It is my opinion that the so-called "Negro problem" would cease to exist if every Southern white experienced these steps in development.

I say this because I consider myself a normal Southerner, not one set aside as "different." Too often those who criticize us tend to forget that ideas absorbed from the cradle onward are not easily laid aside.

As a child, and later as an adolescent, my life was the usual one of church every Sunday, school during the week and a movie Saturday afternoon. Until I entered the Army, there was no "race problem" for me because I had simply never thought about it.

To me, Negroes were people unfortunate enough to have been born black. They mowed lawns, "took in washing," shined shoes, did all the menial jobs. Perhaps I felt sorry for them, but I didn't dream of questioning the social order. After all, hadn't God made men black and white?

I entered the Army Air Forces in 1944, and for the first few months I encountered nothing to change my views. All my buddies were Texans and the training camps at which I was stationed practiced racial segregation.

Only one observation haunted

my mind. While I was stationed at Ellensburg, Washington, I noticed that, although a Negro family in this town of 6,000 was not considered inferior, any Chinese who happened to pass through received a cold welcome.

This attitude was the opposite of that in Texas, where one of my close friends in high school was a Chinese. Though indignant, I still failed to perceive the historic and economic factors underlying these different attitudes.

The first real shock came when I was sent to radio communications school at Scott Field, 30 miles from St. Louis. With a friend from Birmingham, I entered the mess hall. No sooner were we seated than a big, grinning Negro soldier sat down across from us.

Promptly we moved to another table. But it did no good, since we discovered that not only must we eat with Negroes but that 100 of them would be our classmates in radio school. Segregation was observed only in sleeping quarters.

It didn't take long to become accustomed to eating with Negroes and sitting beside them in classroom, lecture hall and movie theater, but we Southerners (and most of those from the North) refrained from personal conversations.

Then something strange happened. When our class was graduated, the honor student was Howard Wilcox, a quiet Negro boy from Brooklyn.

I found this hard to swallow. As I had been an honor student in Dallas, I failed to understand how a Negro boy could have solved the complexities of radio better than I. Obviously, something was wrong. Ideas instilled in me early in life were being challenged.

Thus I cleared the first hurdle: I determined to learn the truth about Negroes. Was Howard Wilcox an exception among his race, as had been Booker T. Washington and George Washington Carver, or was I wrong in my lifelong belief that Negroes were just naturally "dumb" and lazy?

Through inquiry, I discovered that the Negro students were almost entirely from the North and East. Most, including Wilcox, were high-school graduates and a few had attended college. But I wasn't ready to yield to logic. I told myself that, although perhaps a Negro *could* learn as much as a white man, the fact that so few take the trouble to become educated proves the shiftlessness of the race.

Nevertheless, I conceded in my mind that Negroes should have better schools in Texas. Secretly I was ashamed that these colored soldiers from the North were so much more intelligent than any I had met in my native state. But I wanted these improvements *within* Jim Crow. I wasn't yet prepared to part with Southern tradition.

FOR SOME TIME AFTER leaving Scott Field I had no occasion to think more about the race question. Then, in November 1945, I reported to the separation center at Fort Sheridan, Illinois, near Chicago, where as an occupational counselor, I interviewed hundreds of men about to re-enter civilian life. There were white men, colored men, yellow men, red men. I talked to illiterates and I talked to Ph.D's.

Some were nervous combat vet-

erans whose records read like headlines — Salerno, Kwajalein, Iwo, Normandy. Others had seen nothing more perilous than KP duty in a state-side mess hall. It was more than a parade of human behavior —it was a parade of America.

This marked my second step toward tolerance—the opportunity to meet and understand the Negro. I learned a lot, but the most important single fact was that all men are basically alike, with common aspirations, fears and problems.

As I shook hands with intelligent young Negro veterans, men eagerly looking foward to the "opportunities" of civilian life, I began wondering what kind of life they could carve for themselves in an America in which colored college graduates work as porters, street sweepers and floor polishers.

A few weeks later I was on a train, bound for Dallas and a furlough. When the train crossed into Arkansas, the conductor asked a well-dressed Negro and his wife and son to move to the Jim Crow car. As I watched the look of humiliation on the faces of this small family, I realized that I had permanently discarded my Southern heritage.

I was discharged from the Army in 1946 and have since been attending Southern Methodist University. Perhaps common experiences breed common views, but I have found that many veterans—native Southerners—share my belief that Jim Crow laws are a violation of human dignity. We also believe that the South is jeopardizing its welfare by maintaining a caste system that brings economic and social ills to the entire population, whites included.

Recently, my discussion group had several Negroes as guests. As an experiment, I took along a friend who champions white supremacy. For the first time in his life he met educated Negroes. And for the first time in his life, he addressed Negroes as Mr. and Mrs.

That friend of mine is still a supporter of the Jim Crow system, but a doubt has been planted in his mind. Now he is thinking. When he becomes convinced that there *is* something wrong in the setup, he will be well on his way to tolerance in race relations. And then he will tell others.

In this process of telling others what he has learned, and finally convincing them, lies the secret of abandoning intolerance for a profound belief in the human decency of all our fellow men.

FOR ADDITIONAL COPIES, WRITE TO

Community Relations Service

386 FOURTH AVENUE · NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

26-N-Misc.-
Nixon, H C

27 September 1948

Dr. H. C. Nixon
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Nixon:

Dr. Mitchell has asked me to write you and ask you if by any chance you have two or three extra copies of your article on Southern legislatures (from the May 1948 Journal of Politics) which you could let him have.

The copy which you sent him for use in the book of Readings in the Contemporary South, which he and Dr. Gosnell were editing, is at the publisher's.

He will appreciate your sending him another copy or two if you have them to spare.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

26 - NCWC News Service

N- Misc.

September 28, 1948

Mr. William H. Fanning, Jr.
News Editor
N.C.W.C. News Service
1312 Massachusetts Avenue
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Mr. Fanning:

We shall be most happy to add the N.C.W.C. News Service to our mailing list for news releases and informational material.

We have welcomed the interest shown by Catholic publications in the work of the Council and are glad of the opportunity to reach more of them through your News Service.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

N·C·W·C News Service
1312 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE - - WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

September 22, 1948

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

We should appreciate your placing this News Service on your mailing list for all news releases and for other informational material that you may deem appropriate to our needs.

We are a fully-accredited News Service serving the Catholic newspapers, mostly weekly, of the United States and Canada, as well as many daily and weekly publications in other countries. On this basis I think you will recognize that the activities of the Southern Regional Council are of considerable interest to us.

Sincerely yours,

William H. Fanning, Jr.

William H. Fanning, Jr.
News Editor

26-N- misc.- Nat'l Consumers League

National Consumers League 348 Engineers Bldg. Cleveland 14, Ohio

November 30, 1948

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This will acknowledge receipt of your membership contribution just received. We are deeply grateful for your continued interest in and support of the work of the League.

And thank you for the Reprint which I read with great interest

Esme

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth S. Magee

Elizabeth S. Magee
General Secretary

27

26 - N - Misc. - Nat'l Consumers League

November 16, 1948

Miss Elizabeth S. Magee
General Secretary
National Consumers League
348 Engineers Building
Cleveland 14, Ohio

Dear Miss Magee:

Here is my small contribution for this year.

I send along also a powerful leaflet, which we hope somebody at the National Consumers League will read.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

NATIONAL CONSUMERS LEAGUE

FOR FAIR LABOR STANDARDS

348 ENGINEERS BUILDING • MAIN 1175 • CLEVELAND 14, OHIO

November 5, 1948

RECEIVED
NOV 8 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The outlook for social legislation looks considerably brighter since Wednesday noon. In a number of states where minimum wage campaigns are contemplated, we feel sure there is some chance of success. On the Federal horizon the prospects for improving the Fair Labor Standards Act are also better.

I think of our regular annual contributors like yourself as a kind of core of support which makes it possible to keep our program going.

Enclosed is a memorandum of your last year's contribution.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth S. Magee

Elizabeth S. Magee
General Secretary

ESM/lr

Encl.

Alice Hamilton, M.D., *President*
Mrs. Thomas F. McAllister, *Chairman, Board of Directors*
John Howland Lathrop, *Vice Chairman*
Hyman Schroeder, *Treasurer*
Elizabeth S. Magee, *General Secretary*

N

May 25, 1948

Miss Elizabeth S. Magee, General Secretary
National Consumers League for
Fair Labor Standards
348 Engineers Building
Cleveland 14, Ohio

Dear Miss Magee:

Thank you for your letter of May 14.

I am honored to continue to serve as a member of the Council of the League for two further years.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

NATIONAL CONSUMERS LEAGUE
FOR FAIR LABOR STANDARDS
348 ENGINEERS BUILDING • MAIN 1175 • CLEVELAND 14, OHIO

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MAY 17 1948
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ay 14, 1948

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am authorized by the Nominating Committee, of which Miss Florence M. Kelley is chairman, to let you know that the Nominating Committee hopes very much that you will continue to serve as a member of the Council for a two-year period. If we do not hear from you prior to the meeting on May 20th, we will assume that you are agreeable to being re-elected.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth S. Magee

Elizabeth S. Magee,
General Secretary.

Alice Hamilton, M.D., *President*
Mrs. Thomas F. McAllister, *Chairman, Board of Directors*
John Howland Lathrop, *Vice Chairman*
Hyman Schroeder, *Treasurer*
Elizabeth S. Magee, *General Secretary*

N-
National Consumers

RECEIVED
MAR 4 1948
Southern Regional Council

NATIONAL CONSUMERS LEAGUE

FOR FAIR LABOR STANDARDS

348 ENGINEERS BUILDING • MAIN 1175 • CLEVELAND 14, OHIO

March 2, 1948

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We write you this letter in the earnest hope that you will assist in the determination of several questions on which the future of the League depends. The situation we face is this:

1. There is a widespread effort, in the states and in Congress, to destroy outrightly or by indirection, the labor legislation of recent years. As an instance, employers' groups from 33 states, representing 135 business organizations, have attacked the principle and philosophy of minimum wage in the recent congressional hearings. A new fight must be made to preserve hard-won gains.

2. Because great advances have been made by securing minimum wage, maximum hour and child labor laws, and establishing government responsibility for old age and unemployment insurance, there is a general belief that the necessary social legislation has been enacted, and that sufficient protection has been given to labor. The public does not realize that these advances are only a beginning and that it is the unorganized rather than the organized workers who have benefitted principally from labor legislation; or that

   nearly half the states have no minimum wage laws:

   The minimum wage rates provided in the Federal law and in many of the wage orders under the state laws are outmoded and must be raised to meet rising price levels;

   Child labor laws are inadequate;

   Many states still have a 10-hour day and 54 or 60-hour week, and five states have no limitations on hours of work. In two states (Pennsylvania and Ohio) the 8-hour laws were lost in the 1947 sessions of the legislatures.

   Millions who should be, are not covered by our Social Security system, and 50% of employed workers are not covered by workmen's compensation laws.

   There is a great need to bring home the importance and urgency of completing this unfinished task.

3. Even today, there are fields to pioneer as challenging as those of earlier years, such as securing decent wages and living conditions for over a million farm migrants, and making adequate medical care available to all citizens.

Alice Hamilton, M.D., *President*
Mrs. Thomas F. McAllister, *Chairman, Board of Directors*
John Howland Lathrop, *Vice Chairman*
Hyman Schroeder, *Treasurer*
Elizabeth S. Magee, *General Secretary*

4. Although the accomplishments of our General Secretary and her staff are nothing short of miraculous, it is impossible for them to do the tasks effectively which now confront the League, without additional help. The present staff, limited by financial necessity, is as follows:

General Secretary - half time;
Bookkeeper and Office Secretary - half time;
Membership Secretary - full time; (also responsible for other office work).

(During 1944 and 1945 we had a part-time publicity and editorial secretary, and an extra office worker, but we were forced to drop them on account of insufficient income).

It is obvious that this is a most inadequate personnel to carry the responsibilities for which our half-century of experience prepares us.

Last summer, a Committee on Future Program and Financial Requirements was appointed, (Members: Metcalfe Walling, Chairman; Florence Kelley, John A. Fitch, Mrs. Richard Zwemer, Dr. John Howland Lathrop) to evaluate the program of the Consumers League in the light of present needs, recommend the projects to which we should devote our main efforts, and ways of increasing our income. In a report to the Board of Directors on January 26th, the chairman stated that the Committee felt that "only by a canvas of the League could there be a realistic solution of the problem, in terms of actual needs and situations faced on the firing line." He pointed out the necessity of putting the League on a more secure financial foundation and brought to the attention of the meeting that -

There has been a gradual decline in contributions since 1939, with the result that the total in 1947 was $6,771 as compared with $10,744 in 1939;

There has been a decline in membership renewals, and we have not succeeded in securing new and substantial contributions.

Thus, at a time when we need to intensify our efforts, we are without the necessary funds to expand our program and, in addition, are faced with diminishing contributions and rising expenses. It is true that the National League has always had a struggle to secure financial support (it is entirely dependent on the contributions of its membership, with the exception of a few bequests), but in this new emergency the Committee feels that the problem of holding old members, attracting new members and increasing contributions, is closely tied in with the problem of program.

The questions on which we need your opinion are on the enclosed sheet. The Committee on Future Program eagerly awaits your reply and suggestions. On the basis of the answers to these questions, they will make recommendations to the annual meeting. We shall appreciate hearing from you by March 15th, for we greatly need your advice on these problems.

Most cordially yours,

Dorothy McAllister

Mrs. Thomas F. McAllister, Chairman,
Board of Directors.

THE NATIONAL CONSUMERS LEAGUE

348 ENGINEERS BUILDING • MAIN 1175 • CLEVELAND 14, OHIO

(Please return these sheets with your answers by March 15 to the N.C.L. Office)

A. Program (Please answer with a view to increasing membership and thereby financial support).

1. Should the N.C.L. confine its program to the traditional fields of decent working conditions, minimum wages and maximum hours, child labor, social security?

2. Should we broaden our program?

If so, how?

Should the National League take a more active part in improving the conditions of migrant agricultural workers? (Three State Leagues - New Jersey, New York, and Michigan are active in this field.)

Should the National League take an active part in securing Fair Employment Practices legislation?

Annual Wages?

Health Insurance?

What are the unmet needs in your state?

3. Should the National League concentrate on one or two objectives?

If so, which ones?

4. How can we win the support of more young people?

5. How can we operate effectively in those states where there are no State Leagues? (Nine states have branches.)

(For example, in Missouri, where there is no state branch, the General Secretary helped during the past two years in the campaign for minimum wage by the preparation of material, by advice to the committee, and by speeches.)

6. Should we get out more information on our program and on the issues for public support?

7. Do you suggest a change of name?

If so, what name do you propose?

If not, do you approve of the subtitle, "For Fair Labor Standards"?

B. Finances for 1948:

Miss Magee has pointed out two things which need our immediate effort:

1. The campaign to defend and improve the Fair Labor Standards Act, now under bitter attack in the Congress;

2. Doing the spade work for the necessary legislation to improve labor standards in the 1949 sessions of state legislatures.

1. How can we secure more contributions immediately for these essential tasks?

2. Are you willing to furnish us a list of prospects for contributions?

3. Do you have any other ideas or suggestions?

NATIONAL CONSUMERS LEAGUE

For Fair Labor Standards

An Organization Through Which Informed Citizens Unite to:

- *investigate conditions*
- *stimulate public opinion*
- *promote progressive legislation*

"We have broken a path perhaps, but there are mountains to climb, great roads to be opened up—no rest for us yet, we must keep on." Florence Kelley

"We have broken a path—"

The names of those who founded the League in 1899 and all who have given it leadership are written large on the rolls of economic and social progress. Secretary of the Consumers League from 1899 to 1932 was Mrs. Florence Kelley, described by Newton D. Baker as the most brilliant woman America ever produced. Mr. Baker was president of the League for many years. Its other presidents have included John Graham Brooks, John Winant, John H. Commons, Josephine Roche and Dr. Alice Hamilton.

• • • •

The National Consumers League introduced to the United States the idea of **minimum wage laws** as a means of putting floors under wages, particularly for unorganized, unskilled workers. The legal defense of these laws before the Supreme Court was historic. Facts concerning the cost of living and current rates of pay in many fields were gathered by the League and embodied in a series of briefs which stressed the benefits to health, efficiency and general welfare arising from enlightened labor statutes.

• • • •

As a natural sequel, the League helped to secure passage of the **Federal Fair Labor Standards Act.** It has opposed any weakening of the Act, either by legislation or by crippled enforcement, and is actively working for substantial improvement in the law.

• • • •

As labor saving machinery and greater efficiency in production is developed, shorter working hours for working men and women

become possible. But experience shows that the possibility is not realized without some struggle. The hours that can be exacted from workers in exchange for a living wage have been gradually shortened since the advent of the Industrial Revolution by the persistent efforts of labor unions, while production has been increased. However, women workers are not 100 per cent organized and long hours have persisted in many fields in which women predominate, necessitating bulwarks against exploitation. The League's briefs in support of hours' laws for women were based on research showing the consequences to the individual and to the community of long hours and industrial strains, particularly for women. There are now but four States in the Union which have no statutory regulations of women's work days.

• • • •

In 1904, when few States had awakened to the prevalence of child labor, the Consumers League issued the first handbook showing the inadequacy or total lack of child labor laws in many States. It also published the first model child labor law and fostered the organization of the National Child Labor Committee. The idea of the Federal Children's Bureau, conceived by Lillian D. Wald and Mrs. Kelley, was first promoted by the National

Weeds Among the Flowers

Consumers League and, in 1912, largely through its efforts, the bill establishing the Bureau was passed by Congress.

• • • •

Industrial home work has been the subject of investigation and attack by the Consumers League for nearly half a century. The tenement work-shop has been scotched to a marked degree by the Fair Labor Standards Act.

• • • •

It was through the League, particularly in New Jersey, that the terrible **hazards of radium painting** became known and subjected to new safety standards.

"But there are mountains to climb—"

Full and productive employment, with use of our entire industrial power, in peace as well as in war, is essential to the economic welfare of all Americans. The National Consumers League believes this challenge is the greatest this country has ever faced. An economy of full production is the only one under which a democracy can flourish. We have seen in our time how failure to achieve it is attended by the poverty and economic insecurity which breeds dictators and wars.

• • • •

"With full employment and full production, we can have a complete and adequate **social security system** at a modest cost," Senator Wagner pointed out in the U. S. Senate, adding, "If we do not achieve full employment, it is all the more important that we have a complete and adequate social security program."

The United States has accepted the principle of social security for old age and unemployment as evidenced in the platforms of both political parties, but we have planned too meagerly. Not only have millions of people been left out, such as agricultural

workers, small business men, employees of non-profit agencies, seamen, etc., but most of our State unemployment compensation laws are inadequate, providing too little insurance for too short a time. Moreover, the demands for sound health insurance measures and more adequate facilities for public health are becoming more insistent.

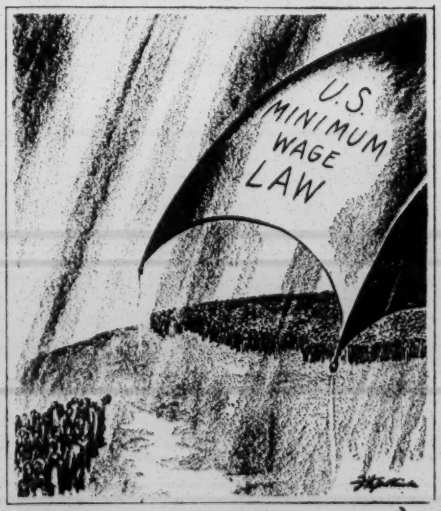
• • • •

Full employment does not mean the employment of children, particularly in factories. The Consumers League supports the recommendation of the Children's Bureau that the State child-labor laws be so amended that no child under 16 be employed during school hours, and no child under that age be allowed to work in a manufacturing or mechanical plant at any time.

At present thirty-three States have a lower minimum; in fact, in twenty-eight States the minimum is 14 years.

• • • •

Full employment at a living wage is necessary for the economic stability of the country. Over twenty million wage earners in the United States are unprotected by Federal minimum wage laws. Whole fields of employment, such as retail stores and the service trades, are not covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act. Twenty-two States have no minimum wage laws and those in many other States cover only women or have not been used nor enforced to the limit of their provisions. In periods of scanty employment, competition



forces the pay of the unskilled worker below the cost of living, jeopardizes the wages of the skilled, and produces a dangerous downward spiral which draws into its vortex the entire public.

• • • •

America itself is faced by a flood of its own displaced citizens, in the form of **migrant workers.** The number of farm migrants alone is estimated from 700,000 to a million and a half. We must solve a whole battery of social and economic problems if these rootless thousands are not to become second-class citizens. The National Consumers League is urging that a vigorous attack be made, both on the Federal and the State level, so that recruiting be rid of its present abuses; housing and camps be responsibly managed with due regard to the sanitation and safety of the entire community; medical care and education be assured migrants; the benefits of social security, fair labor standards, and labor legislation be applicable to them, and that settlement laws be revised so the migrants are not deprived of their rights as citizens.

• • • •

The Consumers League vigorously supports both Federal and State legislation providing that men and women receive **equal pay for equal work.** Six States now have such laws and national legislation is needed.

But the Consumers League is unalterably opposed to the so-called "Equal Rights Amendment" which would "eliminate all discrimination under the law between the sexes." It is convinced that this would be a tragic step backward because it would throw into constitutional jeopardy all the Federal and State wage and hours laws applying to women, and laws prohibiting the employment of women in hazardous occupations. Furthermore, it would deprive wives and mothers of needed support and so endanger family relationships.

"Great roads to be opened up—"

Low standards reflect themselves as a contagion, spreading to all classes and persons. Not only the economic welfare of our nation, but the peace we have won, is dependent upon the well-being of the great working majority of our people.

At San Francisco, when the people of the United Nations determined "to promote social progress and better standards of life," they recognized that the impoverished may become the prey of dictators and make war in the hope of improving intolerable conditions. By embodying in the Charter the organization of an Economic and Social Council, the international organization indicated that it was ready to go further than phrase-making on these fundamental concerns.

America, rich in resource, invention and industrial organization, must lead the way in demonstrating that human freedom is compatible with economic security. It is not a task to be left to labor alone. All groups rise or fall together in the fabric of our economy.

"A new challenge is offered to the people of America to establish along with political democracy an opportunity through productive employment to earn an income sufficient for the basic needs of food, clothing, shelter, health, recreation and cultural pursuits, and assurance to every individual of whatever race of an equal and unsegregated opportunity for worship, protection in time of unemployment, illness or need, and full political and civil rights." *

* *From the Statement of The Commission on a Just and Durable Peace of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.*

"—We must keep on."

THE NATIONAL CONSUMERS LEAGUE
For Fair Labor Standards

Alice Hamilton, M. D., President

Elizabeth S. Magee, General Secretary **Hyman Schroeder, Treasurer**

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The Consumers League of:

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Delaware, care of Delaware Hardware Co., Wilmington, Del.
Kentucky, Louisville Trust Bldg., Louisville, Ky.
Massachusetts, 31-A Mount Vernon St., Boston, Mass.
Michigan, 222 Louise Ave., Highland Park, Detroit, Mich.
New Jersey, 790 Broad St., Newark, N. J.
New York, 170 Fifth Ave., New York City, N. Y.
Ohio, 348 Engineers Bldg., Cleveland 14, Ohio.
Rhode Island, 109 Washington St., Providence, R. I.

Issued Winter 1945 by

The National Consumers League

348 Engineers Building Cleveland 14, Ohio

26-17-MIS-
Nat'l Citizens Council on Civil Rts.

NATIONAL CITIZENS' COUNCIL ON CIVIL RIGHTS

WILLKIE MEMORIAL BUILDING

20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

LONGACRE 4-0199

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181

RECEIVED
MAR 16
Southern Regional Council

March 4, 1949

MEMORANDUM Re: Two New Pamphlets Now Available

We are pleased to enclose a reprint in pamphlet form of a summarizing address by Leo M. Cherne following the Council's Institute on Community Audits. Since that event, some fifteen communities have undertaken self-surveys and a great number more are making preliminary inquiries.

See file on Community Surveys

You will find this pamphlet, "To Fulfill Our Promises", useful in explaining the purposes and techniques of the community audit. Additional quantities (not exceeding 250) are available upon request.

We are also enclosing the pamphlet, "Safeguard Our Rights", published by the Anti-Defamation League for use primarily by veterans and young people.

See file on Civil Rights

Marilyn Kaemmerle
Administrative Secretary

MK/as
encl.

26-N-Misc
Nabrit, S. M.

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

May 4, 1949

OFFICE OF THE DEAN

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional
Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor Fleming:

Enclosed is a copy of the official communication announcing the action of the Conference of Deans of Southern Graduate Schools. The institutions invited were not listed in the communication. I would suggest that if you wish to indicate more about the action the Conference has taken you should write to Dean W. H. Callcott, Secretary-Treasure, University of South Carolina, Columbia 1, South Carolina, as he is the person who sent out the official communication.

Sincerely yours,

S. M. Nabrit

S. M. Nabrit

encl: (1)

C
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P
Y

May 2, 1949

At its annual meeting in December 1948, the Conference of Deans of Southern Graduate Schools voted to invite into membership Deans of graduate schools of those Negro Southern Institutions which are doing reliable graduate work. The Executive Committee then undertook the matter of specific selection. I herewith extend an invitation to you, as dean of one of the seven Negro institutions selected, to join our group.

The Conference of about forty members represents the whole South between the District of Columbia and Texas, inclusive, has no political connections whatever and exercises no jurisdiction or authority over its members. It devotes itself to the positive program of exchanging information and of strengthening graduate work in the South

The Conference holds an annual meeting (the next one will be in New Orleans, Nov. 14-15, 1949). At these meetings topics and problems of mutual interest are discussed. It is felt that the meetings are of great value indeed to the deans concerned and to the whole program in providing contacts and information not otherwise available. The annual dues of $10. are used to cover special expenses of the annual meetings, the publication of the minutes and certain papers, postage and petty items.

26- D- Miss
Napier, Dean T H

June 16, 1949

Dean T. H. Napier
Alabama College
Montevallo, Alabama

Dear Mr. Napier:

I will be glad to see that the Southern Regional Council staffs for the full five days the Seminar on Minorities during Religious Emphasis Week, November 13 - 17.

I will come myself certainly for the 13th, 14th, and 15th. I hope you will let me send, if necessary, for the 16th and 17th, Elizabeth Taylor of the Council staff. I enclose a little about her.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

~~August 10~~

ALABAMA COLLEGE
THE STATE COLLEGE FOR WOMEN
MONTEVALLO, ALABAMA

June 8, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We have your letter of June 3, and I am writing to express the hope that between now and the time of our Religious Emphasis Week that you will be able to make plans whereby it will be possible for you to be with us for the entire period of November 13 - 17. The seminars will be conducted over this period and while we are very anxious to have you here, I do not believe we can afford to limit the seminar on Minorities to two days.

Please recheck your schedule and see if you do not feel that it will be possible for you to come and stay for the entire period.

Cordially yours,

T. H. Napier

T. H. Napier
Dean

THN:rg

RECEIVED
JUN 10 1949
Southern Regional Council

June 3, 1949

Dr. T. H. Napier, Dean
Alabama College
Montevallo, Alabama

Dear Dean Napier:

I very greatly appreciate the invitation of the group for me to have part in the seminar on Minorities in Religious Emphasis Week at the College November 13 - 17, 1949.

I would be a little reluctant to be out of the office for five days running, and hope that I will only be needed for one, or at most, two days.

If as the date gets nearer you can write me just when I will be needed, that will be helpful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

ALABAMA COLLEGE
THE STATE COLLEGE FOR WOMEN
MONTEVALLO, ALABAMA

May 31, 1949

RECEIVED
JUN 2 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The students at Alabama College, together with the faculty members, are planning Religious Emphasis Week for November 13 - 17, 1949. You are their first choice to conduct a seminar on "Minorities." They plan to have a platform speaker and eight seminars for the students and one seminar for the faculty.

You may be interested in the subjects that have been chosen for the seminars. They are as follows:

Minorities
Bible Study
Worship
International Relations
Citizenship
Christian Faith
Christian Vocations
Labor

The students will pay all traveling expenses and entertain the speakers while here, but no plans have been made to offer an honorarium to any of the speakers.

I know that you are a very busy person, but if you can be with these young people on this occasion you will be rendering a great service. The students have chosen the topics, and they have chosen the people they wish to have invited. I am simply writing the letters.

We shall hope to hear from you at an early date.

Sincerely yours,

T. H. Napier

T. H. Napier
Dean

THN:rg

26- N Dive.
New Dominion

906 Lullwater Road
Atlanta, Georgia
June 28, 1949

New Dominion Series
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear New Dominion:

Someone suggested to me the other day that New Dominion might give consideration to some change in its format.

The idea was that a publication which continues too long in its original appearance loses its fresh appeal. Those who get it may have a tendency to take as read what arrives in the mail.

That sounds sensible to me.

'Tis a most useful publication, and if a change or two in cover, or type, or paper, would renew its appeal, so much the better.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:t

26 - N Miscs
Natl Social Welfare Assembly

NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY INC.
1790 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

RECEIVED
JUL 5 1949
Southern Regional Council

July 1st, 1949

To: Leaders of Field Staff Institute and Program Committee

From: Mildred H. Esgar

This will confirm an earlier announcement that we are planning to hold a meeting of Institute Leaders on Monday afternoon, July 11th, at 2 P.M. We are meeting in one of the classrooms in All Saints' Church, North Avenue and West Peachtree Street, Atlanta. Please go to the registration desk for definite information about the room.

At this meeting we will go over the general plan of the Institute review our objectives and try to clear up any questions which there may be regarding program, etc.

We are not anticipating a large attendance but the group will include staff members of both voluntary and governmental agencies and will be representative of a good cross-section of interest and experience. The Assembly is looking forward to this Institute with much interest.

Increasingly staff members wrking in the same area are seeking opportunities to share experience with each other and we believe that the values which come from spending a couple of days together studying common problems and discussing ways of tapping them are of far-reaching significance.

While this particular Institute was planned at the request of persons working in the South, it is of interest to a much wider group. There seems to be either a new interest or a reawakening of interest in the problems of small communities and the South with its numerous small places and its changing economy seems a very important section of the country in which to begin an intensive study of needs, resources and methods of dealing with the problems.

We are grateful to you for your interest and help. We hope that you will be able to meet with us Monday and that as many as possible will stay through the entire program for, in a very real sense, this is to be a "working" conference and we are counting on the leaders to serve as resources and participate in general discussion.

I expect to arrive in Atlanta July 7th and will be staying at the Hotel Biltmore. Will you be good enough to drop me a line there to let me know if we can expect you at this meeting? I am looking forward happily to working with you.

M.H.E.

NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY INC.
1790 BROADWAY · NEW YORK 19 · NEW YORK

FRANK L. WEIL President MRS. HENRY A. INGRAHAM Chairman Executive Committee ROBERT E. BONDY Director

June 23, 1949

RECEIVED
JUN 24 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for your letter of June 7th. The topic, "The Map of the South", seems a very descriptive one.

We are glad that it is going to be possible for you to be with us during most of our sessions, as we are counting on the speakers to serve as resources to the Work Groups.

Because we are particularly anxious that the discussions in the Work Groups shall not go too far afield, it has been suggested that each speaker be asked to let us have an outline of the main points in his talk, in advance of the meeting. The Work Group Leaders then will review these and line up a set of questions for discussion in their respective groups. We don't want to be too literal about this, as we want the experience of the conference members also to influence the discussions. However, if it is not too much trouble for you to prepare such an outline for us, it would really serve two purposes. The one I have already indicated. The other would be for use in connection with the preparation of the final report.

We very much appreciate your interest and help.

Sincerely yours,

Mildred H. Esgar

Mildred H. Esgar
Director of Field Service Cooperation

P.S. I expect to reach Atlanta July 7th and would appreciate it if you could mail the material to me in care of the Biltmore Hotel.

Enclosure

26 - N, Misc
Miscan, H.C.

July 13, 1949

Professor H. C. Nixon
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear H. C.:

I have been putting our people to work on your stuff about apportionment. Here are the results on Alabama and Georgia. South Carolina will be out soon. Will send.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosures

July 27, 1949

Miss Mildred H. Esgar
National Social Welfare Assembly, Inc.
1790 Broadway
New York 19, New York

Dear Miss Esgar:

Thank you so much for your kind letter of July 21. We enjoyed being with your group and thought it a very useful thing to get them all together.

If the Council can serve you again in any way, let us know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

26 - Misc
National Social Welfare Assembly

NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY INC.

1790 BROADWAY · NEW YORK 19 · NEW YORK

FRANK L. WEIL *President* MRS. HENRY A. INGRAHAM *Chairman Executive Committee* ROBERT E. BONDY *Director*

July 21st, 1949

RECEIVED
JUL 23 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

In behalf of The Assembly and especially the Committee which planned the Field Staff Institute, I want to thank you for your help with our program and for bringing to our attention so vivid a picture of the social and economic conditions which we need to know about and take into account as we try to develop a program of health and welfare services.

I wish that we had your "animated" map - or a summary of your analysis - for inclusion in our Report, for your material warrants more intensive study than we were able to give it in so short a time. Sometimes, I think that one reason why we do not make more rapid progress in extending services into rural areas is that we get so overwhelmed with the magnitude of the task that we don't know how to take the first steps. This would seem to be especially true in an area like the rural South where the social, economic and political involvements are so great.

In the couple of days we had together, we could do little more than scratch the surface, but the fact that about thirty-five people from seventeen or eighteen different agencies met together, attended all the sessions, and, in the end, voted to have another meeting to pursue the idea further, indicated an interest and, I believe, a genuine desire really to come to grips with the problems.

We may not have "liked" some of the things which you and Mr. Campbell told us - but as a result, we could not help asking ourselves some pretty penetrating questions as we thought about our own and our agencies' effectiveness in dealing with the situation.

Thank you again for your interest and cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Mildred H. Esgar

Mildred H. Esgar
Director of Field Service Cooperation

Written longhand at Atlanta
July 17, 1949

STAFF ROUTING

STAFF _____

READING FILE _____

HCF _____

JPS _____

NH _____

MS _____

CAC _____

AMCK _____

MET _____

GSM _____

June 27, 1949

Miss Mildred H. Esgar
c/o Biltmore Hotel
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Esgar:

Here is the outline requested in your letter of June 23.

I will be on hand.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

26 - Dr - Miss
Nat'l Social Welfare Assembly, Inc

June 7, 1949

Miss Mildred H. Esgar
Director of Field Service Cooperation
National Social Welfare Assembly, Inc.
1790 Broadway
New York 19, New York

Dear Miss Esgar:

Everything is now straight about my part in the meeting in Atlanta July 11 - 13. Miss Willett has persuaded me that I am to make a talk on the morning of July 12 and to be on hand for much of that day and the next day and one, at least, of the evenings.

The easy thing to call my morning talk is "The Map of the South."

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY INC.
1790 BROADWAY · NEW YORK 19 · NEW YORK

FRANK L. WEIL President MRS. HENRY A. INGRAHAM Chairman Executive Committee ROBERT E. BONDY Director

June 3, 1949

RECEIVED
JUN 6 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

We were delighted to receive a telegram from Miss Willett yesterday, saying that we could definitely count on your help in connection with our Field Staff Institute to be held in Atlanta July 11th to 13th.

I am enclosing a copy of a more detailed program than the one originally mailed.

Would you like to suggest the wording of your topic which we can include on the final program?

I am looking forward with pleasure to working with you and want you to know that the Assembly is deeply appreciative of your interest and cooperation.

Very sincerely yours,

Mildred H. Esgar

Mildred H. Esgar
Director of Field Service Cooperation

Enclosure

THE NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY
announces a

FIELD STAFF INSTITUTE

to be held at
All Saints' Church, North Avenue and West Peachtree Street,
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED
JUN 6 1949
Southern Regional Council

July 11-13, 1949

Subject: "The Field Worker and the Rural Community".

Purpose: The primary purpose of the Institute is to study social welfare needs of small and rural communities in the south, and to consider methods of meeting these needs through the field services and other resources of national and regional health and welfare organizations.

Area: For purposes of this Institute, 'the South' includes the District of Columbia and the following fourteen states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia.

Attendance: The Institute is designed primarily for the following:

1. Staff members of national and regional health and welfare agencies doing field work in the South.

2. Specialists in rural community interests.

3. Field directors of national agencies.

Total attendance will be limited to 150; it is hoped that a good cross-section of agency interests will be represented. Organizations are encouraged to send from three to five staff members.

Program: The program will consist of lectures and discussions. Each person attending will share in the program through participation in work groups and general discussions. There will be opportunity for acquaintance, sharing of experience, and study of common problems. Arrangements for special group meetings can be made as desired.

Leadership: Leadership for the Institute will include:

Dr. Gordon W. Blackwell, Director, Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina.

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Director, Southern Regional Council.

Mr. T. C. Campbell, Field Agent, Extension Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

Mr. Earle G. Lippincott, Program Secretary, United Health and Welfare Fund of Michigan.

Mrs. George H. Abbott, Dallas, Texas;
Member of Assembly Committee on Field Service Cooperation.

Miss Mildred H. Esgar, Director of Field Service Cooperation, National Social Welfare Assembly.

Emphasis will be laid on cultural factors which affect rural social organization; significant social and economic changes taking place in the south today and their implications for social services; qualifications of leadership required for work in southern rural communities; problems and methods of financing rural social work; and implications of these factors for field service.

Members of the Program Committee will serve as resources to the work groups and act as a coordinating committee during the conference. Work group leaders will be announced later.

Opening Session: Monday, July 11th, at 8 p.m.

Closing Session: Wednesday, July 13th, at 8 p.m.

Evaluation Meeting: Thursday, July 14th, 10-12 a.m. Open to all.

Registration Fee: $6. - to be paid in advance - by July 5th if possible. Make check payable to: National Social Welfare Assembly, and mail to: Mildred H. Esgar, 1790 Broadway, New York 19, N.Y.

Living Arrangements: Each person will be responsible for making his own living arrangements in Atlanta. Anyone desiring information about housing may write to Miss Mary Jane Willett, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

For further information, write to: Miss Mildred H. Esgar, National Social Welfare Assembly, 1790 Broadway, New York 19, N.Y.

Planning Committee:

Mary Jane Willett, Young Women's Christian Association
Bettie Brooks, Girl Scouts of America) Co-Chairmen

Herbert Stuckey, Boy Scouts of America - Program Chairman

Clara M. Dowdy, American Red Cross
Mildred H. Esgar, National Social Welfare Assembly
Ephraim H. Gale, National Jewish Welfare Board
W. Kenneth Howarth, The Salvation Army
Nelson C. Jackson, National Urban League
Charles F. Mitchell, U.S. Children's Bureau
Marion Preece, National Recreation Association

June 6, 1949

June 2, 1949

Miss Mildred H. Esgar
Director of Field Service Cooperation
National Social Welfare Assembly, Inc.
1790 Broadway
New York 19, New York

Dear Miss Esgar:

I had a potential conflict with a long-standing engagement at Fisk University, which explains my delay in replying to your letter of May 24.

The way is now perfectly clear for me to be with you on Tuesday morning, July 12, here in Atlanta. So far as I know now, I can come for parts of the 13th also, but I should like to let steady attendance all day the 12th and 13th rest with my assistant, Mrs. Jane Simpson.

I am clear with Miss Willett about being present on the 12th, and I think she has already let you know by wire. I look forward to working with your group.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY INC.
1790 BROADWAY · NEW YORK 19 · NEW YORK

FRANK L. WEIL President MRS. HENRY A. INGRAHAM Chairman Executive Committee ROBERT E. BONDY Director

May 24, 1949

RECEIVED
MAY 25 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Director, Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

Miss Mary Jane Willett has already talked with you about our plans for the Institute for Field Staff of National and Regional Health and Welfare Agencies Working in the South. This Institute will be held in Atlanta July 11th to 13th and will concentrate on problems of rural areas.

The Planning Committee is very anxious to have you assist us with the Institute and would like to have you address the Conference on Tuesday morning, July 12th, at 9:30, on the subject of organizational factors to be taken into consideration in developing programs in such communities. The exact title can be decided later.

We have thought in terms of a half-hour presentation, although that could be extended to 40 or 45 minutes if it seemed desirable. However, in addition to their lectures, we are asking all the leaders to participate during the entire Conference, to share in the work shop periods, and to be available for conference and discussion with individuals and small groups as need arises.

Since it is our aim to have all of our members participate in workshop sessions, we think it is especially important that the leaders meet with us the entire time.

The National Social Welfare Assembly and many of its affiliate organizations are deeply concerned about the situation in small and rural communities. Our pattern of organization is primarily urban. Many of our field staff members are looking forward to this Institute as an opportunity to dig in on a problem which is of great concern to them. Because of your experience and interest in this subject we particularly covet your leadership.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Miss Willett and she will, I know, be very glad to talk with you in greater detail about it.

As soon as the leadership has been secured we will send out the final program. Meanwhile I thought you might be interested in seeing the preliminary announcement.

We hope very much that you will be able to help us with this.

Very sincerely yours,

Mildred H. Esgar

Mildred H. Esgar
Director of Field Service Cooperation

Enclosure

6/2

GSM:

Sorry, this became attached to me.

Notice it gives the place of the meeting you are to address -- All Saints' Church.

You might route this to Jane after you have looked over it. She is holding the correspondence about the meeting.

met

National Social Welfare
Assembly

1790 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

Preliminary Announcement

FIELD STAFF INSTITUTE

Sponsored by the
NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY

To be held at
All Saints' Church, North Avenue and West Peachtree Street,
Atlanta, Georgia

July 11-13, 1949

Subject: "The Field Worker and the Rural Community".

Purpose: To study methods whereby national and regional health and welfare organizations may serve more effectively the small and rural communities in the South.

The Area: Regional field staffs cover varied territories. For purposes of this Institute, 'the South' includes the District of Columbia and the following fourteen states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia.

Attendance: The Institute is designed primarily for the following:

1. Staff members of national and regional health and welfare agencies doing field work in the South.

2. Specialists in rural community interests.

3. Field directors.

Total attendance will be limited to 150; it is hoped that a good cross-section of agency interests will be represented. Organizations are encouraged to send from three to five staff members.

Registration Fee: $6. - to be paid in advance. Make check payable to: National Social Welfare Assembly, and mail to: Mildred H. Esgar, 1790 Broadway, New York, 19, N.Y.

Institute Registration: Monday, July 11, 1949, 2-5 p.m., at All Saints' Church, Atlanta.

Opening Session: Monday, July 11th, at 8 p.m.

Closing Session: Wednesday, July 13th, at 8 p.m.

Evaluation Meeting: Thursday, July 14th, 10-12 a.m. Open to all.

Living Arrangements: Each person will be responsible for making his own living arrangements in Atlanta. Anyone desiring information about housing, may write to Miss Mary Jane Willett, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Program: The Program Committee hopes to be able to announce further details within a couple of weeks. The program will include lectures by outstanding leaders, familiar with rural problems; discussions, and workshops. It will be an institute in which all of the members will participate.

For further information, write to: Mildred H. Esgar, National Social Welfare Assembly, 1790 Broadway, New York, 19, N. Y.

Planning Committee:

Mary Jane Willett, Young Women's Christian Association
Betty Brooks, Girl Scouts) Co-Chairmen
Herbert Stuckey, Boy Scouts of America
Clara Dowdy, American Red Cross
Mildred H. Esgar, National Social Welfare Assembly
Ephraim H. Gale, National Jewish Welfare Board
W. Kenneth Howarth, The Salvation Army
Nelson C. Jackson, National Urban League
Charles F. Mitchell, U. S. Children's Bureau
Marion Preece, National Recreation Association

May 6, 1949

NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY INC.
1790 BROADWAY · NEW YORK 19 · NEW YORK

FRANK L. WEIL President MRS. HENRY A. INGRAHAM Chairman Executive Committee ROBERT E. BONDY Director

June 24, 1949

To: Persons Invited to the Field Staff Institute

From: Mildred H. Esgar, Director of Field Service Cooperation

The National Social Welfare Assembly is looking forward to the Institute to be held in Atlanta, July 11-13, as an opportunity for a group who are concerned about the quality of life in small communities to work together and explore ways whereby national and regional health and welfare agencies may develop more effective services for meeting the needs of people in small communities and rural areas.

Most social work originated in cities, and to a great extent our patterns of organization are more adapted to the specialized urban setting than they are to less differentiated communities.

We are fortunate in the leadership which has been secured. Dr. Gordon Blackwell, Director of the Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, and Dr. George Mitchell, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, will help us analyze the characteristics of small communities and describe the significant changes taking place in the South today.

Mr. Tom Campbell of Tuskegee Institute, and Field Agent of the Extension Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, will open our discussions on qualifications of leadership required for work in small places; Mr. Earle Lippincott, Program Secretary of the United Health and Welfare Fund of Michigan, will discuss some of the problems of financing rural work. We are hoping that one of the regional representatives of the Federal Security Agency will point up some of the important relationships between governmental and voluntary agencies.

However, we regard the 'lectures' merely as springboards for the discussion which will go on in the Work Groups. Each member of the Institute will participate in a small group, so that there will be ample opportunity for the discussion of individual questions relating to the general subject of the Institute. Membership in these groups will be continuous.

Following are people who already have accepted responsibility for serving as Work Group Leaders:

Miss Frankie U. Adams,
Chairman, Community Organization Department,
Atlanta University School of Social Work.

Miss Lois I. Duncan, Social Service Field Representative,
Area Medical Office, Veterans Administrat on, Atlanta.

Miss Florence C. Harris, Secretary for Administrative Affairs,
Division of Community YWCA's, National Board YWCA, Atlanta.

Mrs. Mildred Hitch, Assistant Director, Personnel Service,
American National Red Cross, Atlanta.

Mr. Samuel Josolowitz, Director of Rural Services,
National Jewish Welfare Board.

Dr. W.A. Mason, Director of Division of Health Education for Negroes,
Georgia State Department of Public Health, Atlanta.

Mrs. Horace B. Ritchie, Regional Representative of American Cancer
Society, Atlanta.

Members of the Program Committee and Institute speakers will serve as resources to the Work Groups.

From the announcement which you received earlier, you will recall that the sessions are to be held at All Saints' Church, North Avenue and West Peachtree Street, Atlanta.

Hours for Institute Registration at Atlanta are June 11th, from 2 to 5 p.m.

The first Institute session will be held June 11th at 8 p.m.

If you have not yet sent in your registration fee, we will appreciate receiving it at your earliest convenience. Enclosed is a registration blank. Additional programs and blanks may be received from the office of the National Social Welfare Assembly, Room 406, 1790 Broadway, New York 19, N.Y.

26 - Misc
National Farmers Union

August 9, 1949

Mr. J. Russell Smith
National Farmers Union
300 B Street, S. E.
Washington 3, D. C.

Dear Russell:

This is an interesting account of the lynching at Irwinton, Georgia. Next page, careful analysis of possible legislation.

Warmly,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

December 1, 1948

[redacted] released upon receipt

26 - N. Misc. - Natl Education Assn.

Fourth Annual NEA Institute of Organization Leadership

July 25--August 19, 1949

Washington, D.C.

RECEIVED NOV 30 1948 Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED NOV 30 1948 South

Announcement is made of the fourth annual NEA Institute of Organization Leadership, a training school for leaders of professional organizations, to be held July 25--August 19, 1949, under the auspices of The American University, Washington, D.C.

The purpose of the Institute is to aid officers of professional organizations to develop the technics, skills, and knowledge necessary to give dynamic leadership in keeping with the Victory Action Program of our united education associations.

The 1949 Institute is designed to stress those things that make for competence and confidence in leadership: parliamentary law; public speaking; good public relations; the history, structure, and program of our united associations; planning for next year's work. The lectures on school law, by Dr. Karl Berns, which proved so popular in earlier Institutes, will be continued and enlarged. Learning to lead in such a way as to rally the full force of a group will be the subject of careful study and practice.

A strong faculty, trained and experienced in professional organization will again staff the Institute: President Paul F. Douglass, The American University, Washington, D.C.; Dr. Joy Elmer Morgan, Editor NEA Journal, Washington, D.C.; Dr. Ruth C. Little, Assistant Editor NEA Journal, Washington, D.C., Director; Dr. Karl H. Berns, Assistant Secretary, NEA, Washington, D.C.; Miss Dorinda Bond, Publicity Director, Amarillo Schools, Texas; Mrs. Wilda F. Faust, National Secretary, Future Teachers of America, NEA, Washington, D.C.; Dr. Mildred Sandison Fenner, Assistant Editor NEA Journal, Washington, D.C.; Mr. Stewart Harral, Director of Press Relations, University of Oklahoma, Norman; Dr. Richard E. Hutcheson, Director, Washington Academy of Speech, Washington, D.C.; and Mr. H. C. Weinlick, Locals Consultant, Wisconsin Education Association, Madison.

Membership in the Institute is open to officers of state associations, local associations, classroom teacher groups, FTA sponsors and FTA presidents, and others who wish to prepare themselves for leadership in our professional organization.

This opportunity to receive training for professional leadership, to earn four hours of college credit, and to enjoy the many attractions of the nation's capital should appeal to all teachers who seek to render greater service to their profession. For further information regarding the 1949 NEA Institute of Organization Leadership, write to Editor, NEA Journal, 1201 Sixteenth Street, Northwest, Washington 6, D.C.

August 29, 1949

Mrs. Diana Lewars
Research & Public Relations Director
National Scholarship Service and
Fund for Negro Students
31 West 110th Street
New York 26, New York

Dear Mrs. Lewars:

Thank you for your letter of August 25.

We have not yet yet found a wedge of space in which to put the statement about the National Scholarship Service, but we hope to get it out in an early issue. We will send you twenty-five copies, in any case, and could supply more for a most modest sum each.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

26 - N. Misc

Nat'l Scholarship Service + Fund for Negro Students

Board of Directors
HARRY J. CARMAN
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Advisory Board of College Presidents
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NATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP SERVICE AND FUND FOR NEGRO STUDENTS

31 West 110th Street, New York 26

RIverside 9-5660

HON. JANE BOLIN
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EDWIN R. EMBREE
JAMES FELT
MARGARET HALSEY
HENRY R. LUCE
ARTHUR S. MEYER
MRS. NATHAN STRAUS
KENDALL WEISIGER

August 25, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Mr. Plaut has called my attention, as a new member of this organization, to your excellent proposed note on the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students for publication in NEW SOUTH.

Would you be kind enough to let me know the publication date and to send me a number of copies of the issue in which it appears? Would you also let me know what arrangements could be made for a limited quantity of tear-sheets or reprints?

We feel that yours is an unusually readable statement on our Service and we appreciate your cooperation very highly.

Sincerely yours,

Diana Lewars

(Mrs.) Diana Lewars
Research and Public Relations Director

RECEIVED
AUG 29 1949
Southern Regional Council

Contributions are deductible for income tax purposes

26 N - Juvi
National Scholarship
Service for Negro Students

June 6, 1949

National Scholarship Service for Negro Students
360 West 122nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Folks:

Somebody in New York told me the other day you people were doing a good and useful job. Here is some dope about our Council down this way.

I would like to know what youall are doing, and would appreciate bulletins, list of scholarship vacancies, or whatever you can send. Every now and then we get urgent requests for ways in which Negro students can break into college.

Let's kind of be friends.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

26 - N. Times
New York Times

September 15, 1949

The New York Times Book Review
The New York Times
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

Here is a just out pamphlet which shows signs of popularity and usefulness.

The Southern Newspaper Publishers Association has undertaken to distribute it to all its members.

I am ambitious for mention of it among the latest books received, if so slender a booklet can merit listing. The price is fifteen cents a copy.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

26 - N. Miss
New York Times

September 14, 1949

Mr. Robert E. Garst, City Editor
New York Times
New York, New York

Dear Bob:

Twenty odd years ago in the Columbia Book Store, I flipped the pages of your little book about headlines. My eye caught the dictum that race does not belong in headlines.

You will remember that you were kind enough to receive and talk generously with Calvin Kytle last year when he came up to further the idea of doing a sort of manual on Race in the News in the South.

Here is the finished product.

We were delighted to get news, just yesterday, from the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association that they will send it out to each of their members.

We think it is good, and we believe that it will be quite useful.

I wanted you to know that the notion is originally yours.

With warmest wishes and cordial regards to Iris.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

26- R- Press
New Yorker

September 19, 1949

Mr. A. J. Liebling
c/o The New Yorker
25 W. 43rd Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Liebling:

Having enjoyed your perceptive writings on the "Wayward Press," we felt you would be interested in this most recent publication of the Southern Regional Council -- Race in the News.

We have tried, ina persuasive rather than carping tone, to show the inconsistencies and discourtesies of current practices. More important, we have set out simple rules of good journalism and good taste in the handling of racial news.

The trend toward fairer practices is already underway in Southern newspapers. This is an attempt to speed it up and guide it in the right direction. The pamphlet is being widely distributed among newspaper men and lay people, who will be urged to keep a running audit of their local newspapers.

Any help or suggestions you might give us on getting the pamphlet better known will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

encl

26- Misc
New Orleans Item

September 27, 1949

Mr. Glenn Douthit
New Orleans Item
722 Union Street
New Orleans, La.

Dear Mr. Douthit:

A way back in January I promised to send you a copy of this when it came out. We have had it back from the printer a week or so. Do hope you will find it useful. We have more copies at fifteen cents each.

The Southern Newspaper Publishers Association is sending it out to its members.

We think that if the papers will keep it about, it will, in the course of time do a good deal to speed and shape the movement already well under way among Southern newspapers for better handling of Negro news.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

26 - N - Misc
News Views

October 4, 1949

Miss Betty Yarbrough, Editor
News Views
Veterans Training School
Greenville City Schools
Greenville, South Carolina

Dear Miss Yarbrough:

My very warm congratulations on the fine September 1949 issue of News Views.

Our Council has thought from the beginning that the veterans' training program was one of the most useful phases of American life. I was delighted to see that Greenville has gone so far with it.

We have a special interest in Negro matters and were the more pleased, therefore, to see the fine coverage which the issue gave of Negro training ventures.

I send you a copy of our latest pamphlet, Race in the News, which I think you will like.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t

26 - N - Misc. -
N.C. Student
Legislation

November 15, 1949

Mr. John A. Clark, Jr.
Guilford College
North Carolina

Dear Mr. Clark:

Thank you for your letter of November 8 about the North Carolina Student Legislature. We appreciate the invitation to have New South represented, but that will not be possible this year. However, we would be glad to have the story of the story of the assembly.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

hcf/t

P. S. We are sending, under separate cover, some copies of a leaflet describing a few of our publications. Perhaps some of the legislators would be interested.

Guilford College, N.C.
November 8, 1949

Managing Editor
New South Magazine
c/o Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Sir:

The 13th Annual North Carolina Student Legislature will assemble on December 1st, 2nd and 3rd in the State House at Raleigh, North Carolina. The Student Legislature was organized in 1936. Most of the colleges of this state, negro and white, are represented. The purpose of the Student Legislature is to develop an interest and understanding of the process of Democratic government and to discuss current problems.

We extend a cordial invitation to your magazine to be represented at this session of the Legislature. If it is impossible for your magazine to be represented, we will be pleased to forward the story and picture of the assembly to you if you are interested. Please notify us at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

John A. Clark, Jr.

John A. Clark, Jr.
Publicity Chairman

RECEIVED
9 1949
Southern Regional Council

26-n- Misc.
Nunn, W.L.

December 1, 1949

Mr. W. L. Nunn, Director
University Relations
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis 14, Minn.

Dear Bill:

Thanks a lot for news of Broadus, also for the book which came two or three days ago. I am most anxious to read it and will see what I can do to get it better known in this part of the world.

By return, I send you a copy of our latest pamphlet Race in the News which is doing quite a lot of good in changing the way the southern papers handle Negro news.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
MINNEAPOLIS 14

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR OF
UNIVERSITY RELATIONS

November 28, 1949

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

A long time ago, I knew you and Broadus, but somehow or other over the years I lost contacts with both of you. I made a speech at Rutgers last month and saw Broadus there which pleased me a great deal.

In talking to Helen MacDonald of our University of Minnesota Press the other day, I suggested that she send to you a copy of Rose's book --THE NEGRO'S MORALE: GROUP IDENTIFICATION AND PROTEST. I enjoyed this book thoroughly and think it has values and implications to all sorts of people who are working in one way or another with so-called minority groups in the country. I understand that the book has been mailed to you, and I hope that if you like it as much as I do that you can give it some substantial plugs.

With kind regards, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Bice Nunn

W. L. Nunn, Director
University Relations

WLN/eh

cc: H. L. MacDonald

December 28, 1949

Mr. Ernest B. Neal
Tuskegee Institute
Alabama

Dear Mr. Neal:

I thank you, or someone's kindness, for sending me a copy of "Shifts in the Negro Population of Alabama".

It is well-argued, with the clearest of figures, and full of startling things.

Congratulations to the Rural Life Council, and to Mr. Lewis W. Jones.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Mr. Ernest E. Neal
Tuskegee Institute
Alabama

Dear Mr. Neal,

I thank you, or someone's kindness, for sending me a copy of "Shifts in the Negro Population of Alabama".

It is well-argues, with the clearest of figures, and full of startling things.

Congratulation to the Rural Life Council, and to Mr. Lewis W. Jones.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

[Copy to Jane Simpson]

January 18, 1950

Mrs. C. A. Clutz
986 East First Street
Fort Myers, Florida

Dear Mrs. Clutz:

This will acknowledge your letter received on January 9.

According to our records we have you down as a member with membership entered on April 1947 and dues renewal sent in on February 7, 1948 to carry you through April, 1949. The card does not, of course, indicate whether the source of these dues payments was yourself or your Woman's Society of Christian Service.

We are glad to know that you have enjoyed New South and have found it useful for your society; and I am wondering whether you would not like to renew your membership ($3.00) yourself or even enter a subscription to New South ($1.50); membership, of course, includes New South and all other publications.

It would be a pleasure to us were we financially able to send New South and other publications to all secretaries of Christian Social Relations without charge. Unhappily, the Council is a small budget organization with resources sliced so thin that it is impossible to do this. I do hope you will decide either to renew your membership or to subscribe to New South. Won't you let us know?

Sincerely yours,

See attached note.
Dues continued
2-17-50
c a c

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AMcK:wgd

Return to HCF

986 - E. First St.
Fort Myers, Florida
January, 5, 1950

New South
Atlanta, Ga.

Gentlemen:

For some time I have been receiving copies of the New South. I have enjoyed reading them and using them in our Woman's Society of Christian Service in our little Methodist church. I was Secretary of Christian Social Relations when my name was sent in to your office to receive this paper. My term in that office is expired now. The new secretary of Christian Social Relations is Mrs. J.Leon Williams, 868 Washington Avenue, Fort Myers, Florida.

CAC

Since the expiration of my term I have handed the papers over to Mrs. Williams. We are keeping a file of them to use in a study on Christian Relations, in the future. Our society was a contributing member of Southern Regional at the time I was named representative. However, we have not been able to send in any money recently. I wish we could but we are in debt now for furnishings for the new church kitchen and we need to replace some furniture in the parsonage too.

I do think people are awakening to their Christian Relations with their fellow men, of all stations and classes andraces and think the surveys and forums conducted through the Southern Regional Council have been very helpful in these changing times.

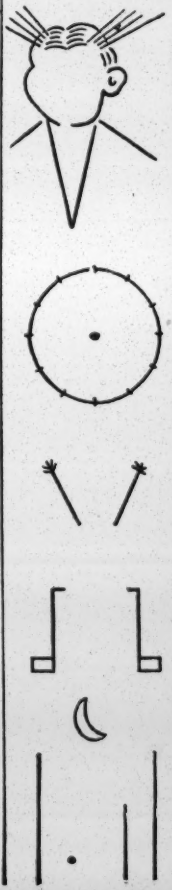
Wishing you more and more success throughout the country in the New Year, I am

Sincerely yours,
Mrs. C. A. Clutz, Secretary

Mrs. C.A.Clutz
Edgewood Woman's Society of Christian Service

RECEIVED
JAN 9 1950
Southern Regional Council

DOODLER PAD



All my news on this Fla. she does not receive by the time U.S. comes out - Mrs Kilgore put her off

M. C.

COMPLIMENTS
CULLOM & GHERTNER CO.—Printers, Publishers, Lithographers—Nashville

Journal of Politics - May 1948 N-Miscel

THE SOUTHERN LEGISLATURE AND LEGISLATION

H. C. NIXON*

Vanderbilt University

The state legislative picture in the South is on many counts like the legislative picture in the East or Middle West or Far West. The Southern state Lawmaking body is much like that of other sections in composition, process, product, and esteem or disesteem. Of the forty-seven bicameral state legislatures, the South has neither the one with the largest nor the one with the smallest membership in upper or lower house. As in most other states, the biennial regular session prevails in this region, with the exception of South Carolina's annual session. Similarly prevalent in the South and the nation is the conglomerate committee system with its diffusion of responsibilities, prestige, and favors. State constitutional restrictions on legislative power are not peculiarly excessive in the South.

The region, like others, can point to a few moderate steps toward modernizing the state legislative establishment, including the registration of lobbyists and better pay for members. A Virginia legislator, for

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*The writer is under obligation to Professor Henry N. Williams (Vanderbilt University), a member of the Tennessee legislature, for collaboration on portions of this paper before his temporary leave for civilian duties in Washington with the Army.

instance, has for some years received $720 for a regular session and half that amount for a special session. Mississippi has been paying $1,000 for a regular session, with a per diem for a special session. Arkansas pays $1,000 biennially for regular session service with a per diem for a special session. In North Carolina and South Carolina the compensation per member amounts to a few hundred dollars per annum. These payments are above the average for the nation, though well below the rewards to legislators in such states as New York, Illinois, and California. Half the Southern states limit pay to a per diem, which is only four dollars in Tennessee because of unamended constitutional restrictions.

Regardless of compensation, the South compares favorably with other sections in the substantial proportion of college men in the legislature and in the proportion of members serving more than one term.

The Southern legislature has not yet given effective impetus to the matters of technical aids, such as reference and research service, expert bill-drafting, and the legislative council. The bureaus of public administration and research in the universities of the region are, however, making an impression and exerting an influence in this field, especially Alabama. It is more of an exception

than the rule for the Southern legislature to have adequate space and facilities for the proper functioning of its numerous committees.

Much of the work of the Southern state legislature for the past ten or fifteen years could be praised or noted as in line with the needs and trends of the times. Laws have been passed for improving state administration, developing merit systems, and expanding budgetary practices. Alabama, under the leadership of Governor Frank M. Dixon, gave statutory effect, in part, to the recommendations of a survey by Brookings Institution experts. Limited steps have been taken for supervising or systemitizing local financial administration. More than elsewhere, the property tax has been ralatively deemphasized in favor of other forms of revenue, such as the sales tax.[1] Appropriations and provisions for the advancement of education have been proportionately significant in comparison with the total state revenue or income and in comparison with the percentage of tax money devoted to education in the rest of the country. Under the spur or United States Supreme Court decisions, educational legislation since 1940 has been more favorable to the Negro than formerly, with special attention to professional schools. Support

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[1]See J. W. Martin, Southern State and Local Finance Trends and the War (Nashville, Tennessee, and Lexington, Kentucky, 1945).

for welfare, social security, and highway development has been noteworthy under the stimulus of the Federal government's financial blessings. Enabling legislation has provided for ways of cooperation with the Federal government in various undertakings.

Southern legislative progress in the realm of social politics, however, has been distinctly spotty. The state legislators have been less sympathetic or more antagonistic toward the demands of organized labor than is generally true of the rest of the country. An example is the anti-closed shop law passed by the Tennessee session of 1947. The legislatures of Alabama and Florida earlier took restrictive steps against labor unions, the former effectively offering a constitutional amendment on the subject.

Action to broaden the suffrage in the South during the period of World War II was limited. Georgia was a notable exception under the leadership of Governor Ellis Arnall and legislative cooperation in constitutionally reducing the voting age to eighteen and abolishing the poll tax requirement. Tennessee's poll tax statute was repealed but the repeal was held unconstitutional. There were legislative ponderings of Southern ways and means to offset the Supreme Court's application of the Fourteenth Amendment against the workings of the "white primary," and the Alabama legislature came up with the "Boswell

Amendment" to the state constitution for a general application of the educational or constitutional understanding test for the registration of voters. This proposal to meet the issue by increasing the restrictions on Negro voting was ratified in the summer of 1947.

The social change of the past decade, along with the industrial and urban expansion in the South, has thrown into bold relief a combination of factors which have influenced the work and workings of the Southern legislature and which together set it off somewhat uniquely in the nation. Among these factors are:

The one-party system;

Rural predominance;

The idea of white supremacy;

Extra-regional economic controls.

The typical Southern legislature, in other words, provides little voice for Republicans, inadequate representation for all urban people, no direct and little indirect participation for Negroes, and an open season for economic pressure from near and far. It is chiefly a body of Democratic, small-town or rural, white men, a majority of whom represent a minority of the population of the state, not to mention the restricted suffrage by which the members were chosen in a party primary. It has the virtues and

vices of such a composition.

The absence of the two-party system and discipline permits a freer play for other lines of division and bases of organization. It may be a matter of Administration versus anti-Administration forces, with the Administration having the edge, as frequently in Tennessee, or with the opposition having the upperhand, as Governor "Big Jim" Folsom found to be the case in 1947 in Alabama. It may be a cleavage between sections or between city and country. An observer says that in Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana "there are conflicts within the party between rural and urban areas as bitter as those fought out along party lines."[2] Discipline may be maintained by gubernatorial leadership, Administration patronage, a Crump or Byrd machine, a lobby, or a combination of these techniques.

Rural predominance is not peculiar to the Southern legislature, for most states reflect an excessive country or small-town representation in the lawmaking body. There are "rotten boroughs" in Connecticut as well as in Georgia. Such states as California, Massachusetts, New York, and Illinois have had to wrestle with the problem of striking a more nearly even balance in favor of large urban centers. Illinois made a working

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[2] D. O. Walter, "Reapportionment and Urban Representation,""Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 195, p. 15 (1938).

adjustment only last year. But the overweight of rural power in the South seems more enduring despite the rise of cities and the development of populous industrial areas in the region. The imbalance has become glaringly significant in recent years, with members from backwoods and lowland farm counties having much to say about social legislation primarily affecting urban groups and industrial workers. Inequalities in state legislative apportionment and lags in reapportionment, which are chronic problems in many American states, show up pointedly in the Southern legislature.[3]

The numerical, traditional, and constitutional importance of the county as a unit of government and representation in the South is both an argument and an obstacle against sweeping changes in legislative apportionment. North Caroline has been pointed out as a shining example.[4] With the lower house limited by the constitution to 120 members, and every one of the 100 counties guaranteed at least one member, only twenty seats can be distributed to provide additional representation for the

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[3]See Elizabeth Durfee, "Apportionment of Representation," Michigan Law Review, Vol. 43, pp. 1091-1112 (1945); C. W. Shull, "Reapportionment: A Chronic Problem," National Municipal Review, Vol. 30, pp. 73-79 (1941); D. O. Walter, op. cit., pp. 11-20; Hallie Farmer The Legislative Process in Alabama: Legislative Apportionment (Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama, 1944); Central Research Staff, Louisiana Law Institute, The Legislature-Apportionment (Constitutional Problems, No. 12, March, 1947).

[4]Durfee, op. cit., p. 1097

urban-industrial counties. Urban Tarheelers are under-represented by a wide margin. Constitutional prescriptions for reapportionment in Florida deny the most populous counties adequate representation, and to a degree this is true of Mississippi, South Carolina, and other states.

All states of the South from Louisiana to Virginia are dependent entirely upon the legislature to reapportion representation. Florida has a type of compulsion in a constitutional provision for the governor to call a special session, if the regular session neglects the reapportionment duty, the special session to continue until the duty is performed. In general there is no way of getting around the "separation of powers" to overcome the failure of the legislature to fulfill the constitutional mandate to reapportion itself, except through an automatic administrative alternative. Such an alternative is not to be found in the South exclusive of Arkansas, where a constitutional provision of 1936 stipulated for reapportionment by a board (governor, secretary of state, and attorney general), subject to revision by the state supreme court. Hence, there is more inaction than action in the face of twentieth century changes in population.

Louisiana has had no reapportionment since the present constitution was adopted in 1921, although this constitution makes reapportionment mandatory after each

Federal census. Since the 1940 census six attempts have been made in the legislature to reapportion, each attempt being unsuccessful. The problem is under consideration in connection with the study of constitutional revision by the Louisiana Law Institute, and one may hope there is ground for hope for change.

Tennessee's ninety-five counties share a legislative apportionment based on the United States census of 1900, although the unamended constitution, of nineteenth century vintage, clearly calls for an apportionment "within every ... term of ten years." The status quo is strengthened, as in other states, by a constitutional limitation on the number of members of each house.

Most of Georgia's 159 counties have been losing population for many years, but they have retained their legislative power along with leadership in the number of wildcat "stills." Under constitutional apportionment, Atlanta's Fulton County, with one-eighth of the state's population, elects one of fifty-four senators and three of more than 200 members of the state house of representatives. Legislators from Atlanta and other populous districts are lost in a large group of ruralites, who by statutory power perpetuate the "unit rule" for rural supremacy in naming the Democratic governor and other

state officers. If democracy is government by arithmetic, it applies in Georgia to counties rather than to people.

There has been no reapportionment in Alabama since 1901, when the present state constitution went into effect, although that document contains a clear mandate for a reapportionment every ten years. As the writer has pointed out elsewhere,[5] Jefferson county, with its Birmingham, has a sixth of the state's population but only one of thirty-five senators and seven of 106 members of the lower house of the legislature. The Southern half of the state, with less than half the population, wealth, and tax burden, has a majority of both houses of the legislature. Legislators from the black belt and from other declining rural counties oppose reapportionment bills, which generally die in judiciary committees. A reapportionment bill which reached a vote in the lower house in 1939 was rejected with sixty nays to thirty-one yeas, most of the nays coming from the southern part of the state.

It may be said that the Southern legislature provides neither current nor adequate apportionment in recognition of constitutional requirements and population

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[5]H. C. Nixon, "Politics of the Hills," The Journal of Politics, Vol. 8, No. 2, pp. 128-129 (May, 1946). See also Hallie Farmer, op. cit.

changes. The beneficiaries of inequality tend to perpetuate the inequality, and, except in Georgia, the legislature can easily be out of harmony with the governor, particularly if the governor receives a strong vote in cities and new or growing sections of the state. Alabama is an illustrative example of such an executive-legislative dichotmy, with Governor Folsom and the legislature behaving as if they were elected by different parties or even different states. The legislative majority is heavily weighted with members representing sections and interests that opposed the governor in the election.[6] Governor Frank M. Dixon, elected from Birmingham in 1938, fared somewhat similarly as to democratic campaign pledges, including support for reapportionment, for he and "Big Jim" alike came from North Alabama, not from the plantation country of many legislators, including legislators and followers.

It should be emphasized that in the urban-industrial centers there are important interests that are willing to accept and continue legislative rural supremacy with the corallaries of white supremacy and

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[6] If Governor Folsom could not control the legislature, the active legislative leaders could not win against him in a January, 1948, election for ratification of a constitutional amendment to permit the convening of a special short session without call by the governor.

restricted suffrage. Urban and rural conservatives have ways of getting together, whether under the stimulus of common policy or the influence of a lobby with money and/or liquor. They know how to play with or against city machines, sometimes to get good government in the sense of efficiency, economy, and low taxes for the group. Some of them know how to buy legislators "like sacks of potatoes" (apologies to the memory of Huey Long) or at more inflated prices. Some of them know how to team up with absentee owners to win elections for the right candidates, especially in thinly populated counties with few voters. Some of them know how to utilize inflamatory propaganda in the backwoods to cultivate the prejudices of disgruntled hillbillies against union labor, Negroes, and outside "reformers" or"meddlers", making the South a sort of battleground between Wall Street and Union Square. The last Talmadge legislature in Georgia would partly fit this description in its manner of election in the primary and in its manner of backing Herman Talmadge for the governorship.[7]

The agrarian predominance in the Southern legislature, however traditional and historical, lacks a full quota of those rural virtues which highly appealed to

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[7]The interpretation in this paragraph is based on observation in three states, interviews with capitol hill reporters and state officers, and accounts by columnists like Tom L. Stokes, who knows his Georgia.

Thomas Jefferson. This is true partly because of the civic shortcomings which too often characterize communities and counties that are becoming more thinly populated through the outward migration of active and productive adults. Such areas, with increasing proportions of old and young persons and frustrated individuals, are numerous and unfortunately significant in the South, and this socially barren ground does not provide ideal constituencies for choosing legislators. Representatives from these sections are liable to be susceptible to purse, patronage, and prejudice. A $500 handout, as a state attorney general observed, just looks too attractice to one of these members. An expansion of the suffrage, in many cases, would mean little change in the type of legislator from such constituencies, and only reapportionment can change the numerical importance of this group of lawmakers.

The impact of the Second World War increased these population shifts in the South, further magnifying the contrast between the new city and the old countryside.[8] It further increased the unrepresentative character of the Southern legislature in modern days. It made the job harder for the governor to influence the legislature toward a positive program, regardless

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[8]Rudolf Heberle, The Impact of the War on Population Redistribution in the South (Papers of the Institute of Research and Training in the Social Sciences, Vanderbilt University, No. 7, January, 1945).

of campaign pledges. A governor bent on such a purpose must make use of large amounts of both wisdom and patronage to succeed. The Southern state, as measured by the legislature, is becoming more widely divided between the represented and the unrepresented, if democracy refers to people rather than to idle territory. On certain vital issues, the represented tend to worship state's rights, while the unrepresented inevitable look to Washington for results. Is it wild or is it pertinent to ask whether the Southern legislature is unwittingly engaged in the process of killing state's rights in the name of state's rights?

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

1-19, 1950

TO: 9SM

FROM: HC7

This material is referred to you for:

1. Information ☑
2. Consideration ☐
3. Signature ☐
4. Recommendation ☐
5. Reply ☐
6. Suggested reply ☐
7. Please circulate to desk(s) of:

Miss Clay	☐	Dr. Reid	☐
Miss Fisher	☐	Dr. Johnson	☐
_____	☐	_____	☐

8. Please return to this office. ☐
9. Please return to secretary for filing. ☐

To Files

26-N-Misc —
National Mental
Health Foundation

January 19, 1950

Mrs. Bernard Wolfman
Legal Division
The National Mental Health Foundation
1520 Race Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

Dear Mrs. Wolfman:

This will acknowledge your letter of January 12 addressed to Mr. James O. Slade, who is no longer a member of our staff.

Although I have not yet seen the material which you sent separately, the project you describe sounds most useful, and we are glad to be of help. Mr. Leonard Haas, who serves as counsel for this organization, has very kindly offered to review your material on Georgia's laws relating to the mentally ill, mentally deficient, and epileptic. Mr. Haas is an able and highly respected lawyer who can be counted upon to do the job thoroughly. I suggest that you send the material directly to him, at the following address:

Mr. Leonard Haas
Haas Howell Building
Atlanta, Georgia

If we can be of further service, let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

Legal Aid Society

THE NATIONAL MENTAL HEALTH FOUNDATION, INC.

☆ 1520 RACE STREET, PHILADELPHIA 2, PA.
LOcust 7-3956

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January 12, 1950

RECEIVED
JAN 14 1950
Southern Regional Council

J. O. Slade
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. - Room 432
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Slade:

The Legal Division of this Foundation publishes, as part of its program, abstracts of the laws of each state, relating to the mentally ill, mentally deficient and epileptic. The abstracts offer a concise, handy reference manual for attorneys, administrators, physicians, social service workers, and relatives of patients.

The brief for the state of Georgia has been ready for publication for quite some time, and we have been looking for an efficient person to do the job. If you could review it, or refer it to an attorney or administrator who is acquainted with the operation of the commitment laws in Georgia, we would indeed be grateful for your service.

Our request is that you do this upon a gratis basis for the benefit of the mentally ill, with the hope that, together, we can arrive at proposals for legislation which will make it possible to give the mentally ill more humane treatment and care.

Under separate cover I am sending you literature which will give you a summary of the principles on which the Foundation is based, its accomplishments and its objectives.

We will be pleased to hear from you soon, and will send the brief on to you directly if you so desire.

Sincerely yours,

Zeese Wolfman

Mrs. Bernard Wolfman, Assistant
The Legal Division

State Mental Health Dept
Mental Hyg Div
Glenn Ellis - WA 4121 x 358

RECEIVED
JAN 14 1950
Southern Regional Council

N-Misc

THE NATIONAL MENTAL HEALTH FOUNDATION, INC.

☆ 1520 RACE STREET, PHILADELPHIA 2, PA.
LOcust 7-3956

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June 6, 1950

RECEIVED
JUN 8 1950
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432,63
Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your prompt response to our letter of May 1st.

If at any time, your agency finds a need for our proposed Mental Health Service, we shall be happy to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Zelda Wolfman

Mrs. Bernard Wolfman
Associate, Legal Division

ZW:cb

N - Misc

THE NATIONAL MENTAL HEALTH FOUNDATION, INC. ☆ 1520 RACE STREET, PHILADELPHIA 2, PA.
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May 1, 1950

Mr. J. O. Slade,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Rm. 432,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Slade:

I am sure that you are familiar with the state by state briefs of mental health laws, which have been prepared and published by the Legal Division of the National Mental Health Foundation.

It has been suggested that, although the individual briefs do, and will, serve an important purpose, there is also need for a special service which would include the mental health laws of all the states in one loose-leaf binder, together with pertinent case references.

We have engaged in preliminary negotiations with a commercial publisher, who would keep the service up-to-date by supplying to the subscriber current legislation as it becomes law, and summaries of leading cases that affect the law. The service would be sold at about twenty dollars ($20.00) per year: the manuscripts to be prepared by us, consisting of about 750 pages the first year.

Most of the condensed statutory material, during the first year of the service, would relate primarily to provisions controlling admission and commitment of the mentally ill,

the mentally deficient, the epileptic, drug addicts, mentally ill offenders, and psychopaths; protection of private and civil rights; discharge and restoration. In the following years, there would be added all the other mental health laws of each state; such as those relating to sterilization, guardianship, and particularly laws and regulations pertaining to administration of public and private mental health facilities.

The enthusiastic response which has been accorded our briefs, already distributed individually for about fourteen states, leads us to believe that the more comprehensive service would be an exceptionally valuable and popular tool: as a research-saver, a means by which comparisons may quickly be made with other states, and as a method by which agencies and administrators may keep up-to-date on the many legal aspects of this field.

Before proceeding further, we are contacting a number of potential subscribers. We plan to complete arrangements for the publication of the service, only if we receive sufficient favorable responses to this proposal.

We would appreciate your comments and would especially like to know whether your agency would become a subscriber to this service. We should consummate a contract with the publisher within the next few weeks, if at all. Therefore, it is urgent that we receive your answer promptly.

Sincerely yours,

Zelda Wolfman

Mrs. Bernard Wolfman
Assistant, The Legal Division

ZW/gh

L.D. #136

N - Miscl.

THE NATIONAL MENTAL HEALTH FOUNDATION, INC.

☆ 1520 RACE STREET, PHILADELPHIA 2, PA.
LOcust 7-3956

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January 24, 1950

Harold C. Fleming, Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I would like to express the appreciation of the Legal Division for your cooperation in attaining the services of Mr. Leonard Haas as a reviewer for the Georgia brief.

I will send the copy directly to him for his criticism and suggestions.

We will be pleased to send you a copy of the final publication as soon as it comes from the printer.

Sincerely yours,

Zelda Wolfman

Mrs. Bernard Wolfman,
Assistant, The Legal Division

BW:MC

RECEIVED
JAN 25 1950
Southern Regional Council

N

January 25, 1950

Mr. Ernest E. Neal, Director
Rural Life Council
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Mr. Neal:

Thank you a lot for your kind letter of January 16.

I have received but have not gone through your statement for the Sparkman Committee which I want to read.

I am shocked to learn that Mr. Holsey is gone. He was so active and so helpful to the Council.

Our nice Miss Elizabeth Taylor as you probably know is married now to one Courtney Siceloff. They are living at Pendle Hill while he finishes at Paverford. Some talk they will go before long to Penn School on St. Helena's Island, but I don't know.

Come to see us if you ever come over here.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

N. Mazel

January 30, 1950

Mr. B. D. Burhoe
National Information Bureau
205 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Burhoe:

We are getting together the information you requested and hope to send it to you in a few days.

We are anxious to be correctly described with your Bureau.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU

INCORPORATED (1918)

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**Executive Committee*

January 26, 1950

RECEIVED
JAN 30 1950
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Exec. Dir.
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

One of our members has requested information about the Southern Regional Council and we find that we wrote to you on December 20, 1949 enclosing questionnaires.

We hope that you can at this time return to us one questionnaire together with copy of your latest financial audit, budget for the year 1950, and any other material which you believe would be helpful to us in interpreting the program of the Council.

Yours sincerely,

B. D. Burhoe

B. D. Burhoe

BDB:hl

N - Neal

February 9, 1950

Mr. Ernest E. Neal, Director
Rural Life Council
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Mr. Neal:

I would appreciate it if you would be kind enough to send a copy of your statement on Low-income Negro Farm Families and Economic Stability in the Cotton South to each of the following:

Mr. Paul Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Mr. Boris Scherbak
1978 Devinney Circle Apt. #5
Chamblee, Georgia

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

R - Miscel

February 9, 1950

Miss Betty Yarbrough, Editor
News-Views
The Veterans Training School
Greenville City Schools
Greenville, S. C.

Dear Miss Yarbrough:

I think I have written you once or twice before to say what a very fine paper News-Views is.

I work at interracial things and I am, therefore, the prouder of your good habit of giving the Negro veterans an even break in your paper.

I send you another copy of Race in the News as an award of merit.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

NEWS VIEWS

GREENVILLE CITY SCHOOLS
VETERANS TRAINING PROGRAM
Greenville, S. C.

Volume I | JANUARY, 1950 | Number 9

Prospects For An Additional Course At This Institution

In an effort to afford training to as many veterans as possible, the school has been consistently operating at full class strength for a period of approximately eighteen months. To establish full strength throughout the various courses a large number of students were enrolled over a period of about six months. As a result of this rapid increase in enrollment, we are now reaching a period when a large number of these students are completing. Two hundred and ninety-five students are completing within the first four months of this year. Due to the fact that students in courses within the "same general field of occupation" are not completing at the same rate over this period and due to the necessity for giving applicants on the waiting list warranted opportunity to initiate training, *only a few of the students completing in the next four months will be able to get an additional course immediately.*

Those completing Auto Mechanics face the greatest difficulties. Students in this course who complete by January 31, 1950, may possibly be absorbed into Auto Machinist by July 31, 1950. Those completing from January 31, 1950, through April 18, 1950, may possibly be re-entered by April 30, 1951. Those completing after April 18, 1950, may possibly be re-entered in Auto Machinist within fifteen months to three years, depending on date of completion relative to that of other students in the course.

Men whom we are not able to accept for an additional course in the "same general field of occupation" will not be permitted an additional course in another field because all fields covered by our courses are at full enrollment and such a change would be a hardship on those already waiting for a course in any area

Tool Room Open To A-Q

The Tool Room was opened on January 9, 1950, for the purpose of issuing books and tools to eligible veteran-trainees whose surnames fall within the alphabetical grouping A through Q. Veterans will be issued only those items which appear on the tool lists approved by the VA, and any items of which veterans have drawn duplicate issues must be properly adjusted before the receipt of other items.

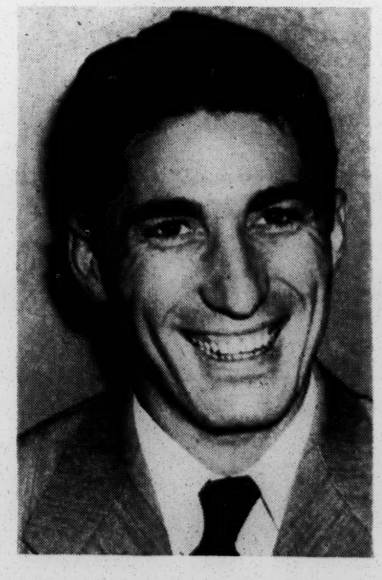
The task of screening the files of those veterans whose surnames fall within the alphabetical grouping R through Z is progressing, and it is hoped that issuance of tools and books to these veterans will be initiated at an early date. It is regretted

Receive Certificates

Veterans being awarded the State High School Certificate on the basis of the December 15 examination are:

William H. Capps, Clarence A. Carpenter, Johnnie B. Cox, Curtis Fowler, Alton B. Garrett, William E. Holland, Raleigh L. Jackson, William Hubert Kirby, William R. Leonard, David A. Lindsey, Robert H. Looper, Leo J. Podgorny, John D. Reece, Horace L. Riddle, Warren H. Scott, Joseph D. Seay, Wayne L. Shular, James P. Sides, Cecil D. Skidgel, Lewis H. Smith, George Stewart, Boyd Tatham, Joe G. Vaughan, Ambrey C. Wages, James H. Williams, Harmon C. Wells.

ENROLL IN COLLEGES



Twenty-Six Pass S. C. State High School Certificate Examination

According to a complete report from the Personnel Bureau, the University of South Carolina, on the results of the State High School Certification Examination administered in Greenville on December 15, twenty-six students enrolled in the Veterans Training School received a passing score. This number brings the total of those who have been certified while enrolled in this institution to 300.

The following is quoted from a statement of score issued by Dr. W. C. McCall of the Personnel Bureau to each of these students:

Comparison with S. C. High School senior norms and college freshmen norms:

1. The average entering South Carolina college freshman achieves a scaled score of 50 on the tests which we are using for the high school certificate examinations. The average South Carolina white high school graduate achieves a scaled score of approximately 48.

2. Approximately 35 per cent of South Carolina high school graduates, who receive the regular high school diploma, would fail to achieve an average scaled score of 45 on the tests used.

3. Approximately 30 per cent of South Carolina white high school graduates entering the freshman classes of South Carolina colleges, on the basis of S. C. State High School Diploma, would fail to achieve

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Men whom we are not able to accept for an additional course in the "same general field of occupation" will not be permitted an additional course in another field because all fields covered by our courses are at full enrollment and such a change would be a hardship on those already waiting for a course in any area to which the student might propose to change.

We are hoping that the school will be able to satisfy eventually demand for additional courses in the "same general field of occupation" within the limitations of Veterans' Administration Instruction No. 1-B, but the institution wants the students to understand the circumstances so that they will not expect to re-enter immediately in an additional course and to realize that in many instances it will be necessary to wait one year or longer, depending on date of completion relative to that of other students in the same course, before re-entrance is possible.

Refrigeration Class Spread Cheer

The evening Refrigeration class had a great deal to do with the presence of the true Christmas Spirit in our school. One of the men heard of a family here in Greenville who couldn't look forward to Santa's coming, but because that student spread the word to his classmates and they accepted the challenge with enthusiasm, the family had a joyous season.

The men gave their time and financial support to the project—and one of them contributed the use of his car for investigating the needs of the family and for delivering more than $350. in clothes, coal, food, toys and cash to the family who had expected nothing in the way of Christmas cheer.

A story, we think, for any time of the year—and, as one observer put it, "Surely if this had been Refrigeration's only accomplishment during '49, the Old Master would have looked down with a smile and said, 'Well done.' "

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The task of screening the files of those veterans whose surnames fall within the alphabetical grouping R through Z is progressing, and it is hoped that issuance of tools and books to these veterans will be initiated at an early date. It is regretted that the delay in issuing books and tools has imposed a hardship upon certain students, and their patience and forbearance during this period of readjustment is deeply appreciated. The interest of the veteran-trainee is at heart and it is assured that they will receive, as soon as it is administratively possible, all items to which they are properly entitled.

Issuance of books and tools at this time will be governed by the following procedure, and deviation from such procedure cannot be allowed:

1. Books and tools will be issued to a daily quota of 30 veterans. This quota is subject to change by proper authority. The allocation of the daily quota will be handled by Mr. Smith, Mr. Hughey and Mr. Thomason.

2. Books and tools will not be issued to veterans unless they present a signed authorization slip from their Related or Shop Instructor or both. Related Instructors *must itemize* books to be issued. Shop Instructors *will not itemize* tools required, as veterans will receive only authorized tools to which entitled.

3. Involved problems or discussions will not be settled at the Tool Room Counter. The names of veterans having such problems will be placed on a list for interview at a later date. This action is necessary due to the limited time available to dispose of daily quotas.

Tool Room will be open the following hours on Monday through Friday:

8:30 AM to 1:00 PM
5:00 PM to 9:00 PM

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ENROLL IN COLLEGES

These Veterans Training School students (and Joe G. Vaughan, who was not available for a photograph) have enrolled in colleges for next semester. James Sides (top left) and James Medlock (right) will begin work at Furman, Leo J. Podgorny (bottom left) at Clemson, Joseph D. Seay (right) at Furman. Joe Vaughan will go to Clemson. C. W. Jones (not photographed), formerly in training in the Veterans School, has been a student at Furman since September 1949.

Letters Praise Generosity of Automotive Men

The following excerpts are from letters written in appreciation and recognition of the Christmas project of the automotive students and instructors:

Representative Joseph R. Bryson, in a letter to Mr. Ehmig, said:

"I have just had one of the most impressive and gratifying experiences of my life. This morning I went to the Veterans Auto Training School on North Street . . . and viewed the collection of food and clothing which had been purchased by your trainees for the children at Greenacre, as well as other children, at this Christmas time.

"Mr. Goodman, the instructor, told me how generous the boys were . . . I am satisfied that the splendid leadership the boys are receiving from you, Mr. Goodman, and others of your organization contributed greatly to the generous gifts thus provided.

"Please remember me to the veteran students and be assured of my continued personal interest in the veterans program . . ."

From the Greenacre children came this letter of thanks:

"Dear Friends, We wish to tell you how very much we do appreciate and thank you most sincerely for all the lovely gifts, fruit and money you sent us for Christmas. It was so kind of you to remember us so generously and you can rest assured you added much to our happiness . . ."

To the men at the Hampton Avenue shop Captain Robert

(Continued on page 3, col. 2)

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Comparison with S. C. High School senior norms and college freshmen norms:

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2. Approximately 35 per cent of South Carolina high school graduates, who receive the regular high school diploma, would fail to achieve an average scaled score of 45 on the tests used.

3. Approximately 30 per cent of South Carolina white high school graduates entering the freshman classes of South Carolina colleges, on the basis of S. C. State High School Diploma, would fail to achieve an average scaled score of 45 on the tests used.

Therefore, the claim is justified that, in respect to the areas of skills and learning measured by the several tests, the passing mark in the language of a scaled score of 45 is sufficiently high to maintain for the state high school certificate a favorable value status in comparison with the state high school diploma.

An average of 34 students enrolled in the Veterans Training School have passed the test each six months since the service was set up. It is hoped that in satisfying an increased demand for academic courses the school will be able to accomplish 50 high school certificates per six months or 100 per year.

Veterans Officials Visit School

Mr. W. Archie Schiffley, State Director of Veterans Education, with Mr. Edgar P. James, Contract Supervisor, District Office, VA, Atlanta, and Mr. George W. Brunson, Chief, Training Facilities Section, Regional Office, VA, Fort Jackson, were here on Wednesday, January 11. The three, making a tour of educational institutions in the upper part of South Carolina, visited some of our shops and classrooms.

The Value of English

(By James Hallums, Carpentry)

There can be no doubt as to the value of English and its importance to every individual, but this statement requires concrete proof. The very fact that I shall have to give this proof clearly is an illustration of the value of English. I know what I believe on the subject but the idea is to transmit my thoughts to others.

We may think of English as a tool, a strong constructive one. When a blacksmith ventures to shoe a horse, he uses tools to effect a well done job. We think of English as one of the first tools to reach for when we set out to "shoe the world."

English is a tool that can open a door so that it will stay open to us or that can close it permanently. Many of the doors are open now; the impression we make on our entrance through our use of English is a determining factor as to whether we stay or go. Through language we can communicate so men will understand us. Our conclusion, then, is: English and its correct use are "musts" in our daily contact with people if we are to convey our thoughts to them so that they may receive our ideas and suggestions.

English is not a vise but an aid which may become the property of anyone. It is not for a chosen few, but for all people who seek it.

Regardless of what you are or wish to be, English is needed. Whether you are a politician, doctor, salesman, the world calls for clarity in your expression. The politician must be able to stir the people by a choice of words; his success may depend upon how well he expresses him-

SIGN PAINTERS USE GOLD LEAF

Pictured above are some of the advanced students in Sign Painting. The lettering being done involves the application of twenty-three-karat gold to glass. The gold leaf is approximately 1/200,000 inch thick and the delicacy of the operation calls for skilled workmanship. Front, left to right, are George Fuller and William Young; back, left to right, are James F. Mickel, S. J. Jackson and Frank Fuller, who was assigned this job because of his outstanding work as a student.

TAILORING

Shelton Fisher and Bennie Gray of the 6:30 p. m. Tailoring class are both employed now, Fisher as a presser with Sears, Roebuck and Co. and Gray with Daniels Construction Co.

Willie Yeargin and Charles S. Scott celebrated birthdays on Jan-

Attendance Notice

After having interviewed several students who were unsatisfactory because of tardiness or unapproved absences, it has come to my attention that there are those who have a tendency to rely on alibis which are not acceptable in our training program.

PAINTING

Samuel Dillard, the student of the month in Mr. Shumate's class, has completed six jobs on his own during his one year in the class.

We are happy to have Lem West back with us after a year's absence; and we congratulate Calvin Nance, who completed

Want Ads

Wanted: Part-time jobs for several men who can work until 3:00 p. m. Contact Mr. W. C. Daniels, Union School.

For Sale: One Typewriter. Contact Mrs. Coke, Union School Office.

New Paper Distributed

Three thousand copies of a new publication, the *Greenville American Weekly,* owned and published by the Negro citizens of Greenville, were distributed to the public during the week ending January 14. Miss Dorothy Brockman is president of the company and the editorial staff is being selected. Social, religious, school, business and civic news will be covered. The aim is to promote the civic and economic welfare of the Negro community, and to give young people interested in journalism, photography and related fields an opportunity for experience.

News should be turned in to the office at 125 Fall Street, telephone 5-5962. Subscriptions will be accepted at the same address.

Today's Sports

J. B. Kilgore

A local basketball team composed almost entirely of veteran trainees has begun its season. Most of the men on this team are the ones who played on the City Championship team of 1948. A team then coached by Professor J. R. Edwards, Jr. won the title by defeating the St. Anthony's Braves 34-33 in a thrilling game that climaxed the Piedmont Athletic Association Tournament held at Textile Hall. The team saw very little action in 1948 but participated in tourn-

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English is not a vise but an aid which may become the property of anyone. It is not for a chosen few, but for all people who seek it.

Regardless of what you are or wish to be, English is needed. Whether you are a politician, doctor, salesman, the world calls for clarity in your expression. The politician must be able to stir the people by a choice of words; his success may depend upon how well he expresses himself. The doctor must be able to give precise directions, as he is working with human life. The salesman must be able to paint a picture so alluring that no one can resist his products. In all these professions or occupations English is essential for success.

Of great importance to our generation is social success. Every normal person desires prestige among his fellows. When we analyze the popularity of a certain person, we often find that he is not so much physically attractive as that his personality is exceptionally pleasing| Again we have English put to good use, because the person who is sought after usually has somtehing to talk about—ideas of value to put across, discussions of material read, comments on recent happenings—or he simply knows the art of making pleasant conversation.

The world is ready for and in need of men and women with solutions to its problems. Such individuals must be able to think through issues clearly, make intelligent decisions and express their views convincingly. English, then, is our gift, our tool with which to build a happy and worthwhile life.

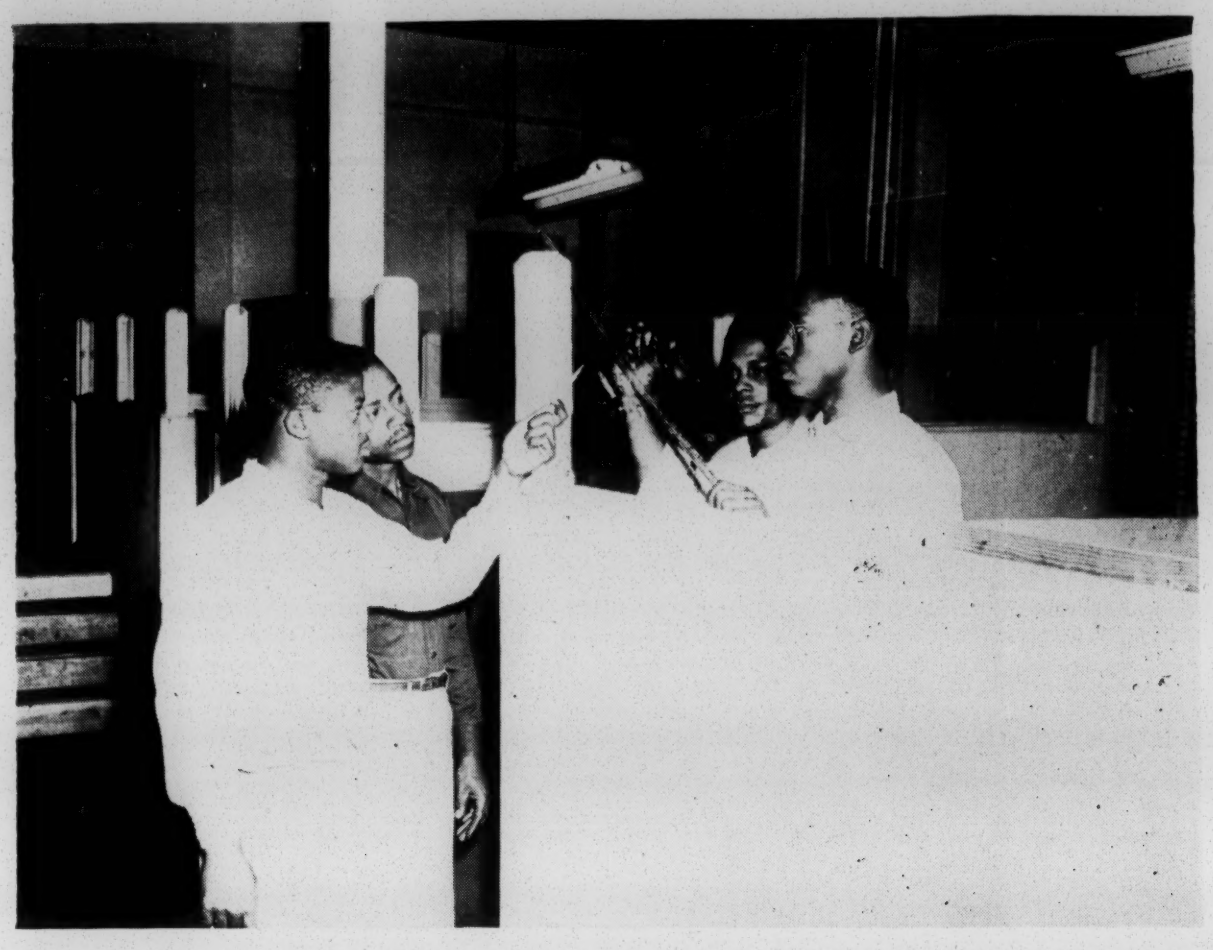
"Tell the World With Signs"

Richard H. Harris, known to exaggerate to the extreme, gave the sign painting class a surprise by not having much to tell about his Christmas vacation—except that Santa did bring him a nine-pound-three-ounce baby girl! (We'll vouch for only eight pounds two ounces, of course.)

We salute Dewitt Reeves on his outstanding progress in the course. Now don't let our admitting that you've done a fine job go to your head, Reeves—Remember that there are two ways to make a U, being too dumb or too smart!

Our first assignment for the new year is committing to memory the Spurred Roman Alphabet. Our competent instructor, Mr. H. B. Williams, is going to have some real sign painters for our city in the near future.

SIGN PAINTERS USE GOLD LEAF



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Willie Yeargin and Charles S. Scott celebrated birthdays on January 20. Many happy returns!

The 9 .a m. class (James Clement is president) enjoyed a Christmas breakfast on December 23. There was chicken with the trimmings as well as good music.

Class Reporter Williams says that it's hard for one to gather all the news but that a whole class of men must surely hear lots of it. Let's remember to contribute information and ideas to our paper!

FLOOR SANDING AND PAPER HANGING

The members of the Floor Sanding and Paper Hanging classes extend congratulations to Walter C. Garrett, our former reporter, for successfully completing his course on January 18. We wish for him much success as he goes into the competitive field. He will be missed by all of us. James R. Greer will take over the duties of class reporter.

Herbert L. Kelley, one of our recent graduates, is now doing well at his job. We hope to have many of his classmates follow in his footsteps.

Note from the instructor: "In 1950, Fellows, let's get everything out of the course that will be profitable to us in the future!"

Attendance Notice

After having interviewed several students who were unsatisfactory because of tardiness or unapproved absences, it has come to my attention that there are those who have a tendency to rely on alibis which are not acceptable in our training program.

In order to clarify certain points which may be questions in the minds of some students, I shall make a pertinent statement:

The Veterans Training School is not responsible for (1) where a student lives, (2) his mode of transportation, (3) whether the student works somewhere outside, or (4) whether the student's work schedule is such as to conflict with his school schedule. Therefore, a student must be at school at the scheduled time.

Further, it may be pointed out that the student who anticipates a need for requesting leave will find that it is quite important that his accomplishments be recommendable in his related work and shop work.

S. H. Thomason

CARPENTRY

We were sorry to hear of A. C. Sloan's accident. Glad it wasn't too serious, Sloan.

William Ted Morton will leave the Nail Benders this month with the completion of a course to his credit.

Miss Yarbrough, editor of our paper, paid the class a visit recently. We hope she will stop by again soon.

PLUMBING

Now that everyone has had his fill of turkey, the plumbing classes have settled down again to the business of learning. Being undertaken now is the sketching of plumbing fixtures and many of the students admit that this involves a struggle calling for real determination. Emanuel Nance, lucky gifted individual, is so good at it that he gets to draw on the board!

PAINTING

Samuel Dillard, the student of the month in Mr. Shumate's class, has completed six jobs on his own during his one year in the class.

We are happy to have Lem West back with us after a year's absence; and we congratulate Calvin Nance, who completed his course on January 13. Best wishes for success in the field, Calvin.

During the month of December, Mr. and Mrs. Fred Thompson of 12 Mount Zion St. had a visit from the stork, who left an eight-pound son, and a very proud father.

RADIO

Among the students celebrating the new year by graduating are Kellie M. Robinson and Houston Choice, both excellent radio men. Upon completion, Robinson plans to open a shop in Williamston. Being familiar with the quality of work he turns out, we say without hesitation that he will be an asset to the community. Choice, an ambitious young man, plans to continue his training at a radio and television school. We wish you both the best of luck in your undertakings.

His fellow students in Radio are glad to have Ben Hill back with them after an absence of several months. Luther Boyd has completed his training. May you find real success in the field, Luther.

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For Sale: One Typewriter. Contact Mrs. Coke, Union School Office.

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Professor Edwards has consented to lend his assistance to the team again this year. Houston Choice, Joseph Durham, Walter Garrett, Eugene McElrath, Charles (Charleston) Thompson, Hugh Irby, Eustace Bennett, Ned Harris, Oliver Lee and Jesse B. Kilgore are members of the squad. Everybody hopes for a successful season.

Extension Work Offered

Upon request of the Sterling Division, the Extension Division of Benedict College has offered to set up classes in Greenville in the very near future for the convenience of teachers in this and nearby communities who wish to continue their training. Courses to be offered are on an undergraduate level and in the field of education.

Those teachers and other persons interested in taking courses should contact immediately Leroy Shelton or James A. Howard at 510 Green Avenue or Jiles R. Edwards, Jr. at Union School (telephone 5-3031).

AMERICA I AM BACK

William A. Ferguson (Business Administration)

Three days after redeployment from overseas, this writer had a sad experience. There is a game known only to Veterans as the game of "Chuckle-up." To go into details about this game would be unfair to the V.F.W. So we shall just call it a game of chance. After three successive days of trying to get rich before reaching America, I had to face the ultimate truth; it was impossible. So with nothing but time on my hands for the rest of the trip, I had to do something to ease the excitement I was feeling, the excitement of coming home. I decided to write. As a result of this decision these words flowed from my pen as I sat one afternoon thinking of the past and hoping for the future.

America, I am back, a soldier you sent away to fight. Yes, America, I'm back. Back from the blood and fighting thunder, back from foxholes of maggots and blood, El Alemin and Anzio.

(Continued on page 4, col. 2)

AUTOMOTIVE MEN PACK GIFTS

The scene above, in the North St. shop, shows some of the gifts distributed at Christmas, and a number of the men responsible for the bountiful display of select fruits, nuts, staple groceries, clothing and toys. The men hope to carry out New Year plans to start a fund "snowballing" for next Christmas and to repair toys during their off-hours.

BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

We extend our best wishes and congratulations to Billy Herman, who was married during the holidays. Also, we congratulate Alonzo Riddle on passing the High School Examination.

Just as we are sorry Charles Ellis left our class, we are glad to have Paul Sarkis back with us again.

Many thanks to Mrs. Ray, our assistant instructor, for the nice buffet dinner before the holidays. We are glad that she had the happy Christmas experience of having all her children with her. It was the first time since 1941.

Mr. Heriot described his trip to Pennsylvania during Christmas as "Wonderful!"

Mr. Brandt traded cars recent-

CABINET MAKING

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AUTOMOTIVE MEN PACK GIFTS

The scene above, in the North St. shop, shows some of the gifts distributed at Christmas, and a number of the men responsible for the bountiful display of select fruits, nuts, staple groceries, clothing and toys. The men hope to carry out New Year plans to start a fund "snowballing" for next Christmas and to repair toys during their off-hours.

BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

We extend our best wishes and congratulations to Billy Herman, who was married during the holidays. Also, we congratulate Alonzo Riddle on passing the High School Examination.

Just as we are sorry Charles Ellis left our class, we are glad to have Paul Sarkis back with us again.

Many thanks to Mrs. Ray, our assistant instructor, for the nice buffet dinner before the holidays. We are glad that she had the happy Christmas experience of having all her children with her. It was the first time since 1941.

Mr. Heriot described his trip to Pennsylvania during Christmas as "Wonderful!"

Mr. Brandt traded cars recently. He has a neat-looking Chevrolet. Another change which has taken place is in Mr. Henderson's job. He is now at Judson and likes his job.

We have a few businessmen in the class these days. Jack Moody is in the moving and hauling department and Alonzo Riddle is in cleaning and pressing. Billy Herman is not exactly in the automobile business, but would like to sell his 1935 Chevrolet for around $50. If anyone is interested in this good offer, he should contact Billy. Assistance can be given by members of this class to persons who haven't completed their income tax returns. The students have finished their tax course and are prepared.

RADIO AND TELEVISION

J. D. Davis announces that his policy of hamburgers to anyone who can repair those "hard to fix" sets will continue into the new year. Mr. Massey will probably be known as the Big Fat Man of Radio by the end of '50 if he continues to earn and consume so many sandwiches.

William T. (Duck) Daniels appears to be reveling in a completely happy state. His classmates are holding one of the fairer sex responsible.

There is at least one among us who is enjoying the returns of good business still. Mr. Jeffcoat, the termite controller, has a new Lincoln.

Mr. Haynes has moved to his new home at 324 W. Earle Street and is planning an "open house" the last week in January.

William Elmore of the PLUMBING class reported to school the first two days of the recent holidays. Upon being advised by a passerby that school was out, Mr. Elmore replied,, "Yeah, I know—I'm just building up a couple of days."

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And in writing to Mr. Ehmig, Captain Burchett said:

"I wish to take this opportunity of expressing to you and the men of the Veterans Training Program our most sincere appreciation for the ten Christmas baskets which they brought to us through Mr. B. H. Goodman, for distribution to needy families. This was indeed a very kind gesture on the part of the Veterans, Mr. Goodman and yourself. This year through the help of our many friends we are able to bring more help to needy families in Greenville County than ever before.

"Please convey to Mr. Goodman and the Veterans who have had a part in this Christmas project our most sincere appreciation . . . "

WATCHMAKING

We all wish for Carl Woods a speedy recovery. Carl was injured in a fall recently.

The spirited bowling games between students and instructors are fast becoming beautiful memories of a better day. Many students on the one-time team have earned their diplomas and are now catering to the wishes of John Q. Public in matters of Horology.

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At the mention of Alaska, people immediately think of ice and snow, and it's true that there is plenty of it. In Fairbanks, the town farthest north, the first snow usually falls about the middle of September, and the ground is covered until the last part of June.

During these winter months, there are many exciting things to do to occupy one's time. Alaska is a perfect paradise for skiing, ice skating, and dog sled trips.

A dog team is probably one of an Alaskan's most prized and needed possessions. The huskies are of Siberian descent, and a team of nine dogs ranges in price from three hundred to a thousand

(Continued on page 4, col. 2)

AUTOMOTIVE

The new year certainly started off right for Mr. and Mrs. J. P. Foster. Nineteen-fifty presented them with an 8 lb. 13¼ ounce baby girl. She came into the world on the night of January 11th, and the mother and father of pretty Susan Ann are as proud as they can be. Congratulations to both of you.

ALASKA HAS A WINTER

This aerial photograph, made by Leo Podgorny during his tour of duty in Alaska, shows the mouth of a glacier. The rock and soil of the mountains, said to be rich in copper and iron ore, have a reddish color familiar to upstate South Carolinians.

Want Ads

For Sale: 1940 Pontiac. Black Tudor, 5 good tires, heater, 1950 license tag. Price $400. See James Wharton, 500 Pendleton (Salesmanship class, 8:30-10:30 p. m.)

18-foot "Covered Wagon" house trailer, fully equipped. Price $395. See W. L. Lewis, 500 Pendleton (Salesmanship 7:30-10:30 p. m.)

For Sale or Exchange: One H. & R. 22-caliber revolver, almost new. Will sell or swap for 22-cal. automatic rifle. A. D. Brookshire, Watchmaking, 500 Pendleton.

One single and one double head Schick electric razor. W. T. Reese, Watchmaking.

One Remington fouresome electric razor. Ervin E. Mullinax, Watchmaking.

One 4 x 6 utility trailer, 2-wheel, in fine condition. Elbert B.Strickland, Watchmaking.

One 5 x 7-in. photopraphic contact printer and electric drier. C. C. Wooten, Watchmaking.

One work or saddle horse. Eleven years old, gentle. Black with white glazed face and three stocking feet. No. blemishes, well fed and fat. F. R. Toney, Watchmaking.

One heavy walnut watchmaking bench. Excellent condition. Will sell for $45 or swap. James Waters, Watchmaking.

Wanted: One good milch cow, at a reasonable price. W. J. Sammons, Plumbing (Pinckney)

A good rod and reel, at a fair price. Interested in good buys in other fishing equipment. McGaha, Plumbing (Pinckney)

McGaha makes and sells lawn chairs, $10 per set.

VETERANS CORNER

Veterans Administration
Information Service
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Q. I was discharged after World War II without a service-connected disability. Recently, I suffered a back injury in an accident which requires out-patient treatment. Will VA furnish such treatment?

A. Since you do not have a service-connected disability, VA cannot give you out-patient treatment under the law. Such treatment is available only to veterans who have service-connected disabilities.

Q. After my discharge from World War II, I surrendered my $10,000 National Service Life Insurance converted policy for the cash value. I have re-enlisted, and want insurance again. Am I eligible?

A. Yes. Application for new NSLI may be made while you are in active service.

Q. I am an honorably discharged World War I veteran. Will the Veterans Administration give me legal advice on my domestic troubles with my wife?

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CITIZENSHIP IN PRACTICE

(By Special Academic Group, Miss Susie Nance, Instructor)

We realize that our conduct is a true indication of our character. Character makes citizenship and citizenship makes democracy, for it is a fact that Man is not any bigger than the way he treats his fellowman.

"He is measured by his justice right,
His fairness at his play,
His squarness in all dealings made,
His honest, upright way.
These are his measures ever near,
To serve him, when they can,

(Continued from page 2, col. 5)

I am back from the disease-infested swamps of Guadalcanal, back from places where I witnessed death upon my burning plane and exploding ship, my careening truck, and my cracking tank. I am back from places where starvation and death became as common as day and night.

I suppose you are satisfied with my frightened feats and terrified efforts, for I did try to uphold that cherished ideal that all men are created equal. That's more than an ideal, is it not? It is an undeniable fact. It is a truth. Now I shall ask for a realization of that ideal, to see more put nto effect those things which I helped to maintain so my sons may know why I fought.

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Another event of the day is the Eskimo "Blanket Toss." The object is to see how long and to what heights a person may be tossed on a blanket made of animal hides and stretched tight by a group of the villagers. Some of the more skillful Eskimos are tossed as high as 30 feet in the air.

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In government, he reformed the postal system, helped defend the colonies against the French and Indians, was a power for America while living in England and France, and helped write the Constitution. In literature, his own autobiography is a classic, and every year he published a famous almanac—*Poor Richard's Almanac*—which was full of sound science, as well as jokes and sly digs at both men and women.

Some of his friends said that he was never happier than when carrying on a sharp conversation with a beautiful Frenchwoman—and yet in all his eighty-five years he was constantly figuring on something new and better, either for his young country or for science.

Nothing can give you a pleasanter lift nor a better challenge than reading the life stories of great or unusual men. A poet once said the same

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And the citizenship of our group is formed of the habits of each individual, because, "A man is as big as his habits, or as little." First, we strive to maintain a happy atmosphere and clean surroundings in our classroom. One member of our group adorned the walls with a coat of paint. The floors are enjoyed more without cigarette stubs and bits of paper. In the morning we salute each other with a pleasant "Good morning" and a smile. Each day we find new incentives rising in our work and we have more reason to be happy and to strive the more, realizing that we have tasks to do each day, for, "So long as we give our country something more than words, something of ourselves, American democracy will continue to grow and bear rich fruit and our future will be bright with promise."

We strive to complete one day's work at a time by displaying kindness and willingness to help each other. Doing each day's chores encourages us to undertake tomorrow's.

We find that the time has come to dust off the old words like Fredom, Democracy and Liberty. We find them to mean the individual at his work and the air we breathe.

There have been classroom discussions of citizenship's starting in the family. We say that the characteristics of the happy, good family are co-operation, self-control, friendliness, desire for education and true culture. The family make democratic ideals come alive and the citizenship of the family has a very real effect upon the community.

Each individual in our group enjoys recreation. We have developed hobbies—gardening, travelling, hunting, reading, observing the beauty of our world.

"The world is so full of a number of things
I'm sure we all should be happy as kings . . ."

The great advantage of life is that as long as Man lives he has the privilege of growing—by learning new skills, devoting himself to his work, making new friends, using his resources. Remembering that we are capable in some ways and limited in others, we say:

"If your friend has a heart
There is something fine in him.
Cast away his darker spot,
Cling to what's divine in him."

Realizing that the Ruler of the Universe has ordered all things with a view toward the preservation and perfection of the whole,

"I would make my record true,
I should think without confusion clearly,
To love my fellowman sincerely,
To act from honest motives purely,
To trust in God and Heaven securely."

(Continued from page 2, col. 5)

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(Continued from page 3, col. 3)

dollars. They are strong, long-winded, and can withstand the extreme cold. These dogs work all winter on very little food, usually dried fish, and rest during the short summer. Not only can the dogs take trappers into remote parts of the woods, but they act as companions during the lonely trips. On being asked why he didn't swap his dog team for an airplane, a trapper replied, "It would be impossible to land a plane where many of my traps are, and too, you just can't talk to a plane like you can to a team of dogs."

The biggest event of the year in Fairbanks is the winter carnival. A queen is selected to reign over the carnival. There are no judges; she is elected by a vote of the people. The lucky girl is given five hundred dollars cash, a sealskin parka valued at four hundred dollars, and a trip to Seattle, Washington, with all expenses paid.

Then comes the dog sled racing. Anyone who has a team of dogs may enter, and people come from far and near to try to win the first prize of five thousand dollars. Of course, there is a bit of betting with such unbelievable odds as 100 to 1, which reminds one of Churchill Downs, or Sarasota. In the olden days, the race was about 120 miles long, but because the race was so hard on both driver and team, the limit has been cut to 60 miles.

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Alaska is a hunter's and fisherman's paradise. The fish in the streams there are similar to our trout and are called grayling. For the hunter there are bear, mountain sheep, caribou and moose. A friend of mine shot a moose weighing seventeen hundred pounds and we ate moose steaks for a month. Those steaks were much more flavorful than any beef I have ever eaten.

Alaska is known as the last frontier and you may see a trapper with his furs slung over his shoulder or a tough-looking character with two forty-fives on his sides, just as you would in a western movie. The "Ice Box of the World" is a wonderful place for a person who loves the rugged life of a pioneer and who is physically fit and mentally alert.

Thought For Happiness

A good thing to remember,
And a good thing to do,
Is to work with the construction gang,
Not the wrecking crew.
—*Selected*

Our code of manners is simple compared with that of China. which has 3000 rules of conduct that have the force of law.

When two men swap dollars, they each have one, but when they swap ideas, each has two.

To avoid trouble and insure safety, breathe through the nose —it keeps the mouth shut.

Etiquette is not meant to take the place of intelligence; good behavior is really based on common sense.

My teachers criticize me
And say I loaf and shirk.
I'd do great things to show them—
Except it's so much work.
—*Cheerful Cherub*

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The unforgettable part is about his realization that he has lost his hands, the slow journey back to physical and mental health, and getting himself and his friends accustomed to the "hooks" that now allow him to type, light cigarettes, sweep, shave, and play the piano. The latter part of the book is about his deep worry over the prejudice and hate he found around him when he returned to civilian life, and his own efforts to live up to what he had been fighting for.

THAT LIVELY MAN, BEN FRANKLIN, by Eaton. This chatty, readable biography of the early American best known all over the world pictures him as jolly, curious, thrifty, and forward-looking. From the time he left the printshop of his jealous brother in cold, stiff Boston until his last days in his adopted home of Philadelphia, he constantly thought and worked and experimented. In science, he identified electricity with lightning, invented the first heater, and bifocal glasses.

In government, he reformed the postal system, helped defend the colonies against the French and Indians, was a power for America while living in England and France, and helped write the Constitution. In literature, his own autobiography is a classic, and every year he published a famous almanac—*Poor Richard's Almanac*—which was full of sound science, as well as jokes and sly digs at both men and women.

Some of his friends said that he was never happier than when carrying on a sharp conversation with a beautiful Frenchwoman—and yet in all his eighty-five years he was constantly figuring on something new and better, either for his young country or for science.

Nothing can give you a pleasanter lift nor a better challenge than reading the life stories of great or unusual men. A poet once said the same thing, in these words:

"Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime,
And, departing, leave behind us,
Footprints on the sands of time."

NEWS–VIEWS

Published each month by The Veterans Training School Greenville City Schools, Greenville, S. C.

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Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

N

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR
RURAL LIFE COUNCIL

February 16, 1950

RECEIVED
FEB 20 1950
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

In reply to your letter of February 14, I am glad you are coming. The welcome mat will be out, and we will have an opportunity to meet and talk with many of our mutual friends.

Sincerely yours,

Ernest E Neal

ERNEST E. NEAL, Director
Rural Life Council

EEN:mar

n - Misc

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Telephone LExington 2-8595

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Mrs. E. R. Goodwin
Research & Advisory

**Executive Committee*

February 21, 1950

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Exec. Dir.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This will acknowledge and thank you for the material about the Southern Regional Council, Inc. We indeed appreciate your cooperation with us.

Yours sincerely,

B. D. Burhoe

B. D. Burhoe

BDB:hl

A non-profit membership corporation for the protection of contributors and philanthropic agencies
Reports are confidential to members.

N - Miscl

February 27, 1950

Mr. Frank A. Norman, Jr.

West Point, Georgia

Dear Mr. Norman:

We greatly appreciate your help in getting additional information about the LaFayette case last week. The facts you gave Win Huff were very useful indeed.

If there is ever an opportunity for us to return the favor, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

~~Charity~~
Misc - N

April 11, 1950

N.Y. State School of Industrial
and Labor Relations
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

Gentlemen:

Please send us one copy of your Research Bulletin No. 5, which is listed in the March Report of the American Council on Race Relations.

We enclose fifteen cents.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Dict. by GSM;
signed in his absence

GSM:er

Nixon

June 6, 1950

Mr. H. C. Nixon
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear HC:

I do appreciate the Paths to the Past.

Fine to see one honest guy left, who still wants these smoothie proppers-of-Dixiecrats to remember what the trouble is.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Ned/

June 9, 1950

Mr. Ernest Neal
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Mr. Neal:

I placed two telephone calls. One to R. W. Hudgens, New York; cost, including tax, $2.94. The second to Chancellor Harvie Branscomb, Nashville (Vanderbilt); cost, including tax, $1.40.

Total cost, $4.34.

Pete Hudgens was Assistant Administrator of Farm Security. He will send a lett r himself and will have a letter sent by the following intimate friends of Dr. Will's now resident in New York: Leonard Outhwaite; Jack Fischer, now head man in the publishing department of Harper's; James G. Maddox, high man in the Venezuela Development Corporation business; Fred Wale, sometime Rosenwalder, now busy at Puerto Rican education. These five from New York.

I did not talk to Branscomb, who was out, but his secretary was to tell him on Monday, and I feelssure he will write.

Mrs. Tilly here has been slow about getting her letter in, but promises to hasten it.

That should add up to seven.

My guess is that a reminder to some of the others would produce additional letters.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

June 9, 1950

Mr. Philleo Nash
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Philleo:

Freedom to Serve duly came. We have already mailed it out to the officers of our State Divisions and affiliated interracial committees over twelve Southern States and to the Fellows of the Council, who number approximately a hundred and are also widely spread in the South.

We are truly grateful for the opportunity to get this excellent publication into this further circulation.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

May 26, 1950

Mr. Philleo Nash
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Philleo,

"Freedom to Serve" is a beautiful job; written with clarity, honesty, and pace.

It will do a great deal of good.

What a convincing demonstration it is.

If you can send me any more copies I can get them usefully read. Any would be welcome. Ten or twenty or even more, I could get out to people who would really use them.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:wgd

P.S. For minor return, I send you the results of the new survey at Greenville, South Carolina.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

To: George Mitchell

From: Philleo Nash

RECEIVED
MAY 26 1950
Southern Regional Council

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR
RURAL LIFE COUNCIL

N-Mitchell
Neal

June 13, 1950

RECEIVED
JUN 14 1950
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of June 9.

You have done an excellent job in rounding up some additional people to write testimonial letters to Dr. W. W. Alexander.

We sent out telegrams encouraging the people who had not replied. To date, we have twenty-five letters. I think "Dr. Will" will be more pleased with the type of people who are sending letters than if we had attempted to get two or three hundred letters from a rather indiscriminate list.

We are expecting to see you on June 18.

Sincerely yours,

Ernest E. Neal

ERNEST E. NEAL, Director
Rural Life Council

EEN:mar

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

N-Misc
Neal

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR
RURAL LIFE COUNCIL

May 15, 1950

RECEIVED
MAY 18 '50
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your letter of May 12.

I am sorry you do not have the information desired. I will follow through on your suggestion to secure the Yearbook Issue of Editor and Publisher.

Sincerely yours,

Ernest

ERNEST E. NEAL, Director
Rural Life Council

EEN:mar

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

N Misc
Neal

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR
RURAL LIFE COUNCIL

April 28, 1950

RECEIVED
MAY 1 1950
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Dear Dr. Fleming:

In a conference with Mr. Bem Price of the Associated Press, he informed me that you had the most complete mailing list of southern editors in the South.

We felt that if you would share this list with me, it would be most useful in getting our conference to the newspapers. If you do not have mimeographed copies, I would return your copy as soon as I could reproduce it.

Sincerely yours,

Ernest

ERNEST E. NEAL, Director
Rural Life Council

EEN:mar

Referred to:
Editor & Publisher

HCF

n-musical
Neal

June 21, 1950

Mr. Ernest E. Neal
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Mr. Neal:

That was a very useful meeting, from which many things will flow for a long time to come. You were most wise to plan it and put it through so well.

My warm regards to you and Mrs. Neal, whom it was a great pleasure to meet.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:er

June 22, 1950

Mr. N. C. Newbold
Department of Public Instruction
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Newbold:

My own and the Council's warm admiration for all your long years of wise and devoted service to things that are right.

For a career of courage, you will abound always in friends.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION
RALEIGH

June 16, 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear George:

Your note of May 25, and leaflets which you sent came to me several days ago. I know these leaflets are very valuable and ought to be widely distributed.

I am writing this personal note to say that I am planning to retire on June 30, and my hands are quite full in rounding out the work in my office. I wish I could be of some real service to you. If I can later, I shall be glad to do what is possible.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

N C Newbold

N. C. NEWBOLD

NCN:mm

RECEIVED
JUN 19 1950
Southern Regional Council

N-Racial

July 6, 1950

Mr. Philleo Nash (Executive Officer)
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Philleo:

You and your office were mighty nice to send right away quick the Supreme Court decisions.

We are reprinting them as enclosed and sending them out widely over these fair States.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encls.

Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence

Sincerely,

N-Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

July 12, 1950

Mr. Ernest E. Neal
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Ernest:

I promised to put something together about the Tuskegee meeting. Here is what I wrote.

If you want something built more particularly around the Tuskegee meeting, maybe I could turn it out. Let me know.

I am still profiting greatly from those three days, and I expect the whole country to profit from them.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

N - Misc

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR
RURAL LIFE COUNCIL

July 14, 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thank you for the statement you prepared to go into the proceedings. I read it over and am thoroughly satisfied with it. Lewis is out on a field trip; and if he concurs with my opinion, there will be no need for any changes.

I am glad to know that you are still profiting from the three days spent here. We have received nothing but laudatory letters from the people who attended the conference. It seems that the conference theme was something that all were thinking about and wishing such a conference would be called, but somehow had not got around to it. I am hoping that when the proceedings are ready for distribution that they will have an impact on those in our nation who determine policy. If this conference can be instrumental in getting some policy changes made that will meet the very pertinent problems brought out in your manuscript, it would have contributed something most vital to the most complexing problems of southern life.

Sincerely yours,

Ernest

ERNEST E. NEAL, Director
Rural Life Council

EEN:mar

JUL 17 1950
Southern Regional Council

N- Miscel

July 24, 1950

Editor
New Statesman and Nation
10, Great Turnstile
London, England

Dear Sir:

Would someone please be kind enough to help with delivery of this item?

Sincerely,

A Subscriber

George S. Mitchell:er
Encl.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 6, 1950

Dear George:

Your note of July 20 was sent to me out in Wisconsin, and I am just picking up my summer correspondence.

I am always glad to hear about the work of the Southern Regional Council, and will bear it in mind, as you request.

Cordially,

Phil

PHILLEO NASH

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
SEP 8 1950
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N-Misce

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Research & Advisory

June 12, 1951

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Exec. Dir.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This will acknowledge and thank you for the materials about your organization, which have enabled us to bring our report up to date.

Yours sincerely,

B. D. Burhoe

B. D. Burhoe

BDB:hm

RECEIVED
JUN 13 1951
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

File
Naacp Legal Defense +
Educ. Fund

September 22, 1967

Miss Jean Fairfax
N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and
Educational Fund, Inc.
10 Columbus Circle
New York, New York 10019

Dear Jean:

We are enclosing our check for $261.92 as per your request.

5:30 p.m. at the SRC office on September 28th suits me fine.

Yours truly,

J. N. Wood, Jr.
Executive Assistant

JNW/km

Enclosure

N. A. A. C. P. LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

10 Columbus Circle, New York, N. Y. 10019

JUdson 6-8397

HON. FRANCIS E. RIVERS
President

JACK GREENBERG
Director-Counsel

JAMES M. NABRIT, III
Acting Associate Counsel

M E M O R A N D U M

September 20, 1967

TO: T E A M

FROM: Jean Fairfax

RE: Committee Meeting

This is to remind you of our decision to have a meeting of the TEAM sponsoring committee while we are in Atlanta for the meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference on Thursday, September 28, 1967. SIC meets from 10:00 a.m. until late afternoon. What about an early supper meeting Thursday evening? This would still permit us to catch late planes, if necessary. Let's meet at the SRC office at 5:30 p.m.

JF/ll

cc: Courtney Siceloff
James Wood
Al Kehrer
Richard Lyle
Randolph Blackwell
Emory Via
Mordecai Johnson

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CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE
FOR
BUILDING BETTER RACE RELATIONS

GENERAL STATEMENT

Human equality is one of the foundation stones of our Republic.

The pursuit of truth and the worship of God in freedom of conscience are inseparable from the American way of life.

The duty to serve democracy and the right to enjoy its blessings and privileges are the essence of American citizenship.

These principles must endure if the Nation is to survive. Neither self-regarding pride nor privilege must be allowed to undermine or corrupt the ideals that have made our Country great.

We hold that these great moral truths, above all other things, can preserve our National unity. Men and women who believe in them, as they believe in life, will not mortgage them for special privileges, group preferment or advantage of class or caste. To the extent that America means racial understanding, religious freedom and equality of opportunity, America will measure up to her glorious past, her solemn present and her great future.

We, therefore, pledge ourselves to mutual support and such joint action as may be devised in the active defense and preservation of these principles, and we further pledge ourselves actively to oppose any practices, organizations or tendencies which may threaten them as the essence of our National Life.

The National Council of Catholic Women
The National Council of Jewish Women, Inc.
The National Council of Negro Women, Inc.
The National Council of Women of the U. S.
The National Women's Trade Union League
The Young Women's Christian Association

about June 1944

September 22, 1953

Mr. T. Otto Nall
The Christian Advocate
740 Rush Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Nall:

This we hope can be quite a useful publication. We got it out only four or five days ago.

You will see that it is a balanced discussion of the issue arising from the pending forthcoming Court decision.

We want it to be used by our local discussion groups, many of which can be bi-racial.

So used, it could do a great deal towards getting in advance of the decision an informed public opinion, inclined to accept and support whatever may be the Court decision.

I have sent it about quite widely to Bishops in the South and to officers of the Womens' Societies.

I do hope its availability will be worthy of some notice in the Christian Advocate.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Secretary

GSM/allo

CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE . . . 740 North Rush Street, Chicago 11, Illinois

T. OTTO NALL, Editor LOVICK PIERCE and J. EDGAR WASHABAUGH, Publishing Agents

October 2, 1953

Mr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Brother Mitchell:

I am glad to have the description of the forthcoming court case. It will be interesting reading.

Very truly yours,

T. Otto Nall

T. Otto Nall, Editor

TON:dc

RECEIVED
OCT 5

a for a checklist
Peace + Law Ent
Self-Serving movement
Single pages
NS 1954

570 Student Center
BOARD OF EDUCATION
Detroit 1, Michigan

College of Education

November 5, 1954

Sent 11-11-54
Ent

RECEIVED
11/10/54
Southern Regional Council

Gentlemen:

The National Council for the Social Studies, the national organization for all social studies teachers in the United States, is holding its annual convention on November 25 - 27 in Indianapolis, Indiana. More than 5000 are expected to attend.

I am in charge of providing a display of supplementary teaching-learning materials in the field of social studies. The kinds of materials needed include pamphlets, leaflets, posters, charts, maps, periodicals and pictures useful to the classroom teacher.

I would deeply appreciate your sending me single copies of such resources. Please also include single copies of lists or catalogs of teaching aids if you have them.

Thank you for your attention.

Yours truly,

Russell H. Broadhead

Russell H. Broadhead
Associate Professor

RHBatls

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

January 24, 1955

TO: GTH

I heard it said at the Fisk Conference that the national PTAs had adopted a statement on integration, favoring it. Do you think we could get a copy of the statement and make use of it to squeeze the local branches against that parent statement?

GSM/eab

Letter to Ben Siegel - Look Out

To - g.s.m

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF PARENTS AND TEACHERS

The U.S. Supreme Court, in finding segregated public schools unconstitutional, has focused attention upon social change which has been in process for a long time.

Realization of the constitutional guarantee of citizenship requires the integration of all people.

The program of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers has been and will be to promote the welfare of all children and youth in home, school, church and community. Attainment of these objectives is the responsibility of each state congress.

Educational integration of different races is proceeding rapidly in some communities -- it willrequire a longer transition period in others.

(Adopted by the national board May 23, 1954)

National Conference on Citizenship

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AND
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APR 11 1955

CHARTERED
BY ACT OF
CONGRESS
APPROVED
AUGUST 13, 1953

P. O. BOX 6142
Washington 4, D. C.

APR 8 1955

Dear Fellow Citizen:

The Directors of the National Conference on Citizenship are pleased to invite you, as one particularly interested in the cause of good citizenship, to participate in the Annual Conference to be held September 19-20-21, 1955, at the Statler Hotel, Washington, D. C. This meeting will celebrate the Tenth Anniversary of the formation of the Conference.

The National Conference on Citizenship, now an independent entity under a Congressional Charter, will continue the plan of earlier meetings. It will again bring together men, women and youth representing hundreds of public and private organizations and agencies which, through their memberships and activities, reach most of the population of our Nation and play vital roles in its life and development. From all States and Territories they will come together in a spirit of cooperation, dedicated to the main objective of the Conference - the well-being of our country. "The Blessings of Liberty" is the timely theme for the 1955 Conference. Challenging subtopics will be decided upon at a meeting of the Planning Committee in the near future.

Under the terms of its Charter, the National Conference on Citizenship holds its annual meeting on or around "Citizenship Day", September 17, the day established by Congress in 1952 as the occasion for commemorating the formation and signing of the Constitution in 1787. This year, "Citizenship Day" falls on the Saturday preceding the formal opening of the Conference on Monday, September 19. However, should you wish to attend the District of Columbia observance on September 17, you will be most welcome.

Enclosed is a form for your acceptance of this invitation to the Conference.

We are looking forward to your participation in the Tenth National Conference on Citizenship, and to your help in protecting and perpetuating the principles and ideals upon which this Nation is founded.

Sincerely yours,

Justin Miller

Justin Miller
President

TENTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CITIZENSHIP

Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, September 19, 20, 21, 1955
Statler Hotel, Washington, D. C.

CONFERENCE EXPENSES

Registration (Includes Coffee Hour and Annual Report)	. . . . $ 7.50
Monday Luncheon (September 19)	. . . . 3.50
Tuesday Dinner (September 20)	. . . . 6.00
(OR)	
Special (Includes all of the above)	. . . . 15.00

Registration fee required for each participant. Participants should plan to attend all sessions, including Luncheon and Dinner at which keynote speech and other features will be presented. Because of hotel guarantee requirements, payment must accompany every meal reservation, and cancellations cannot be accepted after September 10. It will be appreciated if payment is made at time of acceptance to ensure meal reservations and to avoid delay at registration.

MAKE YOUR HOTEL RESERVATIONS IMMEDIATELY

Make Them Direct With The Hotel

Mention National Conference on Citizenship

Ask For Immediate Written Confirmation

Neither the Hotel nor the Conference can guarantee rooms to late registrants.

Rates of Hotel Statler, Conference Headquarters, given on attached card.

OUTLINE OF CONFERENCE PROGRAM:

Monday, September 19 -	morning - - - - - - - -	Opening General Session
	noon - - - - - - - - -	Luncheon
	afternoon - - - - - - -	Group Discussions
	evening - - - - - - - -	Musical Americana
Tuesday, September 20 -	morning - - - - - - - -	Group Discussions
	afternoon - - - - - - -	Group Discussions
	evening - - - - - - - -	Annual Dinner
Wednesday, September 21 -	morning - - - - - - - -	Naturalization Ceremony and Closing General Session

ATTACHED IS A FORM FOR USE IN ACCEPTING INVITATION TO THE CONFERENCE

Conference Theme:

"THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY"

TENTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CITIZENSHIP

Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, September 19, 20, 21, 1955
Statler Hotel, Washington, D. C.

FORM FOR ACCEPTANCE BY PARTICIPANT

I will participate in the Tenth National Conference on Citizenship to be held at the Statler Hotel, Washington, D. C., September 19, 20, 21, 1955.

(If you have been designated to attend as an official representative of an organization, please give its name below:)

_____
(Name of Organization)

I enclose herewith $ _____ to cover the costs checked below:

_____	Registration (Includes Coffee Hour and Annual Report) . . .	$ 7.50
_____	Monday Luncheon (September 19) . . .	3.50
_____	Tuesday Dinner (September 20) . . .	6.00
Special	(Includes all of the above) . . .	15.00

My field of major interest is _____

The State in which I am registered to vote (or State of origin if desired)

is _____

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

_____

PLEASE MAIL THIS FORM, TOGETHER WITH CHECK OR MONEY ORDER MADE PAYABLE TO:

National Conference on Citizenship
Post Office Box 6142
Washington 4, D. C.

Conference Theme:

"THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY"

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Will Be Paid
by
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Necessary
If Mailed in the
United States

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FRONT OFFICE MANAGER

Hotel Statler

16th and K Streets

Washington 13, D. C.

Please reserve accommodations as checked (√) below:

Postage required when mailed from Canada

Name.....
(Please Print)

Address.....

City.....State.....

RESERVATIONS MUST BE RECEIVED
not later than 2 weeks prior to opening date of convention and will be held only until 6 p.m. on day of arrival unless later hour is specified.

Date of Arrival.....Hour.....A.M. P.M.

Date of Departure.....Hour.....A.M. P.M.

Room and Bath For One — Per Day	7.00☐ 8.00☐	9.00☐ 10.00☐	11.00☐ 12.00☐
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3-55

Tenth National Conference on Citizenship
September 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 1955
Hotel Statler, Washington, D.C.

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CITIZENSHIP

FOUNDED 1946

CHARTERED BY CONGRESS 1953

"The Conference has been growing in power and influence from year to year and is undoubtedly the greatest mobilization of the forces for good citizenship that has ever existed in this country."

JOHN J. PARKER

Chief Judge, United States Court of Appeals
Fourth Judicial Circuit

(From Keynote Address, Eighth National Conference on Citizenship.)

PURPOSES To Support and Strengthen the Efforts of the People in Maintaining the Blessings of Freedom and Justice and in Protecting and Perpetuating the Principles and Ideals upon which this Nation is Founded; to Develop a More Thorough Knowledge of Citizenship Rights and Responsibilities; to Inspire a Deeper Devotion to Citizenship Obligations; to Encourage Ever More Effective Participation in Citizenship Activities and to Promote a Spirit of Cooperation on the Part of all Citizens—to these High Purposes, the National Conference on Citizenship is Dedicated.

ORIGIN

The National Conference on Citizenship was founded in 1946, when a small group of men and women met in Philadelphia to consider how the spirit of cooperation that had bound together all citizens of the United States during World War II could be conserved for the future. They sought a means to maintain this spirit so that, in peacetime as in wartime, all citizens might dedicate themselves to upholding continuously our concept of government and the democratic way of life.

★ GROWTH

The Conference is unique in that it brings together the most comprehensive cross-section of organizations and agencies to be found in any single National meeting. Over 1,000 delegates representing hundreds of various organizations and agencies took part in the Ninth Annual Conference in 1954.

Since 1946, more than 1,200 organizations and agencies have participated. Through their memberships and activities these touch nearly every wholesome aspect of our life and reach most of our 160 million population.

Included are all levels of government—national, state and local; schools, colleges and universities; major religious faiths; professional associations; veterans' and related organizations; labor, business, industry and finance; farm and civic groups; and youth organizations.

★ CHARTERED BY CONGRESS

The National Conference on Citizenship now operates under a Federal Charter. From 1946 to 1954, the United States Department of Justice and the National Education Association sponsored the Conference. The two agencies lent their support until the Conference could function as an independent entity.

A Bill to incorporate the Conference passed both Houses of the Congress by unanimous consent and was signed by the President on August 13, 1953. Under the terms of the Charter, the Conference held its first business session in Washington, D. C., at the close of the Ninth Annual Meeting, September 17, 1954.

★ THE FUTURE

The Congressional Charter empowers the National Conference on Citizenship to translate its ideals and objectives into realities. Plans for the future include both long-range and immediate projects and activities. The Conference will initiate and conduct some of these activities directly. Others, it will encourage and assist organizations and agencies in States and communities to initiate and carry on. Proposed projects and activities include the following:

1. **Annual Meetings of the National Conference** at which participants will consider the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, discuss major problems facing the Nation, and ways in which the ideas inspired by the National Meeting can be carried out in their home States and communities.
2. **Regional, State, and Local Conferences on Citizenship** which will have purposes similar to those

of the National Conference, with organization and procedures adapted to State and community situations.

3. **"Citizenship Day" Observances** which will commemorate the signing of the Constitution, recognize the native youth reaching voting age and the foreign born receiving citizenship through naturalization, and afford all citizens opportunity for rededication to the ideals and principles of the Constitution.

4. **A "New Voter" Program** which, carried on through cooperating groups and other organizations and agencies, will stress responsible exercise of suffrage by all, and emphasize greater recognition of youth in civic affairs and their better preparation for the assumption of citizenship responsibilities.

5. **Naturalization Ceremonies** in which the Conference, through its participating organizations and agencies, will assist Federal and State courts with inspirational court induction ceremonies that stimulate in new citizens appreciation of American traditions and ways of living.

6. **Integration of Foreign-born Citizens** through State and local programs in which the native and foreign born may achieve mutual understanding by working together and those of foreign birth may become more effective citizens.

7. **A Magazine and Other Publicity Materials** which will provide current, pertinent information for the press, radio and television, for those carrying on projects and programs to promote good citizenship, and for those planning conferences and patriotic observances.

8. **Citizenship Programs in Schools and Colleges** for which the Conference, in cooperation with educational authorities, will assemble and make available information about significant developments in methods and materials for citizenship education.

9. **Information on Legal Aspects of Citizenship** which will be assembled and made available to Conference members and other participating organizations and agencies.

10. **A Clearing House** which will collect, compile, catalog, exchange and disseminate information and materials on matters relating to citizenship.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The Officers and Board of Directors of the National Conference on Citizenship are elected by its voting membership. Those elected at the first business session, September 17, 1954, have been closely identified with the development of the Conference since its beginning in 1946.

JUSTIN MILLER, President

Former Associate Justice, United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Judicial Circuit; former Chairman of the Board and General Counsel, National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters; former Chairman, Attorney General's Advisory Committee on Citizenship; Chairman, National Conferences on Citizenship, 1952, Co-Chairman 1953.

Residence, Pacific Palisades, California.

EMMA MAE BROTZE, First Vice President

Principal, Marshall Junior High School, Marshall, Texas; President, Texas State Teachers Association, 1948-49; Member, Board of Regents, Texas State Teachers Colleges; Chairman, National Education Association Citizenship Committee 1951—; former Member, Attorney General's Advisory Committee on Citizenship; Chairman, National Conference on Citizenship, 1953.

Residence, Marshall, Texas.

LEO M. CADISON, Second Vice President

Former Assistant Director of Public Information, U. S. Department of Justice; former Member, Attorney General's Advisory Committee on Citizenship; assisted in planning Nation-wide program to make court naturalization ceremonies more inspirational; helped to direct the National Conference on Citizenship; Editor for Conference.

Residence, Asheville, North Carolina.

EARLE T. HAWKINS, Third Vice President

President, Maryland State Teachers College, Towson, Maryland; Chairman, National Education Association Citizenship Committee 1944-49; helped to initiate the National Conference on Citizenship in 1946, Conference Chairman 1946-49; former Member, Attorney General's Advisory Committee on Citizenship.

Residence, Towson, Maryland.

MAURICE BISGYER, Treasurer

Secretary, B'nai B'rith; former Member, Attorney General's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency; former President, National Association of Jewish Center Workers; Member, National Advisory Committee on Education, appointed by Presidents Hoover and Roosevelt; Secretary-General, Coordinating Board of Jewish Organizations—Consultant to the United Nations Economic and Social Council.

Residence, Washington, D. C.

ROBERT N. ANDERSON

Special Assistant to the Attorney General, U. S. Department of Justice; Past President, Federal Bar Association; helped to initiate Nation-wide program to make court naturalization ceremonies more inspirational; former Member, Attorney General's Advisory Committee on Citizenship; General Counsel, National Conference on Citizenship.

Residence, Arlington, Virginia.

THOMAS F. CLEAR

Principal, Katherine T. Murphy School, Stamford, Connecticut; Vice President, National Education Association 1949-50, and Member, Citizenship Committee, 1950-1953; President, Connecticut State Teachers Association, Classroom Teachers 1949-50; former Member, Attorney General's Advisory Committee on Citizenship; Director of Exhibits, National Conference on Citizenship.

Residence, Springdale, Connecticut.

WILLARD E. GIVENS

Former Executive Secretary, National Education Association; Past President, California Teachers Association; Member, American Youth Commission of American Council on Education; Chairman, Board of Trustees, Senior Citizens of America; helped to initiate the National Conference on Citizenship; approved Bill introduced in Congress to charter the Conference and give it independent status.

Residence, Washington, D. C.

CARL B. HYATT

Assistant Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service; planned and initiated Nation-wide program to make court naturalization ceremonies more inspirational; Chairman, Federal Bar Association Citizenship Committee, 1942—; Director, Attorney General's Citizenship Program 1946—; helped to initiate and direct the National Conference on Citizenship; Executive Director for the Conference.

Residence, Rockville, Maryland.

RICHARD B. KENNAN

Secretary, Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education, National Education Association; Consultant, National Education Association Committee on Citizenship; helped to initiate and direct the National Conference on Citizenship; former Member, Attorney General's Advisory Committee on Citizenship.

Residence, Chevy Chase, Maryland.

THOMAS J. LANE

Member of the United States Congress since 1941; Chairman, Sub-committee on House Judiciary Committee, who piloted the "Citizenship Day" Resolution through 82nd Congress to commemorate the formation and signing of the Constitution in 1787; House author of the Bill to charter the National Conference on Citizenship.

Residence, Lawrence, Massachusetts.

* * * *

ELIZABETH F. HART, Secretary

Publications Editor, Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Residence, Texarkana, Texas.

Labor

NATIONAL CONSUMERS LEAGUE

APR 13 1955

FOR FAIR LABOR STANDARDS

348 ENGINEERS BUILDING • MAIN 1-1175 • CLEVELAND 14, OHIO

Elizabeth S. Magee
General Secretary

GS on accepted
[illegible]
4/21/55

April 11, 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am writing to invite you to join a Citizens Committee on the Fair Labor Standards Act which is being organized in order to mobilize support for greatly needed improvements in the Act.

It is obvious that the present minimum wage of 75 cents has become obsolete. Senator Lehman, in introducing his bill to amend the Act, said:

> "Many Members of Congress and other citizens have registered keen disappointment with the recommendation by President Eisenhower in his State of the Union message that the minimum wage be increased to only 90 cents per hour. I feel that this small increase recommended by the President is entirely inadequate to the needs of millions of American workers and their families and to the national economy."

Moreover, the Administration has failed to propose any enlargement of the coverage of the Act. In 1949 when the wage was raised to 75 cents many occupations were excluded, affecting about six million workers.

The well being of millions of families in the low-income groups and the health of the economy itself are at stake in this issue. For this reason we believe it is important to rally support among citizens all over the country. The Citizens Committee would not be committed to any particular bill, but would seek to obtain the most substantial improvements now possible in the 1949 Act.

If you agree with these general objectives we hope that you will be willing to be a member of this committee. I am enclosing a list of those who are being invited now, and also a card for your reply.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth S. Magee

Elizabeth S. Magee
General Secretary

ESM/jbr

John Howland Lathrop, *President*
Hyman Schroeder, *Treasurer*
Mrs. Richard A. Zwemer, *Recording Secretary*

Morris S. Rosenthal, *Chairman, Board of Directors*
L. Metcalfe Walling, *Vice-Chairman*
Walter Frank, *Vice-Chairman*

Persons Being Invited to Join Citizens Committee
on the Fair Labor Standards Act

Arthur J. Altmeyer
Madison, Wisconsin

Mrs. Eugenie Anderson
Red Wing, Minnesota

Mary Anderson
Washington, D.C.

George W. Ball
Washington, D.C.

William L. Batt, Jr.
Toledo, Ohio

Professor John C. Bennett
New York, New York

Mrs. Louis F. Billings
Newton Centre, Massachusetts

Barry Bingham
Louisville, Kentucky

Theodore M. Berry
Cincinnati, Ohio

Elizabeth Brandeis
Madison, Wisconsin

Stuart Chase
Georgetown, Connecticut

Dr. Donald B. Cloward
New York, New York

Fern M. Colborn
New York, New York

David L. Cole
Paterscn, New Jersey

Morris L. Cooke
Philadelphia 19, Pennsylvania

Grace L. Coyle
Cleveland, Ohio

William H. Davis
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Reverend Gardiner M. Day
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Michael DiSalle
Toledo, Ohio

Charles Donahue
Washington, D.C.

Mary L. Dyckman
Newark, New Jersey

Reverend Clifford J. Earle
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Professor Kermit Eby
Chicago, Illinois

Thomas H. Eliot
St. Louis, Missouri

I. B. Finkelstein
Wilmington, Delaware

John A. Fitch
New York, New York

The Reverend Norman D. Fletcher
Upper Montclair, New Jersey

Governor Orville Freeman
St. Paul, Minnesota

Lloyd K. Garrison
New York, New York

Walter Gellhorn
New York, New York

Reverend Ray Gibbons
New York, New York

Maurice S. Goodman
Washington, D.C.

Carter Goodrich
New York, New York

Frank P. Graham
New York, New York

Professor William Haber
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Reverend Cameron P. Hall
New York, New York

Helen Hall
New York, New York

Dr. Alice Hamilton
Hadlyme, Connecticut

Governor Averill Harriman
Albany, New York

Professor Seymour Harris
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Leon Henderson
Washington, D.C.

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Governor Christian Herter
Boston, Massachusetts

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Cincinnati, Ohio

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Ed Hollander
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Nashville, Tennessee

Minna Kassner
New York, New York

Mrs. Mary D. Keyserling
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Theodore Kheel
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Professor Richard Lester
Princeton, New Jersey

Isadore Lubin
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Archbishop Robert E. Lucey
San Antonio, Texas

Mrs. Thomas McAllister
Grand Rapids, Michigan

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Alexandria, Virginia

Frieda Miller
New York, New York

George Mitchell
Atlanta, Georgia

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Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

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Mabel Newcomer
Poughkeepsie, New York

Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam
Washington, D.C.

James G. Patton
Denver, Colorado

Mrs. Gifford Pinchot
Washington, D.C.

Paul A. Porter
Washington, D.C.

Roger Putnam
East Longmeadow, Massachusetts

Josephine Roche
Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Anna Rosenberg
New York, New York

Morris S. Rosenthal
New York, New York

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
Hyde Park, New York

Bishop William Scarlett
St. Louis, Missouri

Arthur H. Schlesinger, Jr.
Cambridge, Massachusetts

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Michael Straight
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Cincinnati, Ohio

Jack Tait
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New York, New York

Jerry Voorhis
Chicago, Illinois

L. Metcalfe Walling
New York, New York

Reverend A. Dudley Ward
Chicago, Illinois

Arthur J. White
New York, New York

Roy Wilkins
New York, New York

Clarence Wimpsheimer
Stonington, Connecticut

Dr. Edwin E. Witte
Madison, Wisconsin

Wilson Wyatt
Louisville, Kentucky

Mrs. Gertrude Folks Zimand
New York, New York

RECEIVED APR 18 1956

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS

One Park Avenue, New York 16, New York • *Murray Hill 6-7128*

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•

Executive Secretary
JOSEPH P. ANDERSON

April 16, 1956

To the Executive of
the Agency Addressed:

The SOCIAL WORK YEAR BOOK 1957, to be published by this Association next January, is now in process of being compiled. As in previous editions, the volume will contain a Directories of Agencies section.

In the latest edition, that for 1954, your agency was listed as shown in the attached clipping. Will you kindly make such revisions in this statement as may be necessary and return it to us. A self-addressed envelope is enclosed for your convenience in replying.

In order to have the material up-to-date we have postponed communicating with you as long as possible. We shall, therefore, appreciate a prompt return of your approved listing. There is no charge for this reference to your agency's work but we need your cooperation in order that the information may be correct.

It will be appreciated if you will also send us a specimen copy of whatever periodical you may list in your entry.

Sincerely yours,

Russell H. Kurtz, Editor
SOCIAL WORK YEAR BOOK 1957

RHK/js
Encl.

replied 4-18-56

Fifth Biennial Convention of The

National Association of Jeanes Supervisors

AND

Southern Education Foundation, Inc.

April 27 - 29, 1955

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, ALABAMA

DOROTHY HALL GUEST HOUSE

Theme: "Our Concerns for Today's Schools"

Overview of Conference Program--April 27-29, 1955

MORNING SESSIONS

Wednesday, April 27	Thursday, April 28	Friday, April 29
None	8:30 A. M. Registration Opens 9:15 A. M. First General Assembly (Open to Public) 11:00 A. M. Meeting of Discussion Groups	8:30 A. M. Fourth General Assembly (Open to Public) 11:00 A. M. Meeting of Discussion Groups

AFTERNOON SESSIONS

1:00 P. M. Meeting of Executive Committee 4:00 P. M. Registration Opens	1:45 P. M. Second General Assembly 2:45 P. M. The President's Hour (NAJS Business) 4:30 P. M. Guided Tour — Optional	1:00 P. M. Guided Tour — Optional 2:30 P. M. Convention Dinner 5:00 P. M. Meeting of Executive Committee

EVENING SESSIONS

7:30 P. M. First General Assembly For Conference Orientation 9:15 P. M. Social Hour	7:30 P. M. Third General Session (Open to Public) 9:00 P. M. Business Session	*None*

PROGRAM

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 27, 1955

AFTERNOON SESSION

1:00 P. M. ..... Meeting of Executive Committee
Place—Peabody Room

4:00 P. M. ..... Registration Opens
Place—First Floor West Lobby

7:30 P. M. ..... Conference Orientation Activities

1. Demonstration—"Growth Through Discussion Group Participation"
   Place—Peabody Room
2. Film Showing
   Place—Peabody Room
3. Meeting of Study Group Leaders, Recorders and Consultants
   Place—First Floor East Lobby
4. Social Hour
   Place—Pine Room

THURSDAY, APRIL 28, 1955

MORNING SESSION

8:30 A. M. ..... Registration Opens

9:15 A. M. ..... First General Assembly
Peabody Room

Presiding, Mrs. Clara West, President NAJS

Music ..... Tuskegee Institute High School Choir
Mr. K. B. Young, Director

Meditation ..... Reverend Raymond Harvey, Pastor
Greenwood Baptist Church
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Music

Greetings:

Dr. L. J. Foster, President, Tuskegee Institute

Mrs. Catherine Neal Johnson, President Alabama Jeans Association

Mrs. Sallie P. Harris, President Macon County Teachers Association, Tuskegee, Alabama

Response:
Dr. J. Curtis Dixon, Vice President and Executive Director of Southern Education Foundation, Atlanta, Georgia

Music

Address ..... Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia

Presentations

Announcements

10:45 A. M. ..... Relaxation

11:00 A. M. to 12:30 P. M. ..... Meeting of Discussion Groups (See Separate Schedule)

THURSDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

1:45 P. M. ..... Second General Assembly
Peabody Room

Presiding, Miss Floy O. Mitchum, Vice President NAJS

Music

Glimpses from the Field ..... Dr. Kara V. Jackson
Special Jeanes Teacher
Southern Education Foundation

The 1955-'56 Program of The Southern Education Foundation ..... Dr. J. Curtis Dixon

Music ..... Group Singing

Announcements

2:45 P. M. to 4:00 P. M. President's Hour, Mrs. Clara W. West, Supervisor Houston County Schools, Perry, Georgia

4:30 P. M. ..... Guided Tour

THURSDAY EVENING SESSION

7:30 P. M. ..... General Session—Peabody Room

Presiding, Mrs. Ida N. Givens, Supervisor
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Clinic: TOPIC—Human Relations in Supervision
Mrs. Carrie C. Robinson, Alabama
Miss Mabel E. Evans, Wheat Flour Institute
Chicago, Ill.
Miss Rebecca E. Davis, Georgia
Miss Florence Alexander, Mississippi
Mrs. Ruth L. Woodson, North Carolina
Miss Alfreda James, South Carolina
Mrs. Maenelle Dempsey, Georgia, Chairman
Mrs. Maeleen Arrant, Arkansas
Dr. Johnetta K. Williams, Tennessee

8:45 P. M. ..... Relaxation

9:00 P. M. ..... Business Session
Peabody Room

Presiding, Mrs. Clara W. West, President NAJS

Committee Reports
1. Membership
2. Public Relations
3. Editing
4. Budgeting and Finance
5. Nomination
6. Resolutions
7. Necrology
8. Time and Place

FRIDAY, APRIL 28, 1955

MORNING SESSION

8:30 A. M. ..... Third General Assembly
Peabody Room

Presiding, Dr. A. G. Richardson, Associate Director of Elementary and Secondary Education, State Dept. of Education, Richmond, Virginia
Music
Meditation
Music
Presentation of State Agents

Inspirational Address ..... Mr. D. E. Williams
State Dept. of Education
Tallahasse, Fla.

Music ..... Group Singing

9:45 A. M. ..... Relaxation

10:00 A. M. ..... Introduction of Speaker
Mrs. Minnie C. Jackson, Jeanes Supervisor
Morgan County, Decatur, Alabama

Address ..... Dr. Esther J. Swenson
Chairman Alabama Cooperative Study and Regional Coordinating Council, University of Alabama

Announcements

11:00 A. M.
to ..... Meeting of Discussion Groups
12:30 P. M. (See Separate Schedule)

1:00 P. M. ..... Guided Tour

FRIDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

2:30 P. M. ..... Convention Dinner
Pine Room

Honorees: 20-year Service Medal Recipients and Retired Supervisors

Toastmistress—Mrs. Ruth Lawrence Woodson, Supervisor State Dept. of Education, Raleigh, N. C.

Address ..... Dr. George W. Gore, President
Florida A. & M. State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Citations of Merit

4:30 P. M. ..... Installation of Officers
Conference Evaluation

5:00 P. M. ..... Meeting of Executive Committee

DISCUSSION GROUP SCHEDULE

Thursday, April 28, 1955
and
Friday, April 29, 1955
11:00 A. M. to 12:30 P. M.

Problems for the four discussion groups which appear below were submitted by the participants who pre-registered for the convention. Major interests seem to cluster around the four major areas of concern, for example:

1. To what problems should the Jeanes supervisor give serious attention during this period when local communities are considering the problems of desegregating the public schools?

2. What are some effective ways of working with in-service teachers and teacher education institutions to improve the curriculum and the instructional program in our schools?

3. In what ways should supervision change to meet adequately the changing patterns of school organization, administration, and instruction?

4. What implications for local schools do educational programs and projects of national and regional scope and interests hold for our local schools?

Group I—Desegregation of Public Schools

Place—Peabody Room

Leader—Mrs. Narvie J. Harris, Georgia

Recorder—Mrs. Bessye D. Wilder, North Carolina

Consultants

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Southern Regional Council
Dr. Alonzo Davis, Tuskegee Institute
Mr. Charles G. Gomillion, Tuskegee Institute
Dr. Fred McCuistion, Southern Education Foundation
Dr. A. G. Richardson, Virginia
Mr. Clifford B. Powell, Oklahoma
Dr. Robert D. Reid, Tuskegee Institute
Dr. John H. Howard, Alabama State College

Group II—Improving the Curriculum and Teaching in Our Schools

Place—First Floor East Lobby
Leader—Mrs. Ethel Bell, Alabama
Recorder—Mrs. Lavera Setts Avant, Tennessee

Consultants:

Miss Floy O. Mitchum, South Carolina
Mrs. Pearl Headd, Tuskegee Institute
Miss Rebecca E. Davis, Georgia
Miss Elizabeth Robinson, Grambling College
Mr. T. F. Burnside, Alabama
Dr. Catherine Duncan, Fort Valley State College
Mr. Bruce Felton, South Carolina
Dr. Gladys Collins, Georgia

Group III—Changing Patterns of Supervision

Place—Second Floor East Lobby
Leader—Miss Eldora Hayes, Georgia
Recorder—Mrs. L. Cheatham Taylor, Virginia

Consultants:

Mr. Robert Cousias, Georgia
Mrs. Justine Washington, South Carolina
Dr. S. E. Duncan, North Carolina
Mrs. Carrie C. Robinson, Alabama
Mr. L. L. Kilgore, Louisiana
Dr. J. L. Brown, Texas
Dr. Zelia Stephens, Alabama State College

Group IV—National Projects and Programs

Place—Second Floor West Lobby
Leader—Mrs. Bernice G. Macon, Georgia
Recorder—Mrs. Jimmie J. R. Dennis, Georgia

Consultants:

Dr. Esther Swenson, Alabama
Dr. J. C. Dixon, Southern Education Foundation
Mrs. Minnie Ruth Lawrence, North Carolina
Mrs. Maenelle Dempsey, Georgia
Dr. Johnetta K. Williams, Tennessee

OFFICERS

President ..... Mrs. Clara West, Thomson, Ga..
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Executive Secretary ..... Dr. Kara V. Jackson, Grambling, La.
Treasurer ..... Mrs. M. L. Copeland, Hopkinsville, Ky.
Chaplain ..... Mrs. Mary Holiday, Statesville, N. C.
Parliamentarian ..... Mrs. Josie Sessoms, Reedsville, Ga.
Counselor ..... Dr. A. G. Richardson, Richmond, Va.

Southern Education Foundation, Inc.
811 Cypress St., N. E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dr. J. Curtis Dixon ..... Executive Director
Dr. Fred McCuistion ..... Associate Director
Dr. Kara V. Jackson ..... Special Jeanes Teacher

A Finn came to Georgia. Told his host he hoped in Georgia to see three things a mule, and a peanut, and a Ku Klux. His host said, "I can show you one Georgia State Senator who is all three".

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE
OF THE
CITY OF NEW ORLEANS
BOX 276
NEW ORLEANS 9, LOUISIANA

RECEIVED JUN 6 1956

700 Lafayette Street
New Orleans 9, Louisiana
June 1, 1956

To: Members of Committee of Section III,
Program Committee of National Conference

From: Lillie H. Nairn LHN

Re: Meeting June 27, 1956

I am very happy to know that you are going to be on my committee to help prepare the program for Section III "Services to Agencies and Communities" for the 1957 National Conference on Social Welfare.

I am calling a committee meeting of those who will be available for Wednesday, June 27, at 3:30 p.m., in the Board Room of my office, 700 Lafayette Street, third floor. At this meeting I will hope to have suggestions from you as to ways and means for proceeding to get the program in order.

From the handbook which has been given to me, I note that in 1953 Section III had 9 meetings; in 1954, 8 meetings; in 1955, 10 meetings; and in 1956, 9 meetings.

The Program Committee will have its first meeting in New York on September 28 and 29. At that time section chairmen are asked to have material to present to the total committee for discussion. The material should cover the subjects of the meetings, the content and suggested speakers.

I am attaching a statement from the Program Committee Handbook describing the function of Section III. There are three basic sections:

Section I - Services to Individuals and Families
Section II - Services to Groups and Individuals in Groups
Section III - Services to Agencies and Communities

At the first meeting of the Program Committee in St. Louis we were asked to request you also to make any suggestions regarding the theme for the Conference for next year. Frequently the theme can be suggested after meetings and contents of meetings have been presented. For your information I am attaching the themes which have been used during the past five years.

May I have some of your comments or information so that I can present it at our Committee meeting on June 27 and then we will make appointments into sub-committees and proceed with the organization of our program.

I know I shall enjoy working with you and am sure we will be able to present a good program for the Conference in 1957.

LHN:CS
Enc.

Proposed Outline for the Classification of Subject Matter

(For discussional purposes only)

Introduction

It is assumed that social welfare agencies are established to provide a program of services or benefits to meet social problems presented by individuals, groups and communities. A service shall be considered any systematic arrangement of activities or duties which are performed, in accordance with agency policy. The manner in which these activities and duties are performed is influenced by the philosophy and objectives of persons with professional education and/or experience.

In the following outline, no attempt is made to include all aspects of the social welfare field and the inclusion of an item does not necessarily indicate its importance or frequency. The outline has been based on a cursory analysis of the Annual Forum programs and some review of current literature in the field.

A. Services

Section I - Services to Individuals and Families

It is assumed that these are direct services to individuals and families and may include the following:

1. Income Maintenance (financial and related assistance, e.g. public assistance; social insurance; general assistance; home-maker; emergency relief and rehabilitation)

2. Dependency and Protection (adoption and guardianship; day-care; foster-care; protective; reception and custodial care including shelter care; institutional care)

3. Corrections and Prevention (probation and parole; institutional care; reception and custodial care, including detention)

4. Adjustment and Rehabilitation (casework; clinical; diagnostic and classification; employment; guidance and counseling - family budgeting and home management, marriage, etc.; information and referral; legal aid; therapy; e.g. social, psychotherapy, occupation, etc.; vocational e.g. technical aid, training, etc.; education, e.g. family life education.

5. Health and Medical (maternal and child health, medical aid; nursing, sanitation; education)

Section II - Services to Groups and Individuals in Groups

It is assumed that these are direct services to groups and individuals in groups and may include the following:

1. Activity Skills (arts and crafts, physical, dramatic, explorative, informal play and unorganized activities, music and social recreation, etc.)
2. Camping
3. Educational
4. Facilities (custodial care but no leadership or organized activity)
5. Group Work
6. Informal Education
7. Therapy (group psychotherapy)
8. Group Dynamics

Section III - Services to Agencies and Communities

1. Budgeting
2. Community Planning (standard-setting, fact finding, self-help)
3. Consultation and Referral
4. Coordinating (including facilitating inter-group relationships)
5. Writing
6. Educational
7. Forum
8. Fund-Raising
9. Informational & Communication
10. Liaison (labor, corporations, etc.)
11. Personnel
12. Promotional
13. Professional Education

B. Some Methods and Techniques Used in Social Welfare

1. Community Organization for Social Welfare, including social inter-group work
2. Social Administration
3. Social Action
4. Social Casework, including psychiatric social work and medical social work
5. Social Group Work
6. Social Research
7. Guidance and Counseling
8. Institutional Case

C. Auspices of Services

1. Governmental
2. Voluntary - Non-Sectarian
3. " - Catholic
4. " - Jewish
5. " - Protestant
6. Private groups and associations (business, industry, labor, and fraternal)

D. Levels of Operation

All Sections and Committee programs should, where suitable, reflect the increased importance of international social welfare. This may take the form of introducing examples and illustrations from other countries (by speakers from those countries, if possible). In addition, attention should be given to the nature of international welfare programs and the role of American Social Work in these programs.

1. Neighborhood or district within a city
2. Community wide, city or metropolitan
3. County
4. District within a state, or subdivision of a state
5. State
6. Regional (several states)
7. National
8. Internation (including foreign countries)

E. Age Groups

1. Early childhood
2. Later childhood
3. Early adolescence
4. Youth
5. Adults
6. Older adults

F. Recipients of Services

1. Adoptive parents
2. Alcoholics
3. Aliens and foreign born
4. Chronically ill
5. Criminal offenders
6. Delinquents
7. Dependent persons
8. Displaced persons and refugees
9. Emotionally disturbed
10. Foster parents
11. General public (other than these included in this list)
12. House parents
13. Industrial workers
14. Mentally handicapped (includ. mentally retarded & mentally ill)
15. Migrants
16. Minority groups
17. Non-conformists
18. Physically handicapped (deaf, blind, crippled, epileptics, etc.)
19. Physically ill
20. Prostitutes
21. Seamen
22. Social workers
23. Unemployed
24. Unmarried parents
25. Veterans
26. Volunteers
27. Working Mothers

G. Special Settings

Social work as practiced in the following special settings shouldbe the concern of any or all of the Sections and Committees, depending on the particular problem involved

1. Armed Services
2. Business and Industry
3. Church
4. Colleges and Universities
5. Courts & law enforcement agencies
6. Disaster situations
7. Employment and placement
8. Foundations
9. Governmental agencies (other than social welfare)
10. Hospitals, mental health clinics, rehabilitation centers, etc.
11. Housing and City Planning
12. Institutions
13. Labor Unions
14. Museums and Libraries
15. National Defense programs
16. Public Schools
17. Public Recreation

H. Other Professions and Related Fields

All Sections and Common Service Committee programs should, where appropriate, contain material on the contributions of a relationship to other professions and related fields, such as:

1. Adult Education
2. Anthropology
3. Biology
4. Business Administration
5. Economics
6. Education, incl. fundamental education
7. Ethics
8. Family Life Education, incl. parent education
9. Geriatrics
10. Guidance and Counselling
11. Home Economics
12. History
13. Housing
14. Humanities
15. Law
16. Medicine
17. Mental Health
18. Nursing
19. Philosophy
20. Physical Education
21. Physical Planning
22. Political Science
23. Psychiatry
24. Psychology
25. Public Health
26. Religion
27. Social Hygiene
28. Social psychology
29. Sociology
30. Vocational Rehabilitation
31. Occupational Therapy

THEMES IN PAST YEARS

"FREEDOM, RESPONSIBILITY, OPPORTUNITY -- DEMOCRACY'S OBJECTIVES" (1950)

Men and women everywhere are concerned with the achievement of a society in which all people shall have basic economic and social security and opportunity for creative contribution and for the exercise of responsibility leading to personal development, dignity and self-respect.

Social work seeks to define its role as it joins with other community forces in helping to achieve these objectives of a democracy.

"BUILDING SOCIAL WELFARE FOR DEMOCRACY" (1951)

A constructive social welfare program should be based upon sound research and a knowledge of the facts. Such a program is a realistic test of democracy and at all times one of its greatest strengths. This calls for public understanding and participation in order to insure success.

"HELPING ACHIEVE DEMOCRACY'S PROMISE FOR ALL PEOPLE" (1952)

Never has Democracy's promise for the people of the world held a more urgent importance nor suffered such serious threat of denial. Nor do all of the dangers to Democracy originate abroad. Many stem from our recurrent failures to live up fully to the requirements of our democratic idea.

Social work cannot sidestep responsibility for dealing with this threat to the social ideals on which it is based. For we know these will be our goal even when the emergency has passed.

The 1952 Annual Forum will be proof that social work has indeed come of age. If we demonstrate our willingness to take responsibility for making clear to the American public the vital relationship between a sound state of welfare and the full development of a democracy.

"SOCIAL WELFARE -- EVERYONE'S CONCERN" (1953)

The Biblical account of the Good Samaritan is a disturbing, haunting story. It asks us to accept the doctrine that human welfare is an individible whole. It asks us to extend the conception of neighborhood until any human being in trouble becomes the object of our concern.

This is a hard rule to follow, especially in a time such as the present when the world is sharply divided into two irreconcilable ideological camps.

But if we find it difficult to act as though the whole world were a welfare unit, we should at least be capable of applying this rule of conduct to our own nation and our own people. In any case, this is the significant meaning of the 1953 theme of the National Conference of Social Work.

"SOCIAL WELFARE 1954 - INVENTORY AND OPPORTUNITY" (1954)

"SOCIAL WELFARE 1955 - PROGRESS, PROBLEMS, AND PROSPECTS" (1955)

"THE CHALLENGE OF CHANGE" (1956)

June 13, 1955

Dictated June 10

Mr. Eli Ginsberg
National Manpower Council
Graduate School of Business
Columbia University
New York 27, New York

Dear Eli:

Fancy place that Grove Park Inn and I very much wish I could go there. Unfortunately I am at Fayetteville, Arkansas from the 17th to the 23rd for a Southwestern A. F. of L. Labor School, so I am sunk.

I make you a nomination, but I don't push it because it is your business. The Executive Secretary of the Atlanta Urban League for the last eight or ten years has been Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton. She has been an Assistant Director of the Southern Regional Council for the last year, and about July 1st returns to her old post with the Atlanta Urban League. Negro woman, fifty or so I suppose, though she appears much younger, long associated through her father with Atlanta University. Has worked for the YWCA at one stage, and was a number of years in Memphis as well as this spell in Atlanta. Trained at Atlanta University. Wide experience in social work. Reasons well, expresses herself well, a lady in all matters. Constructive in her planning. I doubt if you would find a better informed or more thoughtful representative of her particular field in the South. She is for the moment in New York where she could be reached at LOrraine 8-2220. In a couple of weeks time address her c/o the Atlanta Urban League, 239 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

I greatly wish I could go, but I can't. Try me for the next one.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

JUN 10 1955

NATIONAL MANPOWER COUNCIL

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF BUSINESS

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK 27, N.Y.

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ROLAND R. RENNE
SARA E. SOUTHALL
CHARLES P. TAFT

June 7, 1955

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Education Board
830 West Peachtree Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

The National Manpower Council, which you helped out once before, is holding another conference in the South, this one in Asheville, North Carolina, on July 19-20. (Fayetteville, Ark. 17-23) eob

The current subject is womanpower, primarily with respect to employment but including all facets of the problem. Obviously, it is important that we have at the conference someone like yourself, who has a broad view of the South and who has some knowledge, not only of the white problem but also of the Negro problem.

The Chairman of the conference is Mr. Charles Wade, a Director of the Reynolds Tobacco Company and their expert on personnel. We anticipate that there will be approximately twenty-five individuals present. We will run from cocktails on the 19th through the afternoon of the 20th. If you can make it, we have reservations for you at the Grove Park Inn, which is where the meeting will be held. We will, of course, be able to cover all of your expenses.

Please drop me a note to tell me whether you can be present. Later on we will be sending you some background materials.

With warm regards,

Sincerely yours,

Eli Ginzberg

File

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June 23, 1955

Miss Anna Holden
Information Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Holden:

Some time ago, you requested copies of some of the papers prepared in connection with the meeting of the NCRAC Special Committee on Reassessment regarding "The Uses of Law for the Advancement of Community Relations." The entire report of this meeting is now ready for distribution.

Under separate cover, I am sending you the 10 copies which you requested.

Sincerely yours,

Walter A. Lurie

Walter A. Lurie
Program Analyst

WAL:ELL

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

MEMBERS: ALBERT E. ARENT, Jewish Community Council of Greater Washington, D. C.; LOUIS J. COHEN, Jewish Community Council of Essex County, N. J.; MAURICE N. EISENDRATH, Union of American Hebrew Congregations; SAM ELSON, Jewish Community Relations Council of St. Louis; MAX J. ETRA, Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America; ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN, American Jewish Congress; ADOLPH HELD, Jewish Labor Committee; JOSEPH F. BARR, Jewish War Veterans of the U. S.; CHARLES POSNER, Cincinnati Jewish Community Council; CHARLES ROSENGARTEN, United Synagogue of America; MARTIN D. SCHWARTZ, Indiana Jewish Community Relations Council; ALBERT C. WOLLENBERG, San Francisco Jewish Community Relations Council. Ex officio: MYRON SCHWARTZ, CRC President.

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July 7, 1955

Southeastern Region NFCCS
Post Office Box 694
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Sirs:

I noticed from the June issue that this starts your eighth year.

The warmest praise I can give for the courage and devotion and information and good things that go into the leaflet.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . . EAB . . . . . .

July 13, 1956

Dr. Mitchell:

Do not have a copy of the memo dtd July 6th in the files. Maybe you have it on your desk?

September 17 —
or 21st checked

P. O. Box 276
New Orleans 9, Louisiana
July 11, 1956

To: Members of Committee of Section III
Program Committee of National Conference

From: Lillie H. Nairne, Chairman

Please refer to my memorandum of July 6.

I have had requests from some committee members to set the date for the September meeting to discuss our findings and for final approval for what I am to present to the Executive Committee.

I am offering three possible dates--September 17, September 19, or September 21. Will you check this on the enclosed post card and advise me which date would be the most convenient and at what time. The consensus of opinion has been that the afternoons are much more convenient than the mornings.

May I have an immediate reply?

LHN:CS

RECEIVED JUL 13 1956

July 22, 1957

Mrs. Glenna F. Nail
802 Elma Street
Ontario, California

Dear Mrs. Nail:

Thank you for your recent letter and the clipping from the Los Angeles Times which you were kind enough to send.

I'm afraid the pressures of the job would prevent any thought of collaboration, but I should be happy to read your manuscript. In all fairness, I should warn you that it might take a while for me to read and return it. I would not want to tie up your only copy or delay your finding a publisher. Otherwise, I'd be glad to give you my reactions for what they are worth.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Dear Mrs. Nail:

Thank you for your recent letter and the clipping from the Los Angeles Times which you were kind enough to send.

I'm afraid the pressures of the job would prevent any thought of collaboration, but I should be happy to read your manuscript. In all fairness I should warn you that it might take a while for me to read and

return it. I would
not want to tie
up your only copy
or delay your
finding a publisher.
Otherwise, I'd
be glad to give
you my reactions
for what they are
worth.

Cordially,

HCT

Article passed on to JC

Ontario,
Calif.
June 24-1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Atlanta, Ga.,

Dear Sir -

Find enclosed a clipping from Los Angeles Times, dated June 23-1957. Thought you might be interested.

I am pleased to read of one who who says, and does something about his convictions. From the meager information in this article, I'm sure I feel the same about the segregation problem. I have "an axe to grind," so to speak, by writing to you. I try to write, and have a rough resume of a book, titled "Skin Deep", that touches on the color

barrier." (I term it) I believe the outline to be worthy of consideration, for a book. Would you be so kind to read it, if I send it to you, postage paid both ways? Please realize it was written as an outline only, it is crude, and is roughly 13,000 words at present. Intend to make it into 60, or 70,000.

Your opinion would be invaluable to me. If you should be interested, would like collaboration.

Sincerely,

(not colored!) Mrs. Glenna F. Nail
802 Elma St.
Ontario, Calif.
Telephone - Yukon-62-1296

February 19, 1958

Miss Ann Fagan Ginger
DOCKET Editor
National Lawyers Guild
154 Nassau Street
New York 38, New York

Dear Miss Ginger:

I am sorry that my brief trip to New York afforded me no opportunity to call you. However, I have read your letter and enclosures carefully.

While I am sure the Civil Liberties Docket is of great value to lawyers and others concerned with litigation, the Council's operations are hardly specialized enough in the legal field to warrant our subscribing.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Rcd 2/7/58

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154 Nassau Street
New York 38, N. Y.
BArclay 7-0385

February 5, 1958

Harold C. Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am writing to you at the suggestion of Wilton Dillon of the Phelps-Stokes Fund in connection with your Operation Law and Order.

The National Committee on Constitutional Rights and Liberties of the National Lawyers Guild is chaired by Osmond K. Fraenkel and it publishes, four times each year, the CIVIL LIBERTIES DOCKET. The DOCKET contains descriptions of every pending case in the fields of civil rights and civil liberties now pending in state and federal courts throughout the United States. After the original description of the case appears, together with the names and addresses of counsel and amicus curiae, each issue thereafter describes changes in the status of the case. The DOCKET also lists all law review articles and case notes on the cases described, plus books and other general materials published in this field.

As you can see from the enclosed Table of Contents, the DOCKET includes all types of cases arising under the Equal Protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The last issue contained reports of 56 cases involving the school desegregation issue, 7 cases re desegregation in housing facilities, 5 transportation cases, 12 cases re use of recreational facilities by persons of all races, and 11 cases re racial discrimination in employment.

The DOCKET is unique in two respects: it is the only reporter service in the field of civil rights and civil liberties, and it is the only legal reporter service on any subject which describes cases from the moment they are filed, rather than reporting only decisions as they are handed down (as the Race Relations Law Reporter does, for example.)

If you would be interested in discussing the DOCKET and its possible relation to your work on your trip to New York next week, I would be very happy to meet with you. I am in the office Mondays, Wednesdays and Thursdays, or can be reached at home on the other days: PR 2-2770.

Among our DOCKET subscribers are a number of Southern Negro and White attorneys involved in civil rights work, and, of course, many law school libraries, and 1 state Attorney General. In addition, we keep in touch with other lawyers and clerks of courts to find out the present status of the cases reported.

Hoping to hear from you, I am

Very truly yours,

Ann Fagan Ginger

Ann Fagan Ginger
DOCKET Editor

afg/j
encl.

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD
40 Exchange Place
New York 5, N. Y.

CIVIL LIBERTIES DOCKET

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CIVIL LIBERTIES DOCKET

Vol. III, No. 1

HIGHLIGHTS OF THIS ISSUE

October, 1957

Conspiracy to Advocate

Since the passage of the Smith Act in 1940, 17 groups of defendants have been brought to trial for conspiracy to advocate the overthrow of the U. S. Government by force and violence. The first group, members of the Socialist Workers Party in the middle west, were convicted (*Dunn, et al.* v. *U. S.*, 138 F. 2d 137) and the Supreme Court denied certiorari (320 U. S. 790, 1943).

The remaining 16 cases involve groups of leaders and members of the Communist Party, with a total of 138 persons indicted since 1948. Of the 14 cases already tried, only 2 have been heard on appeal by the Supreme Court. *Dennis* v. *U. S.* (341 U. S. 494) was heard in 1951. The Court denied certiorari in the next two Smith Act cases coming before it: *Flynn* v. *U. S.* (216 F. 2d 354 (CA 2 1954)) and *Frankfeld* v. *U. S.* (198 F. 2d 679 (CA 4 1952)). In June, 1957, the Court handed down its decision in *Yates*, 304 U. S. 98.

The status of Smith Act cases since the Court's decision in *Yates* is summarized below:

Acquittals:		
Defs. acquitted prior to *Yates* decision	11	
Defs. acquitted in *Yates* and as result of *Yates*	11	
Indictments dismissed by Gov't after *Yates* and *Jencks* decisions	6	
Gov't has confessed insufficient evidence to support convictions since *Yates*	2	
		30
New Trials:		
Defs. granted new trials by Cts. in *Yates* and since *Yates*	16	
Gov't has confessed entitled to new trials since *Jencks*	24	
		40
Pending:		
In Courts of Appeals (not counted above)	18	
Not yet brought to trial	16	
		34
No. of Defendants who served sentences:		
After review by U. S. S. C.	11	
Review denied by U. S. S. C.	17	
		28

5 Defs. severed prior to trial.
3 died during proceedings, not included above.
Total defendants in table: 138

Of the defendants acquitted, all were acquitted on due process grounds: insufficiency of evidence, improper instructions by Court on "advocacy", impropriety of "organizing" charge, etc. No defendants have been acquitted on the basis of denial of their First Amendment rights to freedom of speech, press, assembly, political belief. But see dissent by Black, J., in *Dennis*, and his concurrence in *Yates*.

See cases at 241.1-.13, pp. 5-6.

Membership in the Communist Party

Since 1954 eight persons have been indicted solely under the membership clause in the Smith Act. Four of the cases have not yet been tried, the trial courts having continued the cases expecting a decision on the constitutionality and interpretation of the statute by the Supreme Court in the *Lightfoot* and *Scales* cases, 242.1 and .2. The Court has just reversed these two convictions and remanded for new trials, under the *Jencks* decision, 291.1. Two cases are pending before Courts of Appeals in the Second and Third Circuits.

Unreliability of Government Witnesses

In several recent proceedings, the Government has confessed the unreliability of its own witnesses, or courts and administrative agencies have held such witnesses to be not worthy of belief. The testimony of Isaac Alexander Wright was stricken from the record in *Brownell* v. *American Peace Crusade*, 211.7, before the Subversive Activities Control Bd. The testimony of Mazzei was found unreliable in *Mesarosh*, 241.2 and *Sheiner*, 265.3. (The Government dropped the *Mesarosh* case when remanded for new trial. Key witnesses had been Mazzei and Cvetic.) The Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit just upheld the dismissal of deportation proceedings in *Yiannopoulos*, 355.6, because based on unreliable testimony of Nowells and Syrakis. And the Board of Immigration Appeals itself just reversed a finding of deportability in *Navarrete-Sanchez*, 355.7, because three Gov't witnesses were unreliable.

Reversals of Government Positions

The Government has confessed error in three Fifth Amendment cases involving witnesses before Congressional Committees who declined to answer questions concerning their addresses. (See *McKenzie, Wollam, Simpson*, 331,4, .5, .6.)

The Attorney General recently removed the *Association of Lithuanian Workers* and *Lithuanian Literary Association* (221.3) from his list of subversive organizations. No reason was given. At the same time the Attorney General notified the Supreme Court that the cases brought by these organizations had become moot. (These organizations had taken defaults rather than answer the many interrogatories propounded by Brownell.)

Miscellaneous Cases

The trial court ordered a verdict of acquittal in the *McDaniel* case (292.1) involving an employee charged with answering falsely a security questionnaire for a contractor for the A.E.C.

In the first test of the power of a Congressional Committee to compel witnesses to answer, despite a claim of the privilege against self-incrimination, under the Immunity Act of 1954, the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia reversed and directed that the Government's application for immunity be dismissed (*Glasser*, 334.2).

TABLE OF NEW CASES

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U. S., Lebron, et al. v., 243.1
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Yiannapoulos v. Robinson, Dist. Dir., 355.6

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CIVIL LIBERTIES DOCKET

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ABOUT THE CIVIL LIBERTIES DOCKET

The DOCKET is published 4 times each year, October to June, by the National Committee on Constitutional Rights and Liberties, Osmond K. Fraenkel, chairman, Ann Fagan Ginger, editor.

Concluded cases described in Vol. II will not be mentioned in this or future issues except to give citations of decisions and law review notes. Pending cases in which there has been no change in status since the last description in Vol. II are listed below and marked with an *. Pending cases in which changes have occurred since the last issue will show the page references of the previous descriptions in Vol. II.

I. FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND ASSOCIATION (FIRST AMENDMENT RIGHTS) (10-299)

SPEECH AND PRESS (10-99)

See also Association (200-299)

Book:

Milton R. Konvitz, Fundamental Liberties of a Free People: Religion, Speech, Press, Assembly. Cornell University Press, 433 pp. $5.00.

10. *Licensing*

11. Meetings

11.1 *In re Ellis* v. *Allen, et al.* (N. Y. Ct. of App.) (281 App. Div. 987, 306 N. Y. 981, 349 U. S. 458, 165 N. Y. S. 2d 624.) (See I DOCKET 2, #40.1.) Yonkers Comm. for Peace made several applications for use of school facilities from Def. members of Yonkers Bd. of Educ. under Education Law Sec. 414. Applications repeatedly denied, no reasons given. After U.S.S.C. *dismissed* petition for cert. in 1955, Pl. reapplied for permit, Bd. again refused. Commr. of Educ. *affirmed* denial. Albany Co. Sup. Ct. *affirmed* Commr. in Art. 78 proceeding. App. Div. *reversed, holding* for Pl. Nov. 1957: to be argued in Ct. of App.

Emanuel Redfield, Esq., for N. Y. C. Civil Liberties Union, 60 Wall St., NYC.

12. Motion Pictures

12.1 *Times Film Corp.* v. *Chicago.* (U.S.S.C.) (244 F. 2d 432.) For facts, see II DOCKET 65. Petition for certiorari pending.

Abner Mikva, Esq., 231 S. LaSalle St., Chicago, Ill.; Felix J. Bilgrey, Esq., 144 W. 57th, NYC.

12.2 *Kingsley Intl. Pictures Corp.* v. *N. Y. Bd. of Regents.* (N. Y. App. Div., 3d Dept.) *

12.3 *In re Application of Excelsior Pictures Corp.* v. *Regents of University of New York State.* (N. Y. Ct. of App.) *

12.6 *A.C.L.U.* v. *Chicago.* (Ill. S. Ct.) Pl. petitioned Cir. Ct. to enjoin City from interfering with public exhibition of movie, "The Miracle", alleging City had refused permit. Ct. *held* Chicago censorship ordinance unconstitutional, no permit necessary. Ill. S. Ct. *held* ordinance constitutional, defined "obscenity" narrowly, put burden of proof on censors, and *remanded* for determination whether film is in fact "obscene". U.S.S.C. *declined to hear* A.C.L.U appeal "for want of final judgment". Cir. Ct. *held* movie obscene. Ill. App. Ct. *reversed,* held movie could be shown but Pl. must pay license fee and apply for permit. A.C.L.U. appeal to Ill. S. Ct. on constitutionality of ordinance pending.

Richard Orlikoff, Esq., 134 N. LaSalle, Bernard Weisberg, Esq., 231 S. LaSalle, Don Moore, Esq., Counsel, Ill. Div., A.C.L.U., F. Raymond Marks, Jr., and Al Polikoff, Esqs., 19 S. LaSalle Street, all of Chicago.

13. Peddlers

14. Miscellaneous

14.1 *Sunshine Book Co., et al.* v. *McCaffrey, NYC Comm'r of Licenses, et ano.* (N. Y. Sup. Ct., App. Div., 1st Dept.) For facts, see II DOCKET 31-2. Oct. 15: heard and submitted.

14.3 *Sunshine Book Co.* v. *Summerfield.* (CA DC, #12, 6222.) (128 F. Supp. 564.) Issue: whether, under 18 USC 1461, an obscenity statute with criminal sanctions, the Postmaster General can withhold publications from distribution through the mails pending a determination of their alleged obscenity. DC DC held *for* Def. May 31, 1956: CA DC (2-1) *reversed,* held *for* Pl. Sept. 1956: rehearing en banc. Oct. 3, 1957: CA DC (5-3) *reversed, upheld Def's.* power and held publication obscene. Petition for certiorari to be filed.

O. John Rogge, Esq., 401 Broadway, NYC.

20. *Administration Restrictions*

21. Customs

21.1 *U. S.* v. *31 Photographs, et al.* (SD NY, #AD 189 50.) *

22. Post Office

23. Miscellaneous

23.1 *Daily Worker* v. *Moysey.* (CA 2.) *

23.5 *Random House and Bantam Books* v. *Detroit Police Commr. Piggins.* (Mich. S. Ct.) *

23.6 *Sapriel, et ano.* v. *Beverly Hills, et al.* (Calif. Super. Ct., Los Angeles Co., #671322.) *

23.7 *Adams, et ano.* v. *Hinkle.* (Wash. Sup. Ct.) Suit testing constitutionality of state Comic Book Statute. Issues: 1) is statute invalid under state constitution because it requires prior licensing of dealers and distributors; 2) is it invalid under state and federal constitutions because, in effect, it denies adults as well as juveniles access to publications; 3) is it invalid as criminal statute because of vagueness? Pending.

Martin D. Detels, Jr., Esq., for Washington Civil Liberties Union, as amicus, Seattle, Washington.

30. *Economic Restrictions*

Law review article:

Bernard M. Mamet, Federal preemption, free speech and right to work statutes, 52 Northwestern University Law Rev. 143-173 (May-June, 1957).

30.1 *Independent Productions Corp. and I.P.C. Distributors, Inc.* v. *Loew's Inc., et al.* (SD NY. Civ. #110-304.) For facts, see II Docket 2. Nov. 7: motions to be argued.

40. *Contempt*

41. Federal Courts

42. State Courts

42.1 *In matter of Nies.* (Sup. Ct. Colo., #18034.)*

43. Other agencies

50. *Criminal Sanctions*

51. Disorderly conduct

51.1 *Chicago* v. *Members, Comm. for Racial Equality.* (Ill. App. Ct.) 1956: Members of Def.-Comm. entered cafe with expectation that service would be denied them because 2 of group were Negroes, planning to sit and then try to persuade management to serve them. Arrested for disorderly conduct; convicted in Municipal Ct. Apr. 29, 1957: App. Ct. *reversed, holding*: "the Defs., so long as they conducted themselves in an orderly manner, had a right superior to the rights of owners and employees of the . . . restaurant business to wait for service, so long as the place was open . . ."

Howard T. Savage, Esq., 3458 S. State, Chicago.

Permission for Ill. Div., A.C.L.U., to file brief amicus denied.

52. Obscenity (see also 12)

Law review note:

"Obscenty" and the Constitution, XVII Lawyers Guild Rev. 91 (Fall 1957).

52.2 *Alberts* v. *California.* (U.S.S.C.) For facts, see II Docket 2, 66. Cite: 354 U. S. 476.

52.3 *Roth* v. *U. S.* (U.S.S.C.) For facts, see II Docket 50, 66. Cite: 354 U. S. 476.

52.5 *Kingsley Books, Inc., et al.* v. *Brown.* (U.S.S.C.) For facts, see II Docket 66. Cite: 354 U. S. 436.

52.6 *Adams Newark Theatre Co.* v. *Newark.* (U.S.S.C.) For facts, see II Docket 66. Cite: 354 U. S. 931.

52.7 *San Francisco* v. *Ferlinghetti, et ano.* (San Francisco Muni. Ct.) Def.-publisher and bookstore owner arrested under Calif. obscenity law for selling Ginsberg's "Howl and other Poems." In trial without jury, charges dropped against one Def. for lack of proof of intent to sell obscene publications. Ct. *acquitted* other Def., following U.S.S.C. decisions (52.2, .3, .5); since book has "redeeming social importance", making serious comment on our society, it is entitled to First Amdt. protection tho it contains four-letter words. Ct. accepted testimony of literary experts re merits of book.

J. E. Ehrlich, Esq., 333 Montgomery, Lawrence Speiser, Esq., 622 DeYoung Bldg., 690 Market St., Albert Bendich, Esq., for A.C.L.U. of N. Calif., 503 Market St., all of San Francisco.

52.8 *People of New York* v. *Shapiro, et al.* (App. Div., Second Dep't.) Defs.-distributors *convicted* under N. Y. Sec. 1141 for distributing magazine "Adam". During trial, Ct. refused to permit expert witness to testify re effect of material in magazine contrasted with effects of material in other types of media such as TV, movies, radio, etc. Appeal pending.

Martin J. Scheiman, Esq., 1740 Broadway, NYC.

54. Sedition (see also 241)

54.1 *U. S.* v. *Powell, et al.* (ND Calif., S. Div., #35065.) For facts, see II DOCKET 2, 32, 50, 66. Trial ct., on Def's. motion, made direct request to Chinese Ministry of Justice, Peiping for assistance in obtaining testimony from witnesses for Defs. Defs. renewed efforts to obtain passport validation for China travel for counsel, have asked Ct. to require Secy. of State Dulles to validate counsel's passport. Trial date: Dec. 2.

55. Picketing

55.1 *People of New York* v. *Carcel and Collazo.* (NY. Ct. of App.) For facts, see II DOCKET 2, 32. Jy. 3: Ct. (5-2) *reversed* conviction, discussed power of police to arrest citizen on the street or sidewalk, but did *not* rule on whether UN treaty can infringe on First Amdt. rights.

56. "Corrupt Practices"

56.1 *U. S.* v. *UAW-CIO.* (DC Mich.) *

Case note in
42 Iowa Law Rev. 609-617 (Summer 1957).

57. Miscellaneous

57.1 *People of New York ex rel. Hearn* v. *Muste, et al.* (Spec. Sess., App. Term, NY Co.) *

57.2 *People of New York* v. *Peck, et al.* (NYC Magis. Ct.) *

57.3 *People of New York* v. *Panagakos.* (NY Ct. of App.) For facts, see II DOCKET 3. Appeal not prosecuted.

57.4 *People of California* v. *Aykens and Wallace.* (App. Dept., Super. Ct., San Mateo.) For facts, see II DOCKET 3. Ct. *affirmed* convictions under vagrancy statute.

57.5 *U. S.* v. *Roumanian-American Pub. Co.* (DC DC.) *

60. *Civil Sanctions*

61. Defamation

62. Injunctions in labor disputes

63. Other injunctions

FREEDOM OF RELIGION (100-199)

110. *Separation of Church and State*

110.1 *In re Application of Lewis and Klein* v. *N. Y. State Commr. of Education.* (Spec. Sess., App. Term, Albany Co.) *

110.4 *Squires, et al.* v. *City of Augusta, et al.* (Super. Ct. Me., Kennebec Co., #2685.)*

120. *Pacifists and Conscientious Objectors*

120.2 *Hanauer, et ano.* v. *Elkins, Pres., U. of Md.* (Md. Ct. of App.) For facts, see II DOCKET 66. After unfavorable decision in Cir. Ct., appeal to Md. Ct. of App. noted.

120.3 *U. S.* v. *Surls.* (U. S. Navy Special Court Martial, Honolulu.) Sept. 13: Def.-Seventh Day Adventist *convicted* of willful disobedience for refusal to stand watch on Saturdays, after Def. pleaded his constitutional right to freedom of religion. Sentence: 3 mths. at hard labor, $150 fine. To be appealed.

120.4 *U. S.* v. *Horst.* (ED Mich., #36,149.) Def. indicted for refusing to submit to induction into U. S. Armed Forces (50 U.S.C. 462(a) App.) Issues: 1) Can the Selective Service law be construed to deny Conscientious Objector classification to a sincere believer in non-violence because his beliefs do not arise out of religious training and he is not a church member; 2) are the concepts "religious training and belief" and "Supreme Being" too vague for due process requirement in criminal statute. Jury trial Oct. 3. Ernest Goodman, Esq., 3220 Cadillac Tower, Detroit.

130. *Denial of Tax Exemptions*

130.1 *People's Church of San Fernando Valley Inc.* v. *County of Los Angeles.* (U.S.S.C., #385.) (311 P. 2d 540.) For facts, see II DOCKET 3, 67. Oct. 21: cert. *granted.*

130.2 *First Methodist Church of San Leandro* v. *Horstmann, et al.* (U.S.S.C.) (311 P. 2d 540.) For facts, see II DOCKET 3, 67. Companion case to 130.1.

130.3 *First Unitarian Church of Berkeley* v. *Horstmann, et al.* (U.S.S.C., #382.) (311 P. 2d 540.) For facts, see II DOCKET 3, 67. Oct. 21: cert. *granted.*

130.4 *American Unitarian Assn., et al.* v. *County of Santa Clara, et al.* (Santa Clara Co. Super. Ct., Calif.) *

130.5 *Fellowship of Humanity* v. *Co. of Alameda and City of Oakland.* (Dist. Ct. of App., Alameda Co.) For facts, see II DOCKET 3. Sept. 11: Ct. *affirmed* Trial Ct. decision *for* Pl., *holding* the First Amdt. precludes classification of religions based on consideration of validity or content. Ct. said only valid tests in determining tax exemption are objective: does belief occupy same place in lives of its holders that orthodox beliefs occupy in lives of believing majorities; does group conduct itself as other concededly religious groups do. Ct. *held* tax exemption for non-religious, public welfare functions of theistic groups requires similar exemption for non-religious, public welfare functions of non-theistic groups.

130.6 *Washington Ethical Society* v. *District of Columbia* (CA DC, #13646.) *

140. *Miscellaneous Restrictions*

140.2 *People of New York* v. *Dean.* (N. Y. Ct. of App.) Def. arrested for painting mother-in-law's house on Sunday in violation of Sabbath laws. App. Div., 2d Dept. *reversed* conviction (3-2). State's appeal argued in NY Ct. of App. Oct. 23, decision awaited.
Emanuel Redfield, Esq., for N. Y. Civil Liberties Union, 60 Wall St., NYC.

ASSOCIATION: As affecting the organization itself (200-239)

Booklet:

Assault upon Freedom of Association—A study of the Southern Attack on the N.A.A.C.P., by Am. Jewish Congress, 15 E. 84th, NYC.

Law review article:

Loyalty and National Security: Commission on Government Security reports, 43 A.B.A.J. 609 (July, 1957)

200. *Privileges*

201. Meetings

202. Tax exemption

202.1 *Communist Party* v. *Moysey.* (U. S. Tax Ct.) *

Case note in

3 Howard Law J. 143-150 (Jan., 1957)

202.2 *Green* v. *Javits, et al.* (NY App. Div., 1st Dept.)

and

202.2a *New York ex rel. Lefkowitz* v. *Green, et al.* (NY App. Div., 1st Dept.) For facts, see II DOCKET 4, 67. Oct. 8: consolidated appeal heard and submitted.

203. N.L.R.B. Certification

Law review note:

Power of the N.L.R.B. to Decomply Unions because of False Non-Communist Affidavits, XVII Lawyers Guild Rev. 90 (Fall 1957).

203.3 *U. S.* v. *Pezzati, et al.* (DC Colo.) For facts, see II DOCKET 33, 51. Pre-trial motions reargued Oct. 30.

204. Continued existence

204.1 *N.A.A.C.P.* v. *Alabama ex rel. Atty. Genl. Patterson* (U.S.S.C., #846.) *

Oct. 28: U.S.S.C. *denied* motion for leave to file amicus brief by American Jewish Congress, American Baptist Convention, Comm. on Christian Social Progress, Am. Civil Liberties Union, Am. Friends Service Comm., Am. Jewish Comm., Am. Veterans Comm., Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Bd. of Home Missions of Congregational and Christian Churches, Council for Christian Social Action of United Church of Christ, Japanese American Citizens League, Jewish Labor Comm., Natl. Community Relations Advisory Council, United Synagogue of America, Workers Defense League.

204.2 *Texas* v. *N.A.A.C.P., a Corp., and N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense & Educational Fund, Inc.* (6th Sup. Jud. Dist. Tex.) For facts, see II DOCKET 4, 34, 51, 67. Appeal by Defs. not prosecuted, leaving standing trial ct's. injunction in the form of declaratory judgment that Defs-organizations are subject to state statutes requiring franchise tax and prohibiting barratry.

204.3 *Williams, Ga. Revenue Commr.* v. *N.A.A.C.P., et al.* (Ga. Ct. of App.) For facts, see II DOCKET 34, 51. Defs.' mandamus action to require trial ct. to certify bill of exceptions pending.

204.4 *N.A.A.C.P., Va. Conference of N.A.A.C.P. and N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense & Educ. Fund, Inc.* v. *Va. Atty. Genl. Almond, et al.* (ED Va., #2435, 2436.) For facts, see II DOCKET 34, 52. Defs. filed 100 interrogatories on each Pl. Pls. answered some interrogatories, filed objections to remainder. June: hearings by DC on objections; DC *sustained* objections to all but two interrogatories, which Pls. then answered. Sept. 16, 17, 18: trial on merits. Decision awaited.

And see 272.4, .5, .6.

And see *Ark.* and *Little Rock* v. *N.A.A.C.P.*, 523 Ark. 4, 5.

210. *Compulsory Registration*

211. 1950 Internal Security Act

211.1 *Communist Party of U. S.* v. *Subversive Activities Control Bd.* (CA DC.) *

211.3 *Brownell* v. *Labor Youth League.* (CA DC.) *

211.4 *Natl. Council of American-Soviet Friendship* v. *S.A.C.B.* (CA DC.) *

211.5 *Brownell* v. *Civil Rights Congress.* (SACB #106-53.) *

211.6 *Brownell* v. *Washington Pension Union.* (SACB #114-55.) For facts, see II DOCKET 5, 34. Def's motion to re-open on basis of *Jencks* decision (II DOCKET 74, #291.1) pending. Bd's. decision on exceptions to Examiner's recommendation pending.

211.7 *Brownell* v. *American Peace Crusade.* (SACB #117-56.) For facts, see II DOCKET 5, 34. Sept. 13: SACB *struck* testimony of Gov't. witness Isaac Alexander Wright and vacated previous registration order pending consideration of effect of striking this testimony.

211.8 *Brownell* v. *California Labor School in San Francisco.* (CA DC.) For facts, see II DOCKET 5, 52, 67. Petition for review of registration order pending in CA DC.

211.9 *Brownell* v. *Am. Comm. for Protection of Foreign Born.* (SACB.) For facts, see II DOCKET 5. (Case started in 1953.) Hearing Examiner's recommendation for registration order pending before SACB with Def's. exceptions thereto.

211.10 *Brownell* v. *California Emergency Defense Committee.* (SACB.) For facts, see II DOCKET 67. Hearing Examiner's recommendation for registration order pending before SACB with Def's. exceptions thereto.

211.11 *Brownell* v. *Connecticut Volunteers for Civil Rights.* (SACB.) Motion to dismiss Pl's. petition for registration order because Def.-organization defunct *denied.* Hearings held on motion by Def's. last executive secretary to intervene to present evidence re defunct status. Pending.

Catherine G. Roraback, Esq., 185 Church St., New Haven, Conn.

211.12 *Brownell* v. *Save Our Sons Committee.* Motion to dismiss Pl's. petition for registration order because Def.-organization defunct denied. On filing of additional memo by counsel for Def. objecting to mootness of proceeding, motion to dismiss *granted.*

Pearl M. Hart, Esq., 30 N. LaSalle, Chicago.

212. 1954 Communist Control Act

212.1 *Brownell* v. *Intl. Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers.* (S.A.C.B.) For facts, see II DOCKET 5, 67. Hearing in recess pending ruling on applicability of *Jencks* decision (II DOCKET 74, #291.1) re FBI reports to administrative proceedings.

212.2 *Brownell* v. *United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers.* (S.A.C.B.) *

213. State Laws

213.1 *La. ex rel. LeBlanc, Atty. Genl.* v. *Lewis, et al. and N.A.A.C.P.* (La. Ct. of App.) *

213.2 *Lewis, et al. & N.A.A.C.P.* v. *LeBlanc, Atty. Genl.* (DC La.) *

220. *Listing*

221. By the Attorney General of the United States

221.1 *National Lawyers Guild* v. *Brownell.* (Dept. of Justice.) For facts, see II DOCKET 5, 34, 52, 68. Aug. 23: Hearing officer Coddaire *sustained* Guild's objections to all or parts of 19 of the 64 interrogatories originally propounded by the Atty. Genl., including questions re political affiliations of members. Grounds for decision: no proper foundation laid; questions vague and indefinite; organization couldn't be charged with information re members' affiliations. Decision submitted to Atty. Gen'l. for his action.

221.3 *Assn. of Lithuanian Workers* v. *Brownell.* (U.S.S.C.) For facts, see II DOCKET 68. Oct. 11: Atty. Genl. Brownell notified Pl.-Assn. that he had *removed* its name from his list, and filed memo to this effect in U.S.S.C., indicating that the case is therefore moot. Oct. 28: U.S.S.C. *granted* petition for certiorari; *remanded* to DC to dismiss for mootness.

221.4 *Brownell* v. *Independent Socialist League.* (Dept. of Justice.) *

221.5 *Brownell* v. *Californians for the Bill of Rights.* (Dept. of Justice.) *

221.6 *Brownell* v. *Natl. Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions.* (Dept. of Justice.) *

222. By Congressional Committees

Case note on:

Methodist Federation for Social Action v. *Eastland,* 141 F. Supp. 729 (DC 1956), I DOCKET 4, #162.1.

43 Cornell L. Q. 103-110 (Fall 1957).

223. By State authorities

223.1 *Luscomb* v. *Bowker, et al.* (Suffolk Co. Super. Ct.) For facts, see II DOCKET 6. Sept. 24-25: argued on demurrers, including attacks on legislative Resolve permitting publication of names of persons as "subversive" as attainder, violating separation of powers and due process, and federal preemption of field. Also attacked because copied from Resolve of House UnAmerican Activities Comm. criticized in U.S.S.C. decision in *Watkins* (II DOCKET 72, #271.14). Pending.

223.2 *Tormey* v. *Bowker, et al.* (Suffolk Co. Ct.) *

ASSOCIATION: As affecting members (240-299)

240. *Criminal Penalties for Membership*

241. Smith Act: conspiracy

Law review note:

The Smith Act Reconsidered, XVII Lawyers Guild Rev. 85 (Fall 1957)

241.1 *Yates, et al.* v. *U. S.* (354 U. S. 98.) (DC Calif.)*

241.2 *Mesarosh, et al.* v. *U. S.* (DC Pa.) For facts, see II DOCKET 6, 35. Sept. 13: Gov't. asked Ct's. permission to *dismiss indictments* because of recent U.S.S.C. decisions (presumably *Yates,* 241.1, and *Jencks,* 291.1.) Permission *granted.*

Donner, Kinoy and Perlin, Esqs., 342 Madison Ave., and Hon. Hubert T. Delany, 52 Broadway, all of NYC on brief in U.S.S.C. 1956.

241.3 *Wellman, et al.* v. *U. S.* (CA 6.) (354 U. S. 951.) For facts, see II DOCKET 6, 68. Oct. 16: after remand from U.S.S.C., heard and submitted to CA 6.

241.4 *Fujimoto, et al.* v. *U. S.* (CA 9.) For facts, see II DOCKET 6, 68. Jy. 23: upon inquiry by Ct., Gov't. acknowledged error requiring reversal based on *Yates* decision, 241.1. Sept. 2: app'ts. filed brief arguing *Yates* decision requires orders of acquittal; Gov't's brief argues for new trial. Pending.

241.5 *Huff, et al.* v. *U. S.* (CA 9, #14320.) For facts, see II DOCKET 6, 68. Jy. 23: upon inquiry by Ct., Gov't. acknowledged error requiring reversal based on *Yates* decision, 241.1. Sept. 2: app'ts. filed brief arguing *Yates* decision requires orders of acquittal; Gov't's brief argues for new trial. Pending.

241.6 *Sentner, et al.* v. *U. S.* (CA 8.) For facts, see II DOCKET 6, 68. Gov't. conceded that U.S.S.C. holding in *Yates* (241.1) that "organizing" charge was barred by statute of limitations required reversal and remand for new trial. App'ts. motion for acquittal heard and submitted Sept. 10.

241.7 *Kuzma, et al.* v. *U. S.* (CA 3.) For facts, see II DOCKET 6. In argument before CA 3, Gov't. *conceded* evidence against 2 Defs. insufficient, and that all Defs. entitled to new trial under U.S.S.C. decision in *Jencks* (291.1).

241.8 *Bary, et al.* v. *U. S.* (CA 10.) For facts, see II DOCKET 6, Aug. 23: after argument, convictions *reversed* and remanded for new trial because trial ct's. instructions re "organizing" charge contained error, under U.S.S.C. decision in *Yates* (241.1).

241.9 *Brandt, et al.* v. *U. S.* (CA 6.)*

241.10 *Silverman, et al.* v. *U. S.* (CA 2.) For facts, see II DOCKET 7. Sept. 11: convictions of 5 Defs. *reversed* (2-1) because Gov't's. "circumstantial proof" of advocacy "too full of gaps", no examples of "incitement". "We would mock both fair trial and free speech as meaningful constitutional guarantees were we to ignore the deficiencies of this record." Gov't's. motion for rehearing *denied* en banc.

241.11 *Jackson, et al.* v. *U. S.* (formerly entitled *Charney, et al.* v. *U. S.*) (CA 2.) For facts, see II DOCKET 7. Appeal pending.

Mary M. Kaufman, Esq., 201 W. 85th, NYC; Prof. Boris I. Bittker, Esq., New Haven, Conn.

241.12 *U. S.* v. *Russo, et al.* (DC Mass.) For facts, see II DOCKET 7, 35, 69. One Def. died. Counts on conspiracy to organize Communist Party *dismissed.* Motions to dismiss as to other counts *denied.* Gov't. agreed to waiver of jury. Gov't. *dismissed* indictment against one Def. Trial date: Nov.

241.13 *U. S.* v. *Mirabel, et al.* (DC Puerto Rico.) For facts, see II DOCKET 7, 52. Decisions on motions to dismiss pending.

242. Smith Act: mere membership

242.1 *Lightfoot* v. *U. S.* (U.S.S.C.) For facts, see II DOCKET 7, 69. After Gov't. conceded conviction must be reversed under *Jencks* decision (291.1.), U.S.S.C. Oct. 14 *reversed* and remanded for new trial.

242.2 *Scales* v. *U. S.* (U.S.S.C.) For facts, see II DOCKET 7, 69. After Gov't. conceded conviction must be reversed under *Jencks* decision (291.1.), U.S.S.C. Oct. 14 *reversed* and remanded for new trial.

242.3 *Blumberg* v. *U. S.* (CA 3.)*

242.4 *Noto* v. *U. S.* (CA 2.)*

242.5 *U. S.* v. *Weiss* (ND Ill. E.D.)*

242.6 *U. S.* v. *Blum* (SD Ind.)*

242.7 *U. S.* v. *Russo* (DC Mass.)*

242.8 *U. S.* v. *Hellman* (DC Mont.)*

243. 18 U.S.C. 2384

243.1 *Lebron, et al.* v. *U. S.* (SD NY.) (222 F. 2d 531, 350 U. S. 876.) For facts, see I DOCKET 4, #120.1. While serving sentences for conspiracy to overthrow Gov't. by force as members of Puerto Rican Nationalist Party, Defs. presented motion for new trial to trial judge on basis of U.S.S.C. decision in *Jencks* (291.1), since Def's. counsel had been denied access to many FBI reports of Gov't. witnesses. Pending.

Conrad J. Lynn, Esq., 141 Broadway, NYC.

243.2 *Castro, Valle, et al.* v. *U. S.* (SD NY.) For facts, see I DOCKET 5, 52, 89, #120.2. While serving sentences for conspiracy to overthrow Gov't. by force as members of Puerto Rican Nationalist Party, Jy. 15 Defs. presented oral argument to trial judge for new trial, based on U.S.S.C., decision in *Jencks* (291.1). Pending.

Conrad J. Lynn, Esq., 141 Broadway, NYC.

244. State laws

244.2 *Pennsylvania* v. *Onda.* (Pa. Ct. of Common Pleas.)*

244.4 *Alabama* v. *Rev. King, et al.* (Ala. S. Ct.)*

And see *Alabama* v. *Tuskegee Civic Assn.*, 501.6.

244.5 *Louisiana* v. *G. and J. Jenkins.* (Crim. Dist. Ct., Orleans Parish, #156-434Y, #156-430A; Crim. Dist. Ct., Baton Rouge Parish.) For facts, see II DOCKET 53. Motion to dismiss on ground that Ct. without jurisdiction to try offense charged under U.S.S.C. decision in *Nelson,* 350 U. S. 497, heard and submitted.

250. *Civil Disabilities: Federal*

251. Federal employment

Law review note:

Government Employees (Cases in U.S. Supreme Court, Oct. Term 1956). XVII Lawyers Guild Rev. 89 (Fall 1957).

251.4 *Service* v. *Dulles.* (DC DC.) (354 U. S. 363.) For facts, see II DOCKET 8, 69. Jy. 3: DC *ordered* Pl. restored to job in State Dept. as of Dec. 14, 1951, the day he was discharged. (Pl. to receive difference between what his Gov't. pay would have been and what he has earned in other employment.)

251.5 *J. Duncan* v. *Summerfield, U. S. Postmaster.* (CA DC.)*

251.6 *A. Duncan* v. *Blattenberger, U. S. Public Printer.* (DC DC, #4203/56.)*

251.7 *Tucker* v. *Brucker.* (CA DC.)*

251.8 *Bernabei* v. *Summerfield.* (CA DC.)*

251.9 *Vitarelli* v. *Seaton.* (DC DC.)*

251.10 *Coleman, et al.* v. *Brucker.* (DC DC.)*

252. Deprivation of passport rights

252.2 *Dayton* v. *Dulles.* (CA DC.) For facts, see II DOCKET 8, 36. Oct. 24: CA *held* (2-1) that findings of Secy. of State may be based on confidential evidence. (Pl. had denied, under oath, all the findings by Def.)

252.3 *Stewart* v. *Dulles.* (State Dept.) For facts, see II DOCKET 36, 69. CA *denied* motion for reargument. Hearing pending in State Dept.

252.4 *Chodorov* v. *Dulles.* (CA DC.)*

252.21 *Kent* v. *Dulles.* (U.S.S.C.) For facts, see II DOCKET 8, 36, 69. Petition for cert. filed.

252.22 *Briehl* v. *Dulles.* (U.S.S.C.) For facts, see II DOCKET 8, 36, 69. Petition for cert. filed.

252.23 *Leff* v. *Dulles.* (DC DC.)*

252.24 *DuBerg* v. *Dulles.* (DC DC.)*

252.25 *Lamont* v. *Dulles.* (DC DC.)*

253. Unfavorable Army discharges

253.4 *Harmon* v. *Brucker.* (U.S.S.C., #80.)*

Case note in

25 George Washington Law Review 616-619 (April, 1957.)

253.5 *Marshall* v. *Brucker.* (U.S.S.C., #839 Misc.—1956.) (243 F. 2d 834.)*

253.6 *Abramowitz* v. *Brucker.* (U.S.S.C.) (243 F. 2d 834.)*

253.7 *Bland* v. *Hartman, et al.* (Navy Discharge Review Bd.) For facts, see II DOCKET 9, 70. Jy.: after hearing, Navy Discharge Review Bd. refused to upgrade type of Navy reserve discharge.

254. Deprivation of veterans disability payments

254.1 *Wellman* v. *Higley, Admr. Veterans Affairs.* (CA DC.)*

254.2 *Thompson* v. *Veterans Admin.* (DC DC.) For facts, see II DOCKET 9. All administrative remedies having been exhausted, suit filed in DC DC. Pending.

Robert Z. Lewis, Esq., 11 E. 51st, and Mary Kaufman, Esq., 201 W. 85th, both of NYC.

255. Deprivation of Social Security rights

256. Deprivation of housing rights

257. Deprivation of Federal Licenses

257.2 *In re Application of Lafferty for Renewal of Radio Operator's License.* (Fedl. Comm. Comm.)*

258. Deportation proceedings

Law review note:

The Alien and the Court, XVII Lawyers Guild Rev. 102 (Fall 1957).

258.1 *Rowoldt* v. *Perfetto.* (U.S.S.C., #34.) For facts, see II DOCKET 10. Oct. 14: reargument; decision awaited.

258.2 *Re Janosco.* (Immigration and Naturalization Service.)

259. Denaturalization proceedings

259.1 *Nowak* v. *U. S.* (U.S.S.C., #72.) Appt., naturalized in 1938, appealing from order of denaturalization based on alleged membership in Communist Party at time of naturalization. Gov't. states such conduct proves lack of good moral character, lack of attachment to principles of U. S. Constitution, and that Appt. lied when he swore he was so attached and denied association with organization advocating violent overthrow of Gov't. U.S.S.C. *granted* petition for certiorari, including issues: naturalized citizens' rights under First Amdt., and to claim privilege against self-incrimination in cross-examination in denaturalization proceeding, sufficiency of evidence, DC's denial of motion to examine FBI reports of Gov't. witnesses (under *Jencks* decision, 291.1). Oct. 14: petition to proceed in forma pauperis *granted.*

Ernest Goodman and George W. Crockett, Jr., Esqs., 3220 Cadillac Tower, Detroit.
Amicus brief filed by National Lawyers Guild, by Osmond K. Fraenkel, Esq., 120 Broadway, and Jessica Davidson, Esq., both of NYC.

259.2 *Maisenberg* v. *U. S.* (U.S.S.C., #76.) Facts, issues and status similar to *Nowak*, 259.1.

Ernest Goodman and George W. Crockett, Jr., Esqs., 3220 Cadillac Tower, Detroit.
And see 358.

260. *Civil Disabilities: State, Local and Private*

261. State or local governmental employment

261.1 *Wilkins* v. *Carlander, et al.* (Super. Ct., Kings Co. #490844.)*

261.2 *Nagin* v. *Zurmuhlen.* (N.Y. Sup. Ct., N.Y. Co.)*

261.3 *Hehir* v. *NYC Transit Authority, NY State Civil Service Commission, et ano.* (N.Y. Sup. Ct., Kings Co.)*

261.5 *Reif* v. *NYC Dept. of Hospitals.* (NYC Corporation Counsel.) For facts, see II DOCKET 10, 37, 70. Decision by Corporation Counsel awaited.

261.7 *Crowe* v. *County of Wayne, Mich.* (Cir. Ct. Wayne Co.)*

261.9 *Wolstenholme* v. *Oakland Library Bd.* (Alameda Co. Super. Ct.)*

261.10 *Gottlieb* v. *City of New Orleans.* (La. Ct. of App., Parish of Orleans, #20977.) Pl. suing on written contract with Def.-City under which Pl. employed to write book of departmental regulations. Upon Pl's. refusal to answer questions re his political beliefs, affiliations and associates, Def. ceased payment on contract. During trial in First City Ct. of New Orleans, Ct. asked Pl. question re political beliefs and affiliation, which Pl. answered. On appeal, Pl. charges asking of such question was error because irrelevant, raises constitutional questions. Pending.
George A. Dreyfous, Esq., 1609 National Bank of Commerce Bldg., New Orleans.

262. Teaching

Report:

Academic Freedom Comm. of Am. Civil Liberties Union, Statement on "Rights and Responsibilities of Universities and their Faculties" by Assn. of Am. Universities, and Related Dismissals of Profs. Nickerson and Davis by U. of Michigan. 1957. 170 Fifth Ave., NYC.

And see 342.

263. Denial of State unemployment insurance rights

263.1 *Syrek* v. *Calif. Unemployment Insurance Appeals Bd., et al.* (Super. Ct., Alameda Co.)*

263.2 *Re Albertson.* (NY Unemp. Ins. Appeal Bd.) For facts, see II DOCKET 54. Unemp. Ins. Referee *held*: (1) employment by Communist Party does *not* count toward employment base because Party not a legal employer; (2) employment by Civil Rights Congress *does* count toward employment base. Claimant appealing from (1); State Industrial Commr. appealing from (2).

And see 346.

264. Denial of State licenses

265. Proceedings against attorneys and Bar applicants

Law review note:

The Changed Atmosphere for the Practice of Law, XVII Lawyers Guild Rev. 104 (Fall 1957).

265.3 *Florida* v. *Sheiner.* (Fla. Sup. Ct.)*

265.4 *In re Schlesinger.* (Allegheny Co. Common Pleas Ct., Pa.) For facts, see II DOCKET 11. Apr. 15, 1957: Subcomm. of Comm. on Offenses submitted lengthy report to full Comm., including findings of Communist Party membership. May 15: Comm. *approved* report and recommendation of disbarment filed with Ct. Oct.: Comm. moved Ct. for hearing. Ct. postponed hearing until Dec. on its own motion.

265.5 *In re Steinberg.* (Allegheny Co. Common Pleas Ct., Pa.) For facts, see II DOCKET 11. Apr. 15, 1957: Subcomm. of Comm. on Offenses submitted lengthy report to full Comm., including finding of Communist Party membership. May 15: Comm. *approved* report and recommendation of disbarment, filed with Ct. Oct.: Comm. moved Ct. for hearing. Ct. postponed hearing until Dec. on its own motion.

265.20 *Schware* v. *Bd. of Bar Examiners of N. Mex.* For facts, see II DOCKET 11, 71. Cite: 353 U.S. 232.

265.21 *Konigsberg* v. *State Bar of California and Comm. of Bar Examiners.* (Comm. of Bar Examiners.) (353 U.S. 252.) For facts, see II DOCKET 11, 37, 71. Pending administratively.

265.22 *Patterson* v. *Oregon State Bd. of Bar Examiners.* (Ore. Sup. Ct.) (353 U.S. 952.)*

265.23 *Re Anastaplo.* (Ill. Sup. Ct.) For facts, see II DOCKET 71. Sept. 17: Ill. Sup. Ct. *held* Comm. on Character and Fitness should have allowed Pet's. petition for rehearing and heard evidence. "Principle question" on rehearing: "significance of * * * applicant's views as to * * * overthrow of gov't. by force in * * * light of [U.S.S.C. decisions in] *Konigsberg* (265.21) and *Yates* (241.1)." Comm. requested to hold hearing and report evidence and its conclusions.

266. Deprivation of right to tax exemption

266.1 *Speiser* v. *Randall and Foley.* (U.S.S.C.) (311 P. 2d 544.)*

266.2 *Prince* v. *City and Co. of San Francisco.* (U.S.S.C.) (311 P. 2d 544.)*

And see *First Unitarian Church,* 130.3.

266.3 *Lehrer* v. *Hall.* (Calif. Super. Ct., Marin Co.)*

266.4 *Bliss* v. *Quinn.* (Calif. Super. Ct., Los Angeles Co.)*

267. Private employment—Teaching

And see 262.

268. Private employment—defense establishments

268.1 *Parker, et al.* v. *Lester, et al.* (ND Calif.)*

268.3a *Dupree* v. *U. S.* (CA 3.)*

268.5 *Re Dressler.* (Secy. of Defense Wilson.) For facts, see II DOCKET 38, 72. Aug. 7: Motion for review *denied.*

And see 268.5b.

268.5b *Dressler* v. *Wilson, et ano.* (DC DC.) Action for declaratory judgment and for injunction against Def. Secy. by ex-employee of Wis. Telephons Co. to set aside and restrain from maintaining in effect a determination that Pl. be denied access to classified information. Pl. never did classified work or requested such access; discharged by Co. because Defense Dept. "suspended" his clearance. Charge: affiliation with and activity in Socialist Workers Party. Issues: 1) does Defense Dept. have jurisdiction to issue such ruling; 2) was Pl. given due process hearing before Industrial Personnel Hearing Board. Oct. 17: DC *denied* preliminary injunction because Bd. had such implied authority, and due process either not required at hearing, or provided. To be appealed.

David Schribner, Esq., 15 William St., NYC; M. Michael Essin, Esq., 623 N. 2d St., Milwaukee, Wis.; Forer and Rein, Esqs., 711 14th St. NW, Washington, D.C.

268.5a *Dressler* v. *Wis. Emp. Relations Bd.* (Cir. Ct., Milw. Co. #266—453.) For facts, see II DOCKET 72. Trial date: November.

268.7 *Kreznar* v. *Wilson.* (DC DC.)*

268.8 *Webb* v. *U. S., et al.* (ED Pa.)*

268.9 *Bessell* v. *Eastern Industrial Personnel Security Hearing Bd.* (ED Pa.) Pl.-employee of Radio Corp. of America barred from working on classified work after hearing before Def. Bd. in April 1957. Sept. 20: Pl. filed suit alleging that sole reason for denial of clearance was participation in early 1930 "depression march", that Bd's. action constituted denial of due process, and testing constitutionality of Bd's. authority. Pending.

William J. Woolston, Esq., 2015 Land Title Bldg., Philadelphia 10, Pa.

269. Private employment—other

269.1 *Faulk* v. *AWARE, Inc., et al.* (N.Y. Sup. Ct., N. Y. Co.) For facts, see II DOCKET 12. Jy. 30: argument on motion to strike Defs. amended defenses. Because Judge died before rendering decision, to be reargued.

269.2 *Allen* v. *Local 1976, Carpenters Union—AFL-CIO.* (Los Angeles Dist. Ct. of App.)*

270. *Criminal Penalties for Non-disclosure*

271. Congressional Committees

Law review note:

The Court and Congressional Committees, XVII Lawyers Guild Rev. 80 (Fall 1957).

271.5 *U. S.* v. *Davis.* (WD Mich.) For facts, see II DOCKET 12, 38. Jy: Def. *convicted,* 6 mth. sentence. To be appealed.

Report:

Academic Freedom Comm. of Am. Civil Liberties Union on Dismissal of Dr. H. Chandler Davis by the U. of Michigan, Sept. 15, 1957, 170 Fifth Ave., NYC.

271.6 *U. S.* v. *Watson.* (CA DC.)*

271.7 *U. S.* v. *Barenblatt.* (CA DC.) (354 U. S. 930.) For facts, see II DOCKET 12-13, 38, 72. Oct. 23: heard and submitted to CA DC on remand from U.S.S.C.

271.8 *U. S.* v. *Lorch.* (SD Ohio, W. Div. #3185.)*

271.9 *U. S.* v. *Russell.* (CA DC, #13529.) For facts, see II DOCKET 13. Def's. motion for summary reversal on basis of U.S.S.C. decision in *Watkins* (271.14) and CA DC decision in *Singer* (331.3, II DOCKET 75) pending.

271.10 *U. S.* v. *Deutch.* (CA DC.) For facts, see II DOCKET 13, 38. Def's. motion for summary acquittal on basis of U.S.S.C. decision in *Watkins* (271.14) and *Sweezy* (272.1) and CA DC decision in *Singer* (331.3, II DOCKET 75) pending.

271.11 *U. S.* v. *Sacher.* (CA DC.) (354 U.S. 930). For facts, see II DOCKET 38, 72. Oct. 23: heard and submitted to CA DC on remand from U.S.S.C.

271.12 *U. S.* v. *Gojack.* (CA DC.)*

271.13 *U. S.* v. *Metcalf.* (SD Ohio.)*

271.14 *Watkins* v. *U. S.* (U.S.S.C.) For facts, see II DOCKET 13, 72. Cite: 354 U.S. 178.

271.15 *Shelton* v. *U. S.* (CA DC.) For facts, see II DOCKET 38, 55. Motion for summary reversal under U.S.S.C. decision in *Watkins* (271.14) pending.

271.16 *U. S.* v. *Whitman.* (DC DC.)*

271.17 *Knowles* v. *U. S.* (CA DC.) For facts, see II DOCKET 39. Def's. brief and record filed in CA. Aug. 29: Gov't. moved extension of time to file brief till 20 days after CA DC decision in *Sacher* (271.11) *Barenblatt* (271.7).

271.18 *Peck* v. *U. S.* (DC DC.) For facts, see II DOCKET 39, 55, 73. Jy. 11: on remand from CA DC, Judge Youngdahl *acquitted,* held "abuses" by UnAmerican Activities Comm. detailed in U.S.S.C. decision in *Watkins* (271.14) applied equally to Sen. Internal Security subcomm., as did requirement of pertinency and vagueness of authorizing resolution.

"* * * these hearings consisted of the questioning of persons employed in the newspaper field, in radio and television * * *. To inhibit the freedom of thought and association of newspapermen is to infringe upon the freedom of the press.

"Peck did not refuse to answer questions relating to espionage, sabotage, or the overthrow of the government by force and violence * * *. The infringement stems from the * * * summoning an individual, compelling him to disclose his past political associations, and insisting that he reveal the views and associations of his friends and colleagues. In so doing, the Subcomm. invaded [his] * * * protected freedoms of privacy, thought, and association * * *. There is little, if any, national interest to be served by engaging in so indiscriminate a resurrection of the political past—and whatever interest there is, is more than counterbalanced by the deprivation of First Amendment rights * * *. The desire to check upon the reliability of a friendly witness is insufficient [justification for requiring Def. to answer question about another person's politics.] * * * Nevertheless, the existence of such a [communist] conspiracy at this time does not justify the subjecting to rigorous public examination by the legislature of the entire history of every individual who has at any time in the past had any connection with the Communist movement."

271.19 *Price* v. *U. S.* (CA DC.) For facts, see II DOCKET 39, 56. Motion for summary reversal under U.S.S.C. decision in *Watkins* (271.14) pending. Gov't's. request for extension of time to file answer granted.

271.20 *Liveright* v. *U. S.* (CA DC.) For facts, see II DOCKET 39,56. Motion for summary reversal under U.S.S.C. decision in *Watkins* (271.14) pending. Gov't's. request for extension of time to file answer granted.

271.21 *U. S.* v. *Nathan.* (DC DC.)*

271.22 *U. S.* v. *Miller.* (CA DC.)*

271.23 *U. S.* v. *Sullivan.* (SD NY, #152—238.)

and

271.24 *U. S.* v. *Yarus aka Tyne.* (SD NY, #15586.)

and

271.25 *U. S.* v. *Seeger.* (SD NY.) For facts, see II DOCKET 56, 73. Motion pending for rehearing on motion to dismiss indictment in view of *Watkins* (271.14.)

271.26 *U. S.* v. *Kling.* (ED Mo., E. Div., #28722 Div. #1.)*

272. State committees

272.1 *Sweezy* v. *New Hampshire by Atty. Genl. Wyman.* (U.S.S.C.) For facts, see II DOCKET 13, 73. Cite: 354 U.S. 234.

Law review note:

The Court and Congressional Committees, XVII Lawyers Guild Rev. 80 (Fall 1957.)

272.2 *New Hampshire* v. *Uphaus.* (U.S.S.C., #332.) For facts, see II DOCKET 13, 56. Oct. 14: Per curiam: judgment *vacated, remanded* to N.H. Sup. Ct. for consideration in light of *Sweezy* (272.1).

272.3 *New Hampshire by Wyman* v. *De Gregory.* (N.H. Sup. Ct., #4563.) For facts, see II DOCKET 39, 56. Sept. 4: reargued and decision awaited.

272.4 *N.A.A.C.P., Va. Conference of N.A.A.C.P., et al.* v. *Ames.* (ED Va.) For facts, see II DOCKET 56. When case came on for preliminary hearing, DC continued it pending disposition in state ct. of 272.5, involving identical questions.

272.5 *N.A.A.C.P., Va. Conference of N.A.A.C.P., et al.* v. *King, Va. Legislative Comm. on Racial Activities.* (Va. S. Ct. of App.) Individuals subpoenaed by Va. state legislative comm. moved in trial ct. to have subpoenas quashed. On denial of motion, application for certiorari filed in Va. S. Ct. Pending.

S. N. Tucker, Esq., Emporia, Va.

272.6 *Virginia Legislative Comm. on Racial Activities* v. *Brown.* (Arlington Cir. Ct.) Sept. 15: Pl. Comm. sought Ct. order compelling Def.-atty. to submit his fee records to it in connection with investigation to determine whether any organizations are soliciting legal business, providing fees for clients. Ct. *granted* order. Def. supplied some information, declined to supply other information on constitutional grounds.

And see 204.4.

273. Legal and administration tribunals

273.3 Non-crim. *Nukk, et al.* v. *Shaughnessy* (SD NY.)*

274. Refusal to produce records

274.1 *Flaxer* v. *U. S.* (CA DC.) (354 U. S. 929). For facts, see II Docket 14, 74. Oct. 23: reargued in CA DC on remand from U.S.S.C. Decision awaited.

274.2 *U. S.* v. *Baxter.* (ED Mich., SD.)*

274.3 *McPhaul* v. *U. S.* (CA 6.)*

280. *Civil Penalties for Non-disclosure*

280.1 *Savelle and Nostrand* v. *U. of Wash., et al.* (Wash. Sup. Ct.) For facts, see II Docket 14, 39, 74. While Def's. appeal pending, Civil Liberties Union petitioning Atty. Genl. for ruling making Super. Ct. decision binding on state-wide basis.

280.4 *Bd. of Higher Education* v. *Allen, Hughes, et al.* (N. Y. App. Div., 3d Dept.)

and

280.5 *Bd. of Education* v. *Allen, et al.* (N. Y. App. Div., 3d Dept.) For facts, see II Docket 14, 39, 74. Appeal from affirmance of decision by Supt. of Education that teachers need not "inform" pending.

290. *Penalties for False Disclosure*

291. Taft-Hartley oath

291.1 *Jencks* v. *U. S.* (353 U. S. 357.) (DC.)*

Law review note:

Illegal enforcement of the criminal law: problems of due process, XVII Lawyers Guild Rev. 106 (Fall 1957.)

291.3 *Bryson* v. *U. S.* (U.S.S.C., #171.) (243 F. 2d 837.) For facts, see II Docket 15, 74. Oct. 14: U.S.S.C. *denied* petition for certiorari.

291.4 *Travis* v. *U. S.* (CA 10.) For facts, see II Docket 15, 57. July 15: CA 10 *reversed* conviction, *ordered* new trial because Def's. character witnesses were questioned about Def's. claim of privilege against self-incrimination before Sen. Comm.

291.5 *Lohman* v. *U. S.* (CA 6.) For facts, see II Docket 15. Aug. 30: motion for summary reversal filed on basis of U.S.S.C. decision in *Jencks* (291.1.) Pending.

291.6 *U. S.* v. *Killian.* (CA 7.) For facts, see II Docket 15, 40. June 15: CA *affirmed* conviction. Aug. 19: on Def's. petition for rehearing, CA *reversed* and *remanded* for new trial, based on U.S.S.C. decision in *Jencks* (291.1). Sept. 11: Gov't. moved to set cause for trial in DC.

291.7 *U. S.* v. *Haug, et ano.* (ND Ohio ED.)*

291.20 *U. S.* v. *West, Haug, et al.* (ND Ohio, ED, #22230.) For facts, see II Docket 40, 74. Trial dates of Sept. 16 and Nov. 4 withdrawn. Counsel appointed by Ct. for several Defs. New trial date: Jan. 1958.

292. Government Security Questionnaires

292.1 *U. S.* v. *McDaniel.* (ED Wash., S. Div., #C-4519.) For facts, see II Docket 15, 74. At conclusion of Govt's. case, trial judge *ordered* verdict of *acquittal.* Evidence showed Def. had signed security questionnaire on A.E.C. form to obtain employment for contractor for A.E.C. Def. answered "No" re membership in organizations listed on "Current" Atty. General's list, and later wrote signature on "Supplemental" list, containing names of 2 organizations to which he had belonged, but containing no question re membership therein. Ct. stated 2 truthful documents could not be combined to make one false one.

II. DUE PROCESS AND RELATED RIGHTS (FOURTH, FIFTH, SIXTH, SEVENTH, EIGHTH AND FOURTEENTH AMENDMENTS) (300-499)

Law review note:

Illegal enforcement of the Criminal Laws: problems of due process, XVII Lawyers Guild Rev. 106-117 (Fall 1957.)

Law review articles:

52 Northwestern Univ. Law Rev., No. 1 (March-April 1957) contains articles in a symposium entitled, "Are the Courts Handcuffing the Police? A symposium on Law and Police Practice", as follows:

James Francis Coakley, Restrictions in the Law of Arrest, p. 2.

Caleb Foote, Safeguards in the Law of Arrest, p. 16.

Virgil W. Peterson, Restrictions in the Law of Search and Seizure, p. 46.

Monrad G. Paulsen, Safeguards in the Law of Search and Seizure, p. 65.

Fred E. Inbau, Restrictions in the Law of Interrogation and Confession, p. 77.

Samuel S. Leibowitz, Safeguards in the Law of Interrogation and Confessions, p. 86.

300. *Searches and Seizures*

301. Wiretapping

301.3 *Wirin* v. *Parker, L. A. Police Chief.* (Calif. Sup. Ct.) (48 Calif. A. C. 899.) For facts, see II Docket 15, 40. Aug. 7: Calif. Sup. Ct. *reversed* (5-2) trial ct's. denial of Pl's. taxpayer's suit for injunctive relief against Def's.

use of dictograph surveillance, because such use violates U. S. Constitution, Fourth, Fourteenth Amdts., Calif. Const,. Art. I, sec. 19. Ct. *held*: (1) "It is elementary that public officials must themselves obey the law. It has been expressly held in this state that expediency cannot justify the denial of an injunction against the expenditure of public funds in violation of the constitutional guarantees here involved." (2) In taxpayer's suit, "it is immaterial that the amount of the illegal expenditure is small or that the illegal procedures permit a savings of tax funds."

301.5 *Costello* v. *U. S.* (SD NY) For facts, see II DOCKET 40. Oct. 23: Def's. motion to dismiss Pl's. action to set aside conviction heard and submitted after Pl. added third ground of alleged violation of due process: Internal Revenue Service investigation of income tax returns of prospective jurors in Pl's. 1954 trial.

301.6 *Benanti* v. *U. S.* (U.S.S.C.) (244 F. 2d 389.) For facts, see II DOCKET 75. Oct. 8: U.S.S.C. *granted* Def's. appeal; Oct. 21: argued and submitted.

301.7 *Lanza* v. *N. Y. State Joint Legislative Comm. on Gov'tal. Operations.* (U.S.S.C., #377.) Apr. 29, 1957: Pl. *obtained* temporary injunction in N. Y. Sup. Ct. against public use by Def.-Comm. of recording made of conversations between Pl. and his counsel while Pl. in jail. Spec. Term *denied* Def's. motion to dismiss injunction. App. Div. *reversed*; N. Y. Ct. of App. *affirmed*. Issues: whether surreptitious recording violated confidential relationship between counsel and client; whether Ct. had authority to enjoin legislative proceeding under these circumstances. Oct. 21: U.S.S.C. petition for certiorari *denied*.

Emanuel Redfield, Esq., 60 Wall St., and Edward H. Lewine, Esq., both of NYC.

302. Other Federal cases

302.1 *Hinton* v. *Eastland, et al.* and *In the Matter of Investigation of Possible Violations of Title 22, U.S.C. 611-621.* (CA DC.) For facts, see II DOCKET 15. While service being made on Def.-members of Sen. Internal Security Subcomm., Pl's. papers turned over to U. S. Atty., whom Ct. *declined* to add as party Def. Special proceeding filed to direct U. S. Atty. to return property illegally seized; application *denied*. Appeal pending before CA DC.

James T. Wright, Esq., 2003 Twelfth St. NW, Washington, D.C., and Milton H. Friedman, Esq., 342 Madison Ave. NYC.

302.3 *Kremen* v. *U. S.* (U.S.S.C.) (353 U. S. 346.)*

303. Other State cases

303.1 *Levy* v. *Grant, et al.* (S. Dist. Calif.)*

303.4 *People of NY* v. *Silfa, Silfa* v. *Kennedy.* (NY Ct. of App.) For facts, see II DOCKET 57. Ct. of App. affirmed App. Div., but in trial on illegal practice of dentistry, Def. acquitted. Dist. Atty. dismissed case based on Def's. possession of hypodermic syringe which had been found by police in search without warrant.

303.5 *Franklin, et al.* v. *Gough, et al.* (Los Angeles Superior Ct.) For facts, see II DOCKET 75. Suit dismissed without prejudice.

310. *Indictment*

311. Composition of grand jury (see also 510)

312. Character of evidence

Law review note

The Incredible Informer and the Court, XVII Lawyers Guild Rev. 88 (Fall 1957.)

312.1 *Colbert* v. *Kentucky* (Ky. Ct. of App.) Def. *convicted* of robbery in trial in which results of lie detector test were said to show him guilty. Ct. of App. *reversed, held* this sort of lie detector evidence inadmissible. Appendix to brief contains 31 decisions from 17 states disapproving use of lie detector evidence.

Irving I. Friedman and Robert W. Zollinger, Esqs., Realty Bldg., Louisville, Ky.

320. *Double Jeopardy*

321. Federal cases

330. *Self-incrimination: Criminal Sanctions*

Law review notes:

The privilege against self-incrimination in the Federal Courts, 70 Harvard Law Rev. 1454-1465 (June 1957).

Evidence—Self-incrimination—links and dues—questions innocent on face: *U. S.* v. *Trock,* 351 U. S. 976 *reversing* 232 F. 2d 839 (CA 2 1956), 3 Howard Law J. 137-143 (Jan. 1957.)

331. Congressional Committees

331.4 *McKenzie* v. *U. S.* (U.S.S.C.) For facts, see II DOCKET 16, 75. Solicitor Genl. *confessed error*; stated Def. *did* have right to exercise privilege against self-incrimination in answering questions re identification. Petition for certiorari pending.

331.5 *Wollam* v. *U. S.* (U.S.S.C.) For facts, see II DOCKET 16, 75. Solicitor Genl. *confessed error*; stated Def. *did* have right to exercise privilege against self-incrimination in answering questions re identification. Petition for certiorari pending.

331.6 *Simpson* v. *U. S.* (U.S.S.C., #131.) For facts, see II DOCKET 16, 58, 75. Solicitor Genl. *confessed error*; stated Def. *did* have right to exercise privilege against self-incrimination to answer identifying questions on which indictment based. Oct. 14: U.S.S.C. *granted* petition for certiorari, *reversed* conviction.

331.7 *U. S.* v. *William Davis.* (ED Mo., E. Div.)*

331.8 *U. S.* v. *Simpson* (ED Mo., E. Div.)*

332. State Committees

333. Grand juries and tribunals

333.2 *Brown* v. *U. S.* (U.S.S.C.) For facts, see II DOCKET 16, 41, 75. Oct. 21: case reargued.

333.3 *Phillips* v. *U. S.* (CA 9.)*

333.3a *Daschbach* v. *U. S.* (CA 9.)*

333.3b *Pettus* v. *U. S.* (CA 9.)*

333.4 *Yates* v. *U. S.* (U.S.S.C.) For facts, see II DOCKET 16, 76. Oct. 21: case reargued.

333.6 *Matles* v. *U. S.* (CA 2.) For facts, see II DOCKET 58, 76. Jy.: DC ordered denaturalization case *reopened*, under U.S.S.C. decision in *Jencks* (291.1), for cross-examination of Gov't. witnesses Malkin, Kornfeder and Pitcoff; Gov't. *directed* to produce FBI reports of the three. Sept. 23: trial reopened. Petition for certiorari in contempt action pending in U.S.S.C.

334. Grants of immunity: federal

Law review articles:

Maxwell Brandwen, Reflections on *Ullmann* v. *United States*, 350 U. S. 422 (1956) 57 Columbia Law Rev. 500-517 (April, 1957).

O. John Rogge, The New Federal Immunity Act and the Judicial Function, 45 Calif. Law Rev. 109-133 (May, 1957).

334.2 *U. S.* v. *Glasser, Symonds, Oda, McElarth.* (CA DC.) For facts, see II DOCKET 58, 76. CA DC *reversed*, with directions to dismiss Gov't's. application for immunity.

335. Grants of immunity: state

335.1 *Morgan* v. *Ohio* (Ohio Sup. Ct.) (354 U. S. 929.)*

335.2 *Ohio* v. *Jackson, et ano.* (Ohio Ct. of App.)*

335.3 *Ohio* v. *Hupman, et al.* (Ohio Ct. of App.)*

335.4 *Raley* v. *Ohio* (Ohio Sup. Ct.) (354 U. S. 929.)*

335.5 *Ohio* v. *Slagel, et al.* (Ohio Ct. of App.)*

335.6 *Ohio* v. *Arnold, et al.* (Ct. of App. 9th Dist., #4524-31.) For facts, see II DOCKET 17, 76. Sept. 17: heard and submitted.

Amicus brief filed by National Lawyers Guild by Osmond K. Fraenkel, Esq., 120 Broadway, and David Freedman, Esq., 320 Broadway, both of NYC.

335.7 *Knapp* v. *Schweitzer.* (U.S.S.C.) (141 NE 2d 825.) For facts, see II DOCKET 76. Oct. 14: petition for certiorari *granted.*

336. Miscellaneous

336.1 *Lambert* v. *California.* (U.S.S.C. #590.)*

340. *Self-incrimination: Civil Sanctions*

Law review article:

Leonard G. Ratner, Consequences of exercising the privilege against self-incrimination, 24 Univ. of Chicago L. R. 472-511 (Spring 1957).

341. Army discharges

See cases at 253.

342. Employment—Public teachers

Case note on:

Slochower v. *Bd. of Education*, 350 U. S. 551 (1956), II DOCKET 342.1 in 30 So. Calif. L. R. 346-350 (Apr. 1957).

342.2a *Shlakman, et al.* v. *NY Bd. of Higher Education* (Sup. Ct., Kings Co., NY.) For facts, see II DOCKET 41, 58. No appeal taken.

342.2b *Austin* v. *NY Bd. of Higher Education.* (Sup. Ct., Kings Co., NY.) Suit for damages, brought by Pl.-teacher dismissed by Def-Bd. for claim of constitutional privilege against self-incrimination. Pending.
Osmond K. Fraenkel, Esq., 120 Broadway, NYC.

342.3 *Laba, et al.* v. *Newark Bd. of Educ.* (Newark Supt. of Schools.) For facts, see II DOCKET 17, 41-2, 58, 77. After report of Supt. of Schools, Bd. of Educ. reinstated Mrs. Laba with back pay, directed public hearings before it on question of two other Pls. fitness to teach.

342.4 *Mass* v. *San Francisco Bd. of Educ.* (Cal. Super. Ct.)*

342.5 *Schuyten* v. *Contra Costa Bd. of Educ.* (Calif. Dist. Ct. of App.)*

342.9 *Bailan* v. *Bd. of Education.* (U.S.S.C., #668.) (386 Pa. 82, 125 A. 2d 327, 353 U. S. 964.)*

343. Employment—Other public officers

343.1 *Lerner* v. *Casey*, formerly entitled *Lerner* v. *Transit Authority.* (U.S.S.C., #165.) For facts, see II DOCKET 18, 42, 59. Oct. 14: U.S.S.C. *granted* appeal.

343.2 *Hancock* v. *Burns.* (Calif. Dist. Ct. of App., San Francisco.)*

343.3 *Globe and Nelson* v. *Los Angeles County.* (Super. Ct., Los Angeles Co.)*

344. Employment—Private

344.2 *Wilson, et al.* v. *Loew's, Inc., et al.* (U.S.S.C., #33.)* U.S.S.C. *granted* Am. Civil Liberties Union leave to file amicus brief.

344.3 *Wilson* v. *Liberty Films, Inc., et al.* (Los Angeles Co. Super. Ct., #668887.)*

344.4 *Compinsky* v. *Universal Pictures Co., Inc.* (Los Angeles Mun. Ct., #365993.) For facts, see II DOCKET 59. Suit dismissed.

344.5 *Gottlieb* v. *Universal Pictures Co., Inc.* (Los Angeles Mun. Ct.) Action for breach of contract. Pl. invoked Fifth Amdt. during testimony before Congressional Comm. and was discharged, employer claiming discharge warranted under clause authorizing discharge for "good and sufficient cause". Pending.

A. L. Wirin and Robert R. Rissman, Esqs., 257 S. Spring St., and Paul M. Posner, Esq., all of Los Angeles.

344.6 *United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, Local 610* v. *Westinghouse Airbrake Co.* (Allegheny Co. Ct. of Common Pleas, #3132.) Two employees, Union officers, suspended, then discharged for refusal to testify re past Communist Party membership before Sen. Comm., claiming privilege against self-incrimination. Pl. filed grievance leading to arbitration. Adverse finding by arbitrators being appealed; to be heard by Ct. en banc.

Marjorie Hanson Matson, Esq., 1708 Law & Finance Bldg., Pittsburgh; David Cohen, Esq., Suite 612 Market St. Natl. Bank Bldg., Philadelphia.

344.7 *Nelson* v. *General Electric.* (Municipal Ct. for Dist. of Col., #M6521-57.) Pl.-employee discharged by Def. following claim of privilege against self-incrimination before Sen. Internal Security Comm. Pl. suing for damages and injunction, claiming discharge violates Union-Company contract.

Forer and Rein, Esqs., 711 14th St. NW, Washington, D.C.

345. Attorneys

346. Unemployment insurance

346.1 *Kilpatrick* v. *Bureau of Unemployment Compensation.* (Cuyahoga Co. Com. Pleas Ct., #669433.)*

346.2 *Ostrofsky, et al.* v. *Maryland Employment Security Bd. and Bethlehem Steel Co.* (Baltimore City Super. Ct.) Pls.-employees of Beth. Steel, invoked Fifth Amdt. privilege against self-incrimination before Un.-Am. Activities Comm.; Def.-Co. discharged them as security risks, for engaging in conduct detrimental to business interests of Co. Claim for unemployment compensation denied; Def.-Bd. affirmed. Appeal pending.

Fred E. Weisgal and Stanley Sollins, Esqs., 817 Fidelity Bldg., Baltimore, Md.

350. *Due Process*

351. Delay in arraignment

352. Grand Jury procedures

353. Confessions

353.1 *Fikes* v. *Alabama.* (U.S.S.C.) For facts, see II DOCKET 42. Cite: 352 U. S. 191.

Case note in

45 Georgetown L. J. 695 (Summer 1957.)

354. Unfair press releases

355. Perjured testimony

355.2 *Landeros* v. *New Jersey.* (DC N.J.) For facts, see II DOCKET 18-19, 59. DC *dismissed* petition for writ of habeas corpus. No appeal pending.

355.4 *Sobell* v. *U. S.* (U.S.S.C., #440, 441.) (244 F. 2d 520.) For facts, see II DOCKET 43, 77. Two petitions for certiorari pending. Oct. 28: motion to vacate denial of petition for certiorari in original case (1952, #112.) *denied.*

355.6 *Yiannopoulos* v. *Robinson, Dist. Dir.* (CA 7, #11816.) DC *ordered* deportation proceedings against Pl. (based on alleged Communist Party membership 1929-1933) *terminated* because finding against Pl., based on testimony of Gov't. witnesses Nowell and Syrakis, "not supported by reasonable, substantial and probative evidence". Aug. 24: CA 7 *affirmed* DC judgment.

Pearl M. Hart, Esq., 30 N. LaSalle, Chicago.

355.7 *Re Navarrete-Sanchez.* (Bd. of Imm. App.) Bd. *reversed* findings of Special Inquiry Officer that Resp. was deportable on grounds of Communist Party membership in 1937. Bd. *held* testimony of 3 Gov't. witnesses did *not* constitute "reasonable, substantial and substantive" evidence of membership, *found* testimony of one Gov't. witness "incredible", another was unable to recall names of aliens against whom he had testified six mths. before appearance in this case. "We need not dwell on the fact that the witness earns about $5 a day * * * in Mexico and * * * $37 a day when he testifies for the [Immigration] Service; and that he has a strong desire to return to the U. S. which can only be brought to fruition by convincing the Gov't. that he has been actively opposed to the Communist Party and that his admission would be in the public interest."

Amicus brief filed by Am. Civil Liberts Union of S. California, by Ruth Jacobs, Esq., Los Angeles.

356. Courts martial

Law review note:

Military Law and Civilian Rights, XVII Lawyers Guild Rev. 97-101 (Fall 1957).

357. Naturalization proceedings

357.1 *Budzislawski* v. *U. S.* (CA 9.) Pl.-secretary's application for naturalization *denied* by U. S. District Ct. solely on the basis of her employers' alleged political activities. Appeal pending.

A. L. Wirin and Fred Okrand, Esqs., 257 S. Spring St. and Ruth Jacobs, Esq., all of Los Angeles.

358. Denaturalization proceedings

Case note on:

U. S. v. *Costello,* 144 F. Supp. 779 (SD NY 1956) in 4 Stanford Law Rev. 800-806 (July 1957).

358.1 *Trop* v. *Dulles.* (U.S.S.C.) For facts, see II DOCKET 19, 43, 59, 77. Oct. 28: reargued, decision awaited.

358.2 *Diaz-Estrata* v. *Press.* (SD Calif.)*

358.3 *Matter of Bean.* (ND Calif., S. Div.)*

358.4 *Zuskar* v. *U. S.* (CA 7, #11718.)*

358.6 *Nishikawa* v. *Dulles.* (U.S.S.C.) For facts, see II DOCKET 43, 77. Oct. 28: reargued, decision awaited.

358.7 *Perez* v. *Brownell.* (U.S.S.C.) For facts, see II DOCKET 43, 77. Oct. 28: reargued, decision awaited.

II. DUE PROCESS AND RELATED RIGHTS (FOURTH, FIFTH, SIXTH, SEVENTH, EIGHTH AND FOURTEENTH AMENDMENTS) (300-499)

359. Loyalty hearings

See 251 and 268.

360. *Speedy and Public Trial*

360.1 *In re Baird.* (Calif. Dist. Ct. of App., San Francisco.)*

360.2 *Brown* v. *Hoblitzell, Sheriff.* (Ky. Ct. of App., #V-59-55.)*

370. *Counsel*

Law review note:

Illegal Enforcement of the Criminal Law: Problems of Due Process, XVII Lawyers Guild Rev. 106-117 (Fall 1957).

371. Federal cases

372. State cases

Law review article:

Bertram F. Willcox and Edward J. Bloustein, The Griffin Case—poverty and the Fourteenth Amendment, 43 Cornell Law Q 1-26 (Fall 1957).

372.1 *Henderson* v. *Michigan.* (CA 6.) For facts, see II DOCKET 20, 43. Oct. 25: heard and submitted.

373. Indirect restrictions

Case note on:

Cammer v. *U. S.*, 350 U. S. 399, I DOCKET #560.4, 24, 61-2, 81,
in 45 Georgetown L. J. 695 (Summer 1957.)

373.1 *Re Gladstein.* (DC Hawaii.)*

373.2 *Re Bouslog.* (CA 9, #15,109.)*

373.3 *Re Bouslog.* (DC Hawaii, Misc. #649.)*

380. *Confrontation*

381. Criminal cases

382. Civil cases

390. *Jury Trials* (see also 510)

400. *Excessive Bail; Parole Conditions*

Law review note:

Considerations involved in the granting of bail pending appeal in the Federal Courts, 25 Geo. Washington Law Review 693-703 (June, 1957).

401. Amount of bail

402. Conditions imposed

410. *Cruel and Unusual Punishment*

411. Criminal cases

411.2 *U. S.* v. *Green*; *U. S.* v. *Winston.* (U.S.S.C.) For facts, see II DOCKET 21, 44, 60, 78. Oct. 21: heard and submitted.

411.3 *Thompson* v. *U. S.* (SD NY.)*

411.5 *Thomas* v. *State of Florida* (Fla. Sup. Ct.) (Feb. 6, 1957.) Negro defendant was convicted of rape and sentenced to death. On appeal, the court held there was no lack of due process or equal protection because the Florida statute provided the penalty for rape was death unless the majority of the jury recommended mercy. The court stated that the execution of 23 Negro defendants and only one white defendant for rape between 1935 and 1955 did not show that Negroes have been discriminated against.

412. Extradition

412.3 *New York ex rel. Reid* v. *Ruthazer, Warden.* (NY Ct. of App.) For facts, see II DOCKET 21, 44, 60. June: App. Div., 1st Dept. *reversed* Sup. Ct. decision sustaining habeas corpus writ, *ordered* Reid remanded for surrender to Florida authorities, but continued bail pending appeal.

413. Civil cases

490. *Miscellaneous Due Process*

III. EQUAL PROTECTION (FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT) (500-599)

500. Elections

501. Racial discrimination

501.2 *Ivy* v. *Cole, Registrar, Halifax Co.* (ED N. C., Wilson Div., #610—Civ.)*

501.3 *Edwards, et al.* v. *Registrar, Northampton Co.* (ED N. C.)*

501.6 *Alabama* v. *Tuskegee Civic Assn.* (Macon Co. Cir. Ct.) June 1957: Ala. legislature passed act reducing city limits of Tuskegee so as to remove 410 of 420 Negro voters from city rolls. Tuskegee Civic Assn. formed to lead boycott of white merchants who supported act. Jy. 26: Atty. Genl. Patterson raided offices of Assn. and print shop where Assn. and N.A.A.C.P. literature printed. Aug. 15: Atty. Genl. *obtained* temporary restraining order against Assn. "from using any force, threats, * * * to prevent any person from trading with, buying goods and services from any merchant in Tuskegee and Macon Co." Aug. 22: Def.-Assn. filed motion to dissolve injunction, raising First Amdt. rights and denial of due process. Pending.

Fred D. Gray, Esq., 113 Monroe St., Montgomery, Alabama. And see 244.4, cases at 204.

502. Political discrimination

502.3 *Christian Nationalist Party, et al.* v. *Jordan, Calif. Secy. of State.* (Calif. Sup. Ct.) For facts, see II DOCKET 61. Calif. Sup. Ct. granted Pl's. petition, retained jurisdiction instead of transferring case to Dist. Ct. of App. Oct: 14: heard and submitted.

Rec 2/7/58

502.4 *Socialist Party* v. *Jordan, Calif. Secy. of State* (Calif. Sup. Ct.) Facts, issues and status similar to *Christian Nationalist Party*, 502.3. Pending.

A. L. Wirin, Esq., 257 S. Spring St., and Paul M. Posner, Esq., both of Los Angeles.

510. Juries

511. Federal employees

512. Racial discrimination

512.2 *Louisiana* v. *Neal.* (Sup. Ct., La.) Jan. 21, 1957: Appellant-Negro, convicted of manslaughter, sought new trial because of remark by Dist. Atty. in his closing argument to jury that appealed to race prejudice. Denial of motion for new trial *affirmed* because accused waived right to object to remark by not objecting at time it was made.

513. Economic discrimination

514. Political discrimination

515. Discrimination against women

520. Education

Law review article:

George L. DeLacy, The Segregation Cases: A judicial problem judicially solved, 43 A.B.A.J. 519 (June, 1957).

521. Challenge to unequal facilities

Law review note:

When Denials of Certiorari Spell Desegregation, XVII Lawyers Guild Rev. 94-97 (Fall 1957).

521.1 *Holland* v. *Bd. of Public Instruction.* (Palm Beach, Fla.) (CA 5.) For facts, see II DOCKET 22, 61, 79. D. C. *held* there was no evidence Pl.-Negro assigned to Negro school on basis of race. Jy. 29: Defs.' appeal filed, pending.

522. Suits to enforce integration

522.Ark1 *Hoxie School Dist. #46, et al.* v. *Brewer, White Citizens Council, et al.* (238 F. 2d 91.) For facts, see II DOCKET 22, 45.

Case note in

70 Harvard Law Rev. 1299-1302 (May 1957.)

522.Ark2 *Matthews, et al.* v. *Launius, et al.* (Bearden Dist.) (WD Ark. Civ. #570.)*

522.Ark3 *Aaron, et al.* v. *Cooper, et al.* (Little Rock.) (ED Ark.) For facts, see II DOCKET 23, 61. Pulaski Co. Chancery Ct. *issued* injunction to prevent desegregation of Little Rock High School scheduled for Sept. 3 under stairstep desegregation plan proposed by Def.-School Bd. and approved by DC and CA 8. Aug. 30: Dist. Ct. Judge Davies *issued* blanket *injunction* against any interference with such integration. Sept. 3: Nat'l. Guardsmen *prevented* 9 Negro pupils from entering school, by order of Gov. Faubus; Davies, J. *issued order*, after hearing, confirming his Aug. 30 order, directing Def.-Bd. and Sup't. to carry it out. Sept. 14: Nat'l. Guard again barred pupils; Davies, J. *requested* U. S. Atty. Gen'l. to investigate this violation of Fedl. Ct. order. Sept. 5: Def.-Bd. requested Ct. to suspend its order; *denied.* Sept. 9: Davies, J. *ordered* petition for injunction to be filed against Gov. Faubus. Sept. 20: after hearing on petition by U. S. Atty. Gen'l. as amicus, Davies, J. first *denied* application by Gov. Faubus to disqualify himself, then *denied* motions to dismiss, *ordered* Gov. and aides to call off Nat'l. Guard. Gov. complied; his appeal pending. Sept. 23: Negro students began attending school under protection of U. S. Army.

And see *Smith*, 522.Ark3a; *Rector*, 523.Ark2; *Wilbern*, 523.Ark3; *Arkansas* v. *N.A.A.C.P.*, 523.Ark4; *Little Rock* v. *N.A.A.C.P.*, 523.Ark5.

522.Ark3a *Smith, et al.* v. *Gov. Faubus, et al., and Ark. Sovereignty Comm.* (Little Rock.) (ED Ark.) Aug. 16: 10 Negro ministers filed suit for declaratory judgment on constitutionality of Arkansas 1957 segregation statutes and for permanent injunction against Def.-Comm. enforcing said acts. CA 8 appointed 3-judge statutory ct. to hear suit. Pls. allege acts deny constitutional rights because of race and unlawfully prohibit Pls. from soliciting, collecting or receiving contributions to be used in aid of integration in Ark. public schools. Sept. 19: 3-judge Ct. *refused* to hear case, *held* state ct. remedies must first be exhausted.

U. Simpson Tate, Esq., for N.A.A.C.P., 2600 Flora St., Dallas, Texas; James M. Nabritt, Esq., Washington, D. C.; Thad D. Williams, J. B. Booker, Esqs., Little Rock, Arkansas.

And see *Aaron*, 522.Ark.3.

522.Dela1 *Jackson, et al.* v. *Buchanan, Members of Dela. Bd. of Educ. and Bd. of Educ. and Bd. of Trustees, et al.* (Christiana School Dist.) (DC Dela. Civ. #1815.)*

522.Dela2 *Evans, et al.* v. *Buchanan, et al.* (Milford). (DC Dela., Civ. #1816.)

and

522.Dela3 *Holloman, et al.* v. *Buchanan, et al.* (Milton). (DC Dela., Civ. #1819.)

and

522.Dela4 *Coverdale, et al.* v. *Buchanan, et al.* (Greenwood.) (DC Dela., Civ. #1818.)

and

522.Dela5 *Creighton, et al.* v. *Buchanan, et al.* (Laurel). (DC Dela., Civ. #1820.)

and

522.Dela6 *Denson, et al.* v. *Buchanan, et al.* (Seaford). (DC Dela., Civ. #1821.)

and

522.Dela7 *Oliver, Jr., et al.* v. *Buchanan, et al.* (Clayton). (DC Dela., Civ. #1822.)

and

522.Dela8 *Staten, et al.* v. *Buchanan, et al.* (Milford). (DC Dela., Civ. #1817.) For facts, see II DOCKET 23. Jy. 15: DC

held for Pls. in 7 cases before it, made decision applicable to *all* school districts in state having no plans for desegregation by Fall 1957, *ordered* desegregation. Aug. 7: on Defs'. appeal therefrom to CA 3, DC *granted* stay, but said "Compliance with the law of the Sup. Ct. of the U. S. is inevitable * * * The unresolved question left by the Sup. Ct. to this ct. is the duration of judicial patience." Appeal pending.

522.Dela9 *Plaintiffs* v. *Dover Bd. of Educ., Dela. Bd. of* Educ. (DC Dela.) Aug.: Pls.-Negro children filed suit for injunction to prevent Defs. carrying out desegregation plan which Pls. allege discriminates against Negro students by requiring them to take examination instead of being automatically admitted to jr.-sr. high. Pending.

Louis L. Redding, Esq., 923 Market St., Suite 300, Wilmington, Dela.

522.Fla1 *Florida ex rel. Hawkins* v. *Bd. of Control of Fla.* (U.S.S.C., #169.) For facts, see II Docket 23, 61, 79. Oct. 14: U.S.S.C. *denied* petition for certiorari "without prejudice to Pet. seeking relief in an appropriate U. S. Dist. Ct."

522.Fla2 *Gibson, et al.* v. *Dade Co. Bd. of Public Instruction, et al.* (CA 5, #16482.) For facts, see II Docket 23, 61. Jy. 23: CA 5 *reversed* and remanded, *held* Fla. pupil assignment plan unconstitutional. Aug. 29: rehearing *denied*; Sept. 23: mandate issued.

522.Ga2 *Hunt, et al.* v. *Arnold, Ga. State School of Business Adm.* (ND Ga., Atlanta Div., #5781.) *

522.Ky1 *Mitchell* v. *Bd. of Educ.* (Hopkins Co.) (WD Ky., #708.) *

522.Ky2 *Gordon, et al.* v. *Collins, et al.* (Webster Co.) (WD Ky., #720.) *

522.Ky3 *Garnett, et al.* v. *Oakley, et al.* (Union Co.) (WD Ky., #721.) *

522.Ky4 *Dishman, et al.* v. *Archer, Supt. Public Schools.* (Scott Co.) (ED Ky., Lexington, #1213.) *

522.Ky5 *Green, et al.* v. *Bd. of Educ.* (McCracken Co.) (WD Ky., Paducah Div., #903.) For facts, see II Docket 46, 62. Sept. 20: DC entered default judgment *approving* plan submitted by Defs.; permanently *enjoining* Defs. from unconstitutional regulations as complained of; mandatorily *enjoining* Defs. to admit Pls. and other Negro children on nondiscriminatory basis.

522.Ky6 *Wilburn, et al.* v. *Holland, Supt., Fulton City Schools, et al.* (WD Ky., Paducah Div., #910.) For facts, see II Docket 46, 62. Sept. 10: DC entered default judgment, permanently *enjoined Defs.* from maintaining and enforcing against Pls. unconstitutional practices, *requiring* Defs. to admit such of Pls. or other members of said class of persons who apply for admittance at next term. Oct. 3: hearing on motion to modify judgment. Decision pending.

522.La1 *Bush, Jr., et al.* v. *Orleans Parish School Bd., et al.**

522.La2 *Hall, et al.* v. *St. Helena Parish School Bd., et al.* (ED La., Civ. #1068.) *

522.La3 *Angel, et al.* v. *La. State Bd. of Educ., et al.* (ED La., Baton Rouge Div., Civ. #1658.) *

522.La4 *Davis, Jr. et al.* v. *E. Baton Rouge Parish School Bd., et al.* (ED La., Baton Rouge Div., Civ. #1662.)*

522.La6 *Williams, et al.* v. *Prather, et al.* (WD La., 5000 Civ.) *

522.La7 *Ludley* v. *Bd. of Supervisors, La. State Univ.* (CA 5.) *

522.La8 *Bailey* v. *La. State Bd. of Educ.* (CA 5.) *

522.La9 *Lark* v. *La. State Bd. of Educ.* (CA 5.) *

522.Md2 *Moore, Jr., et al.* v. *Bd. of Educ.* (Harford Co.) (CA 4.) For facts, see II Docket 24, 46, 62, 80. Jy. 26: Defs. filed appeal in CA 4; pending.

522.NC2 *Covington, et al.* v. *Edwards, Supt. of Schools, et al.* (Montgomery Co.) (MD N. Caro., Rockingham Div., Civ. #323.) *

522.NC3 *Royster, et al.* v. *Bradsher, et al.* (Person Co.) (MD NC, Durham Div., #194.) *

522.NC4 *Weaver, et al.* v. *Bd. of Trustees of Chapel Hill Graded Schools, et al.* (MD NC, Rockingham Div., #158-D.) Suit by Pls.-Negroes for permanent injunction ordering Defs. to desegregate public schools. Pending.

Herman L. Taylor, Esq., Raleigh, N. C.; C. J. Gates and Milton Johnson, Esqs., both of Durham, N. C.

522.Okla2 *Brown, et al.* v. *Long, Pres., Morris Independent School Dist., et al.* (Okmulgee Co.) (ED Okla., Civ. #4245.) For facts, see II Docket 80. Sept. 21: Ct. *ruled for Pls.*; *held* Pls. entitled to be enrolled and attend previously all-white school.

522.Okla3 *Simms, et al.* v. *Hudson, Pres., Preston, Independent School Dist., et al.* (Okmulgee Co.) (ED Okla., #4246.) For facts, see II Docket 80. Sept. 21: Ct. *held* for Pls.; *ruled* Pls. who had not signed transfer and are in high school are entitled to be enrolled and attend previously all-white school; ruling re grade school Pls. to be filed.

522.Okla4 *Bailey, et al.* v. *Hodge, Hall, Supt., Okla. School for Deaf, et al.* (WD Okla., #7441—Civ.) *

522.Pa1 *In re Girard's Estate* (Phila. Orphans Ct.) For facts, see II Docket 62, 80. Sept. 11: Orphans Ct. *ordered* removal of Bd. of City Trustees as governing body of school, *placed* school in hands of private trustee, *refused* admission to two Negro boys who sought admission.

Amicus briefs filed by City of Philadelphia, Comm. on Pa.

Law review article:

Elias Clarke, Charitable trusts, the Fourteenth Amendment and the will of Stephen Girard, 66 Yale L. J. 979-1015 (June 1957).

Case note in

1957 Washington Univ. L. Q. 271-6 (June 1957).

522.SC1 *Briggs* v. *Elliott.* (Clarendon Co.) (ED S. C., #2657.) *

522.Tenn1 *Kelly, et al.* v *Bd. of Educ.* (Nashville). (MD Tenn., Nash. Div., Civ. #2094.) For facts, see II Docket 25, 46.

Sept. 6: Def. School Bd. officials asked DC to decide whether new Tenn. state school preference law could be incorporated in Ct's. desegregation order; after hearing, Ct. *held* new law *invalid*, and unconstitutionality so obvious there was no need to convene 3-judge Ct. to pass on it. Nashville first grades integrated Sept. 1957.

522.Tex4 *Jackson, et al.* v. *McDonald, Pres., Lamar State College of Technology, et al.* (CA 5.) *

522.Tex5 *Borders, et al.* v. *Rippy, et al.* (Dallas.) (CA 5, #16483.) For facts, see II DOCKET 25, 46. Jy. 23: CA 5 *reversed, held* for Pls. Sept. 9: DC, on remand, *ordered* desegregation Feb. 1958. Nov. 22: CA 5 to hear Defs.' application for writ of mandamus to force DC to slow down integration order, and Def.s' appeal from DC decision.

522.Tex7 *Ross* v. *Rogers, Pres., Houston Independent School Dist.* (DC Tex., Houston, #10,444.) *

522.Va1 *Davis* v. *County School Bd.* (Prince Edward Co.) (CA 4.) *

522.Va2 *Corbin, et al* v. *School Bd.* (Pulaski Co.) (WD Va., Roanoke, #341 Div.) *

522.Va3 *Atkins, et al.* v. *School Bd., et al.* (Newport News.) (U.S.S.C., #361.)
and

522.Va4 *Beckett, et al.* v. *School Bd.* (Norfolk.) (U.S.S.C.) For facts, see II DOCKET 25, 46, 63, 81. July 10: CA 4 *upheld* DC injunction requiring desegregation, *ruled* Va. Pupil Placement Law unconstitutional. Oct. 21: U.S.S.C. *denied* petition for certiorari.

522.Va5 *Allen, et al.* v. *School Bd.* (Charlottesville.) (WD Va., #51.) For facts, see II DOCKET 26, 46, 63. Jy. 26: DC *ordered* that injunction entered by DC Aug. 6, 1956 be made effective at commencement of semester next following determination by U.S.S.C. of constitutionality of Va. Pupil Placement Act, Chap. 70, Acts of Assembly of Va.

And see *Atkins*, 522.Va3.

522.Va6 *Thompson, et al.* v. *School Bd.* (Arlington.) (ED Va., #1341.) For facts, see II DOCKET 26, 46, 63. Sept. 14: DC *ordered* Def.-Bd. to comply with desegregation order of Aug. 1956 re admission of seven Negro Pls., despite Va. Pupil Placement Act. Sept. 18: DC *granted* stay pending Def's. second appeal to CA 4.

And see *Atkins*, 522.Va3.

522.Va7 *DeFebio* v. *Richmond Placement Bd.* (Fairfax Co.) (Va. Sup. Ct. of App.) *

523. Suits to prevent integration

523.Ark1 *Shackleford, et al.* v. *Vance, Ch., Hoxie School Bd., et al.* (Ark. Sup. Ct.) *

523.Ark2 *Ex parte Rector.* (Little Rock.) (Pulaski Chancery Ct., Ark.) Aug. 17: Pl.-father of school age children, filed ex parte suit seeking declaratory judgment on validity and effect of 1957 segregation statutes. Pending.

And see *Aaron*, 522.Ark3, *Smith*, 522.Ark3a, *Wilbern*, 523.Ark3, *Arkansas* v. *N.A.A.C.P.*, 523.Ark4, *Little Rock* v. *N.A.A.C.P.*, 523.Ark5.

523.Ark3 *Wilbern* v. *Blossom, Little Rock School Bd., et al.* (Pulaski Chancery Ct., Ark., #108316.) Pl.-member of Capital Citizens Council asked Ct. to require Def.-Bd. to permit her white daughter to transfer to segregated high school and require Bd. to furnish educational facilities substantially equal to those at Central High at segregated school. Pending.

Frank Chowning and Richard Butler, Esqs., Boyle Bldg.; Leon Catlett and Henry Spitzerg, Esqs., Pyramid Bldg.; A. F. House, Esq., 314 W. Markham St., all of Little Rock, Ark.

And see *Rector*, 523.Ark2.

523.Ark4 *Arkansas* v. *N.A.A.C.P., Inc.* (Pulaski Chancery Ct., Ark., #108603.) Civil suit by state for Def.-organization's failure to register as corporation and to pay $50 annual franchise tax for past seven years. Pending.

And see *Rector*, 523.Ark2, and cases at 204., 272.4.

523.Ark5 *Little Rock* v. *N.A.A.C.P., Bates, et al.* (Little Rock Muni. Ct.) Oct. 31: officials of Ark. N.A.A.C.P. arrested, released in $300. bail on charge of failure to comply with new city ordinance requiring organizations to file reports of officers and finances. Pending.

And see *Rector*, 523.Ark2, and cases at 204., 272.4.

523.Fla1 *State of Fla., City of Miami* v. *Foster, et al.* (Mun. Ct. City of Miami, Fla., March 6, 1957). Four defendants were found guilty of breach of the peace and unlawful assembly in connection with a cross-burning incident during racial disturbances.

523.Ky1 *Grubbs, et al.* v. *Gov. Chandler, et al.* (Franklin Co. Cir. Ct.) *

523.Tenn2 *U. S.* v. *Kasper, et al.* (Nashville.) (MD Tenn.) Sept. 16: DC *granted* preliminary injunction against Def. and 9 others "in any manner deterring the attendance at school of the children of Nashville" under gradual integration plan approved by DC Jan. 21, 1957 (see *Kelly*, 522.Tenn1.) Ct. rejected Def's. First Amdt. arguments.

530. Housing

531. Public

531.1 *Queen Cohen* v. *Savannah Housing Authority, et al.* (CA 5.) For facts, see II DOCKET 26, 47, 81. Jy. 10: DC *dismissed* Pl's. suit. Jy. 25: Pl's. appeal pending in CA 5.

531.5 *Eleby* v. *Louisville Municipal Housing Authority.* (WD Ky., Louisville Div., #3240.) *

531.6 *Sherrington* v. *Pelham Hall Apts., Inc.* (NY State Comm. Against Discrimination.) For facts, see II DOCKET 81. Jy. 2: 3-member hearing bd. of SCAD *found* Def. had denied Pl. apt. on basis of race, which Def. admitted. Jy. 24: Comm. *ordered* Def.: (1) to cease and desist from unlawful discriminatory practices, (2) rent future apts. on non-discriminatory basis, (3) state in ads that development was publicly-assisted and therefore subject to the law, (4) give Comm. list of all unrented apts. and, for next yr., submit mthly reports including names, addresses of applicants for apts. and reasons for all rejections.

531.6a *Pelham Hall Apts., Inc.* v. *NY State Comm. Against Discrimination.* (Sup. Ct., Westchester Co.) *

532. Private

532.2 *Ming* v. *Horgan, et al.* (Calif. Super. Ct., Sacramento Co., #97130.) *

532.3 *Beddoe* v. *Southeast Realty Bd., et al.* (Calif. Super. Ct., Los Angeles, #SG C 1050.) *

532.6 *Venable* v. *Creve Coeur, et al.* (ED Mo., #57 C45 (2).) For facts, see II DOCKET 63. Jy. 22: Ct. *sustained* Def's motion to dismiss.

532.8 *Pennsylvania* v. *Williams, et al.* (Levittown.) (Bucks Co. Ct.) Pa. Atty. Genl. sought injunction prohibiting eight residents of Levittown from burning crosses, distributing inflammatory literature and scurrilous pictures, setting off bombs and firecrackers, participating in motorcades, making threats directed at the first Negro family in community. Oct. 23: Ct. *granted* preliminary injunction; application for permanent injunction pending.

Atty. Genl. Thomas D. McBride, for State, Harrisburg, Pa.

540. Transportation

541. Interstate

542. Intrastate

542.3 *Flemming* v. *S. Carolina Electric and Gas Co.* (CA 4.) *

542.4 *Evers, et al.* v. *Dwyer, Comm'r. of Public Service of City of Memphis, et al.* (WD Tenn., Civ. #2903.) *

542.6 *Virginia* v. *Ritter.* (Richmond Hustings Ct.) *

542.7 *Inter-Civic Council of Tallahassee, Inc., et al.* v. *City of Tallahassee.* (Cir. Ct., Leon Co., Law #8502.)*

542.8 *Georgia* v. *Rev. Borders, et al.* (Ala. Crim. Ct.)*

550. Miscellaneous Facilities

551. Recreational

551.Cal1 *McClain, by guardian ad litem* v. *City of S. Pasadena.* (Calif. Dist. Ct. of App., 2d Dist.)*

551.Fla2 *Moorhead, et al.* v. *City of Fort Lauderdale.* (SD Fla., #6820-M-Civ.) For facts, see II DOCKET 82. Jy. 10: Def.-City Comm. (3-2) voted to sell $1,000,000 municipal golf course for $562,000 private club after DC decision requiring no racial discrimination in use.

551.Fla3 *Ward, et al.* v. *City of Miami* (SD Fla., #6821-M-Civ.) Ct. *held* unconstitutional practice of municipally-owned golf course of limiting admission of Negro players to one day a week. Ct. *issued* permanent injunction requiring Defs. to admit Negroes "upon the same basis and same conditions as white citizens of Miami."

551.Mich1 *Bishop, et al.* v. *Hotels Statler Co., Inc., et al.* (ED Mich., S. Div., #16801.) Pls.-Michigan Negro ministers, delegates to Baptist Sunday School Convention in Dallas, Tex. June 17-23, confirmed hotel reservations in Defs.' Dallas hotel before leaving Detroit, but were denied accommodations in Defs.' Dallas hotel on arrival, Defs. alleging denial based on Texas segregation statutes. June 27: suit filed in Mich. DC for $10,000 damages for each Pl., under 8 USC 42 and 43. Defs. motion for change of venue to DC in Dallas pending.

George W. Crockett, Jr., Esq., 3220 Cadillac Tower, Detroit.

551.NY2 *Re Green Witch Club.* (NY Nassau Co. Sup. Ct., Mineola.) Restaurant and liquor licenses *suspended* by Bayville Mayor after owners allowed Negro employee to use adjacent beach and had Negro customers. Jy. 31: Village Bd. *upheld* suspension of licenses. Suit by owners of restaurant for reinstatement of licenses pending.

Joseph Fallon, Esq., Mineola, NY.

551.NY3 *Castle Hill Bench Club, Inc.* v. *Arbury.* (NY Ct. of App.) For facts, see I DOCKET 30, 65. Apr. 11, 1957 NY Ct. of App. unanimously *affirmed* rulings of NY State Comm. Against Discrimination and Sup. Ct.: 1) that swimming pool operated by Pl. was place of public accommodation within meaning of NY Civil Rights Law, 2) that SCAD finding that Pl. discriminated against Complainant because of color was supported by record; 3) that Pl. was not denied fair hearing before SCAD in first case in which SCAD held public hearing on complaint charging discrimination in place of public accommodation.

Henry Spitz, Esq., NY State Comm. Against Discrimination, 30 E. 37, NYC.

551.NC1 *North Carolina* v. *Simkins, et al.* (CA 4.) For facts, see II DOCKET 28, 63. Je. 28: CA 4 *upheld* DC injunction forbidding racial discrimination in use of Greensboro golf course, said "lease" to "private club" was to evade DC order. Case re Negro-Defs. who used course pending in N. C. Sup. Ct.

551.Va1 *Tate, et al.* v. *Va. Dept. of Conservation and Development.* (133 F. Supp. 53, 231 F. 2d 615.) For facts, see II DOCKET 28.

Case note in

3 Harvard Law Rev. 131-6 (Jan. 1957.)

551.Va2 *Holley, et al.* v. *City of Portsmouth.* (ED Va.) (150 F. Supp. 6.) Ct. had issued temporary injunction against Def.-City requiring it to grant unrestricted use of its golfing facilities without regard to race or color. Apr. 10, 1956: in view of City's compliance with temporary injunction and continuing right of Pls. to institute new action should violations occur, Ct. *denied* permanent injunction against City; continued case for one year to determine at that time whether permanent injunction necessary.

552. Others

552.Mich1 *Russau, et ano.* v. *Restlawn Memorial Park Corp., et al.* (Grand Rapids Super. Ct., Law #5279.)*

552.Va1 *Bissell* v. *Virginia.* (Va. Ct. of App.)*

552Wash1 *Browning* v. *Slenderella Systems of Seattle.* (Super. Ct., King County, Washington, #493710.) Pl., refused service in Def's. beauty salon because of race, brought action under Public Accommodation Law of State of Washington. Apr. 5, 1957: Ct. *found* wrongful discrimination within meaning of Law; *awarded* Pl. $750 in damages.

560. Family Matters

561. Marriage and divorce

562. Adoption

563. Custody

563.5 *Ondrejka* v. *Ondrejka.* (Wis. Sup. Ct.)*

564. Miscellaneous

564.2 *State of La. ex rel. Rodi* v. *City of New Orleans, et al.* (Ct. of Appeal of La., Orleans.) (Feb. 18, 1957). Death certificate of App't's. father first recorded as "white," then changed by Bureau of Vital Statistics to "Negro." App't. seeks to have it changed back to "white" on ground statute authorizing such change unconstitutional, that father was white. Feb. 18, 1957: Ct. of App. *refused* to order change: (1) because statute is not unconstitutional delegation of legislative authority nor denial of due process; (2) because preponderance of evidence showed mother of App't's. father was Negro, therefore App't's. father was properly described as Negro.

564.3 *Rose* v. *Deasy.* (Super. Ct., Suffolk Co., Mass.) Petition by native of Brava Island in Cape Verde Islands to have word "colored" struck from her marriage license. Mar. 12, 1957: on presentation of passports, birth certificates, death certificates describing parties and their parents as white, and on inspection of Petr. by Ct., Ct. *decreed* Pets. were white, ordered word "colored" stricken from marriage license.

564.4 *Evans* v. *Young, et al.* (Tenn. Sup. Ct.) Appeal from decision that collateral heirs of Negro born in Mississippi of slave parents would inherit real property in Tennessee in preference to persons designated in will of surviving wife. Feb. 8, 1957: Judgment *affirmed* on ground Mississippi statutes legitimized deceased, that public policy in Tennessee requires deceased be recognized as legitimate, therefore collateral heirs entitled to inherit. *Held* no distinction should be made between issue of slave marriages subsequently legitimized by statute, and other illegitimate children subsequently legitimized by marriage of parents.

570. Employment

571. Racial discrimination

571.1 Brooks, et al. v. School Dist. of Moberly, et al. (ED Mo., #551.)*

571.2 *Dixon, et al.* v. *Barrows, et al.* (Mo. Cir. Ct., 13th Jud. Dist., #213220, Div. 5.)*

571.3 Wise v. Gasaway, et al. (ED Ark., Civ. #2736.)

571.4 *Jeanpierre* v. *State Commission Against Discrimination.* (NY Ct. of App.) (3 App. Div. 2d 514.) For facts, see II Docket 29. May 7: App. Div., 1st Dept. *held* for Def. (3-2), *ruling* that a finding by SCAD-member dismissing complaint without hearing is excluded from judicial review by NY Exec. Law. Appeal to be argued Jan. 1958 term.

571.8 *Franklin* v. *Trans World Airlines.* (N. Y. State Comm. Against Discrimination.) For facts, see II Docket 82. Jy. 7: Comm. *adjourned* hearing for 3 mths. *on condition* Def. during period will interview all Negro applicants re qualifications for flight hostess and notify Comm. its decision re such applicants; Def. will reinterview Pl. and notify Comm. its new decision. Pending.

571.9 *Oliphant, et al.* v. *Bro. Locomotive Fireman and Enginemen, et al.* (ND Ohio, #31464 Civ.) For facts, see II Docket 82. Sept. 28: DC *denied* Pls. application for injunction compelling Def.-Union to accept them as members, on ground Cts. have no power re membership in voluntary organizations unless Congress acts.

571.10 *Richardson, et al.* v. *Texas and New Orleans Rr. Co., et al.* (CA 5.) Pls.-Negro employees of railroad sued for declaratory judgment that existing labor agreement is discriminatory and unenforceable, and for damages from Def.-Co. and union. Pls. contended lower ct. should have assumed jurisdiction of action, since union contract perpetuated a pre-existing discriminatory practice and was in derogation of union's statutory duty under Railway Labor Act to represent Pls. fairly and impartially. Defs. contended employees were first relegated to their administrative remedy before Natl. Railroad Adjustment Bd. which they failed to exhaust. DC *dismissed* action. Mar. 14, 1957: CA 5 *reversed and remanded, held* Pls. entitled to judicial relief for breach of statutory representatives' duty to bargain impartially regardless of race or color and also to damages for both Co. and union.

571.11 *Marshal, et al.* v. *Central Ga. Ry. Co., et al.* (SD Ga.) Pls.-Negro employees of Def. sought to enjoin putting into effect of labor agreement between Def. and duly authorized collective bargaining agent of employees. Pls. contended agreement invalid because it discriminated against Negro trainmen, and that they should not be forced to accept representation by bargaining agent so long as it refused them membership because of color. Oct. 24, 1956: injunction *denied* on ground that contract does not discriminate against any special class or group on account of race, color or creed but equally affects all persons covered by agreement.

571.12 *Jones* v. *American President Lines, Ltd., et al.* (Dist. Ct. of Appeal, 1st Dist., 2nd Div., Calif.) Appeal from dismissal of action for damages resulting from alleged civil conspiracy among 3 Defs. to deny Pl. employment aboard Defs.' ships because he is a Negro. March 20, 1957: Judgment *reversed* on ground that consent decree entered by N. L. R. B. against Defs. preserved in force the provision of pre-existing labor agreement protecting employees against discrimination because of sex, race, creed, color, or national origin.

571.13 *Gaines* v. *Davis, Co. Probation Officer.* (Contra Costa Co. Super. Ct., Calif.) Pl.-social worker seeking injunction requiring her appointment as field probation officer by Def. after rejection because her husband, a deputy probation officer, is a Negro. Sept. 16: 2-day trial; briefs to be filed.

Robert L. Condon, Esq., Martinez, Calif.; Fay Stender, Esq., Berkeley, Calif.; Albert M. Bendich, Staff Counsel, Am. Civil Liberties Union of N. Calif., 503 Market St., San Francisco.

571.14 *Re Checker Cab Co.* (Mich. Fair Employment Practices Comm.) Aug. 28: FEPC ordered public hearing on charges that Resp. Co., largest taxi co. in Detroit, discriminated against Negroes in hiring drivers. Sept. 21: hearing opened.

580. Civil Actions under Civil Rights Law Not Otherwise Covered

590. Criminal Prosecutions under Civil Rights Law

590.2 *Atterbury* v. *Ragen, Warden.* (U.S.S.C.) For facts, see II Docket 64. May 20: certiorari *denied.*

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May 6, 1958

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Executive Director
National Association of Social Workers, Inc.
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New York 16, New York

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Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS, INC. 95 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, NEW YORK MURRAY HILL 6-7128

April 29, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

The National Association of Social Workers is calling a conference of representatives of our members in Southern and Mid-Atlantic States to discuss problems facing social workers which have been intensified by the 1954 Supreme Court Decision on Desegregation. The group which planned this conference suggested that we may obtain from you copies of materials which would be helpful in our discussions. Our conference is planned for June 7 and 8 in Washington, D. C. We would appreciate having from you copies of materials which could be used for exhibit purposes. I wish you would let me know if your organization can make these materials available to us.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph P. Anderson

Joseph P. Anderson
Executive Director

JPA/dl

October 2, 1958

Miss Elizabeth B. Coleman
Washington Representative
National Consumers League
1025 Vermont Avenue, N. W.
Room 716
Washington, D. C.

Dear Miss Coleman:

Your letter inquiring about Miss Lucy Randolph Mason has come to my attention. After a long and fruitful career, with which you are familiar, several years ago Miss Lucy's age and failing health took their toll. She has been for some time in a private nursing home. It is unfortunate that this information didn't reach you long before, so that you could have retired her name to your inactive list.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

NATIONAL CONSUMERS LEAGUE
FOR FAIR LABOR STANDARDS

1025 VERMONT AVENUE, N. W. ROOM 716 • DISTRICT 7-3853 • WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

Elizabeth S. Magee
General Secretary

September 30, 1958

Mr. Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I wish to thank you very much for letting Dr. Lathrop know that Dr. Mitchell has retired and is now living in Scotland.

I am wondering if you could help us out again with an address. Miss Lucy Randolph Mason has been a member and an official in the National Consumers League for many years. She has, however, not been active recently and the letters which we have sent to her at her last known address, 79½ Poplar Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Georgia, have been returned to us. As she has been active for many years in the type of work which your Council participates in, I am hoping that you may have her present address.

The League will be most grateful to you if you can let us know Miss Mason's present address.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth B. Coleman

Elizabeth B. Coleman
Washington Representative

EBC/pcw

John Howland Lathrop, *President*
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NATIONAL CONSUMERS LEAGUE

1025 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Washington 5, D. C. • DIstrict 7-3853

Vera Waltman Mayer
General Secretary

August 11, 1959

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Dr. Fleming:

For the first time since 1951, a Congressional group has begun work on the problems of migrant farm workers. The new Subcommittee on Migrant Labor of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare plans a "comprehensive program of action," according to its Chairman, Senator Harrison A. Williams.

Because of your concern with the appalling conditions under which farm workers live and work, I am enclosing a memo on the Subcommittee's formation, plans and first day of hearings. Also enclosed is a copy of the opening statement by Senator Williams setting forth the Subcommittee's policy.

I want to call your special attention to the three steps suggested at the end of the memo on the new Subcommittee. It would be extremely helpful if you or your organization could undertake any or all of these actions. You can well imagine that groups which oppose legislative remedies for migrant farm labor problems will undertake a campaign to kill or hamper the work of the Subcommittee. The actions suggested in the memo will help to show the Subcommittee and other Senators that many persons are concerned with this immense social problem and want action.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Vera Mayer

Vera Waltman Mayer
General Secretary

VWM/ic

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The National Consumers League is an educational movement founded in May, 1899, to awaken consumers' interest in their responsibility for conditions under which goods are made and distributed, and through investigation, education and legislation, to promote fair labor standards.

NATIONAL CONSUMERS LEAGUE

1025 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Washington 5, D. C. • DIstrict 7-3853

August 10, 1959

Vera Waltman Mayer
General Secretary

MEMO ON NEW SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON MIGRANT FARM LABOR PROBLEMS

The Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare has established a new Subcommittee to provide legislative remedies for the problems of migrant farm workers. It is the Subcommittee on Migrant Labor. It consists of Senators Harrison A. Williams, Jr. (D., N.J.), Chairman; James E. Murray (D., Mont.); Jennings Randolph (D., W.Va.); Barry Goldwater (R., Ariz.) and Everett M. Dirksen (R., Ill.).

Two days after the Subcommittee was established, it held its first hearing (on Friday, August 7, 1959). It took over the job which the Labor Subcommittee was to undertake. The latter group, under the chairmanship of Senator John F. Kennedy (D., Mass.), was to hold hearings on minimum wage legislation for farm workers. These hearings had been under consideration for some time, but were never finalized or publicly announced. When the Subcommittee on Migrant Labor was formed, it took the responsibility of holding these hearings and the first result was the session of August 7.

SUBCOMMITTEE POLICY

Senator Williams began this hearing with a statement of policy for the Subcommittee. He said in part:

> "The Subcommittee this morning begins the task of finding legislative remedies and corrective action which respond to the public concern for the appalling conditions faced by many of the migrant laborers who earn their living by following the crop harvests throughout the United States. The public concern for these conditions, in the opinion of the Chairman of this Subcommittee, is based upon three fundamental propositions:
>
> (1) A democratic and affluent society such as ours will not tolerate pockets of poverty and human degradation such as those presented by the migrant laborer.
>
> (2) A democratic society deplores exploitation of the weak and uninformed.
>
> (3) A democratic society does not accept the concept of inequality by birth; and, therefore, will not permit economic hardship, educational disadvantages, and health disabilities, to be passed on from parent to child. It surely follows that we must find effective means to prevent the children of migrant laborers from inheriting the extremely unfortunate economic circumstances of their parents."

John Howland Lathrop, *President* Hyman Schroeder, *Treasurer* Mrs. Louise Q. Blodgett, *Recording Secretary*

Mrs. Richard A. Zwemer, *Chairman, Board of Directors* Louise Stitt, *Vice-Chairman, Board of Directors* Walter Frank, *Vice-Chairman, Board of Directors* Eleanor Hadley, *Vice-Chairman, Board of Directors*

He continued that the Subcommittee already had four major bills before it for consideration. These, according to Senator Williams, are:

(1) S. 1085, By Senator Pat McNamara (D., Mich.), to provide a minimum wage floor for workers employed on large corporation farms.

(2) S. 1778, by Senator Jacob Javits (R., N.Y.), to provide for the registration of migrant labor contractors in interstate commerce.

(3) S. 2141, by Senator McNamara, to ban child labor in agriculture during non-school hours (school-hour agricultural child labor is already forbidden).

(4) S. 2498, by Senator Williams, to provide for the registration and regulation of migrant labor contractors in interstate commerce.

Senator Williams called these bills "just a starting point." He declared, "... they signal that the time for action in this field is at hand, that we must now buckle down to the job of finding concrete legislative remedies for the appalling conditions faced by many of our citizens who earn their living harvesting crops throughout the Nation."

He pointed the Subcommittee to "three main action areas." They are:

(1) Action to provide these citizens a decent wage.

(2) Action to provide the children of migrant laborers with educational opportunity befitting American citizens.

(3) Action to improve the health of the migrant laborer, with particular emphasis on the health and welfare of their children.

In his opening statement, Senator Williams looked forward to "additional legislation [to the bills he enumerated] to cover in a comprehensive way the three mentioned areas." He said "subsequent hearings, staff research, consultation with experts in the field and on the spot investigation of the problems of these workers" would serve to develop the additional bills.

"The Subcommittee intends to investigate all aspects of the migrant labor situation in the United States today," he declared. In addition, Senator Williams said:

"We will secure testimony from the interested departments of the Federal Government, the sponsors of the proposed legislation, from private and public welfare organizations, from labor unions and farm organizations, from churchmen and church organizations, and from any others who have an interest in this general problem and who may be able to give us enlightenment on this subject."

FIRST WITNESSES

The Subcommittee's witnesses during its first hearing were Undersecretary of Labor James T. O'Connell and Nathan Koenig, Office of the Administrator, Agricultural Marketing Service, U. S. D. A.

Neither of these witnesses presented anything new. Mr. O'Connell recited some statistics on the abject wage and working conditions of migrant farm workers. He welcomed the formation of the new Subcommittee and promised it the Labor Department's full cooperation. He endorsed S. 1778, the Administration's bill for the registration of migrant labor contractors or crew leaders and urged action on it. Mr. O'Connell did not comment on any of the other bills. He declared, as Department of Labor officials have done previously, that the Department currently had a full-scale study on migrant farm labor problems and statistics underway. He said this study would be ready in January, 1960 and that it would include the Department's recommendations on legislation.

Mr. Koenig also endorsed S. 1778. He simply stated that the Department of Agriculture was cooperating with the Department of Labor. He promised cooperation with the Subcommittee.

SUBCOMMITTEE PLANS

Senator Williams has told the National Consumers League that the Subcommittee plans to hold further hearings in Washington in September. At that time, the Subcommittee plans to hear groups interested in migrant farm labor problems. Following these hearings, the Subcommittee intends to travel throughout the country to study migrant farm labor problems on the spot. Public hearings in various areas will probably be held.

ACTION FOR INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS

Individuals and organizations concerned about the problems of migrant farm workers should undertake one, several or all of the following actions:

(1) Ask for an opportunity to testify at the coming public hearings of the Subcommittee on Migrant Labor. During these hearings, it will be possible to present information to the Subcommittee on the program and to support legislative remedies.

(2) Write Senator Williams supporting the investigations of the Subcommittee and an action program to provide legislative remedies for the migrant farm labor problems.

(3) Write your own Senators supporting the investigations of the Subcommittee and an action program to provide legislative remedies for migrant farm labor problems.

STATEMENT OF SENATOR HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR., DEMOCRAT, NEW JERSEY, ON OPENING

PUBLIC HEARINGS OF THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON MIGRANT LABOR, August 7, 1959

The Subcommittee on Migrant Labor will come to order.

Senator Lister Hill, Chairman of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, has appointed me as Chairman of the Subcommittee on Migrant Labor. Serving with me as members of this Subcommittee are Senator Murray, of Montana, the ranking majority member of the full Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Senator Jennings Randolph, of West Virginia, Senator Barry Goldwater, ranking minority member of the full Committee, of Arizona, and Senator Everett Dirksen, of Illinois.

The Subcommittee this morning begins the task of finding legislative remedies and corrective action which respond to the public concern for the appalling conditions faced by many of the migrant laborers who earn their living by following the crop harvests throughout the United States. The public concern for these conditions, in the opinion of the Chairman of this Subcommittee, is based upon three fundamental propositions:

(1) A democratic and affluent society such as ours will not tolerate pockets of poverty and human degradation such as those presented by the migrant laborer.

(2) A democratic society deplores exploitation of the weak and uninformed.

(3) A democratic society does not accept the concept of inequality by birth; and, therefore, will not permit economic hardship, educational disadvantages, and health disabilities, to be passed on from parent to child. It surely follows that we must find effective means to prevent the children of migrant laborers from inheriting the extremely unfortunate economic circumstances of their parents.

Four major bills relating to specific parts of the migrant labor problem have been referred to this Subcommittee for appropriate consideration and action. These bills are:

S. 1085, introduced by Senator McNamara and Senator Clark to provide a minimum wage floor for migrant workers employed by large corporate farms.

S. 1778, introduced by Senator Javits and Senator Keating to provide for the registration of migrant labor contractors engaged in interstate commerce.

S. 2141, introduced by Senator McNamara and others, to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 so as to bring agricultural child labor within its protection. The sponsors of this bill include five members of the full Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Senator McNamara, Senator Javits, Senator Morse, Senator Murray, and myself.

S. 2498, introduced by myself and others is somewhat similar to S. 1778 in that both of these bills provide for the registration and regulation of migrant labor contractors engaged in interstate commerce. The sponsors of S. 2498, in addition to myself, are Senator Clark, Senator Dodd, Senator Douglas, Senator Humphrey, Senator McCarthy, Senator Morse, Senator Murray, Senator Neuberger, Senator Proxmire and Senator Young.

These bills, which, as previously mentioned, are aimed at specific parts of the migrant labor problem, do not indicate the limits of the Subcommittee's task. In the opinion of the Chairman, the pending legislation represents a starting point in this area - a good starting point, I might say, but nonetheless still just a starting point. The more important significance of the bills, in my judgment, is that they signal that the time for action in this field now is at hand, that we must now buckle down to the job of finding concrete legislative remedies for the appalling conditions faced by many of our citizens who earn their living by harvesting crops throughout the Nation.

While a comprehensive program of action cannot be developed until the Subcommittee has completed its hearings and assembled all the relevant facts, as far as the Chairman of the Subcommittee is concerned, the information currently available shows that three main action areas can be defined at this time. These are:

(1) Action to provide these citizens a decent wage.

(2) Action to provide the children of migrant laborers with educational opportunity befitting American citizens.

(3) Action to improve the health of the migrant laborer, with particular emphasis on the health and welfare of their children.

Regarding the health aspects of this matter, we should keep constantly in mind that the communities through which the migrant laborer travels and in which he works, and the persons who ultimately use food stuffs harvested and processed by him, have an important interest in improving the health of the migrant laborer group. Indeed, from an over-all standpoint, the public interest in the health of the migrant is at least equal to, and perhaps even outweighs, the private interest of the migrant in his own health.

The three main action areas, which I have outlined, will be the first concern of the Subcommittee; and I would note here that the pending bills have important implications for one or more of the action areas.

Additional legislation, to cover in a comprehensive way the three mentioned areas, will be developed from this and subsequent hearings, staff research, consultations with experts in the field, and on the spot investigations of the problems of these workers.

The Subcommittee intends to investigate all aspects of the migrant labor situation in the United States today. We will secure testimony from the interested departments of the Federal Government, the sponsors of the proposed legislation, from private and public welfare organizations, from labor unions and farm organizations, from churchmen and church organizations, and from any others who have an interest in this general problem and who may be able to give us enlightenment on this subject.

The Subcommittee will also solicit help and guidance from the many groups, Government agencies, and committees that have already commenced work in this field. The President's Committee on Migratory Labor should be a valuable source of information. The Interstate Commerce Commission, which has begun to investigate the interstate transportation of migrants, will have some forwardlooking ideas, I am sure.

Secretary of Labor Mitchell is a notable advocate of action in this field, and we know that he will provide valuable help and guidance to the Subcommittee.

At this time there will be placed in the record of these hearings copies of the bills referred to, together with explanations thereof, introductory remarks of sponsors, and the reports thereon from the several departments and agencies of the Federal Government.

August 18, 1959

Miss Ruth A. Bottomly
Office Director
National Congress of Parents and Teachers
700 North Rush Street
Chicago 11, Illinois

Dear Miss Bottomly:

Could you please supply us with a list of state presidents of Parent Teachers Associations for the following states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Tennessee, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas and Kentucky?

We would appreciate this service immensely.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/mf

No answer

NATIONAL CONSUMERS LEAGUE

1025 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Washington 5, D. C. • DIstrict 7-3853

Vera Waltman Mayer
General Secretary

October 5, 1960

RECEIVED
OCT 7 1960

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Fleming:

During the last year you have had an opportunity to become familiar with the work of the National Consumers League through our mailings to you on such vital social issues as legislation concerning migrant farm labor and minimum wage improvements.

Because of your interest in these issues, which form a fundamental part of the activities of the National Consumers League, we feel you are undoubtedly in sympathy with the League's program and work. In addition to the issues mentioned, the League gives direction and information and actively works on such basic areas of concern as health care, the expansion of educational and housing facilities, consumer protection and the peacetime uses of radioactive materials.

We would like to invite you to become a member of the League. We would like to be in touch with you on all issues with which the League is concerned. Also, we need your support on all issues, both legislatively and financially.

I am enclosing a membership envelope. Your membership contribution will make possible the legislative and educational work of the League.

We believe the League is an effective voice in support of needed social legislation. I am enclosing a report on legislation and our activities on behalf of legislation in the 1960 Congressional session. From the report you can judge our activities.

With best regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Vera Mayer

Vera Waltman Mayer
General Secretary

John Howland Lathrop, *President* Hyman Schroeder, *Treasurer* Mrs. Louise Q. Blodgett, *Recording Secretary*

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LEGISLATION AND THE NATIONAL CONSUMERS LEAGUE ACTIVITY IN 1960

(Not printed at Government expense)

Congressional Record

United States of America — PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 86th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

June 29

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

13912

their money into the planting and the fertilization and the cultivation of it and have their crop made and then, because we are unable to get the labor to harvest that crop, be deprived of bringing in the people to it. I do not think the gentleman intentionally meant to do that, but you would be doing a great injustice to a large number of people who are entirely dependent upon imported labor, and I do not think the gentleman would want to have that injustice done. Therefore, I think the amendment to the amendment should be defeated.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentlewoman from Oregon (Mrs. GREEN).

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Chairman, my opposition to the extension of this public law I think can be summed up in a paragraph in a letter from the National Consumers League:

"This is a shocking and horrible piece of legislation in our opinion. It would continue the importation of Mexican farm workers—some half million now are imported each year—despite the evidence supplied by distinguished citizens that this program causes severe poverty, unemployment, and underemployment among domestic farm workers.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the McGovern-Fogarty amendment. I think it would be an improvement to the bill.

If I may comment briefly on a visit I made to a Mexican labor camp last fall; first of all, there was in my opinion, a violation of the law. The law, as I understand it, says that no Mexican national may be brought in if domestic labor is available. Yet, two days previously they sent back the Texas domestic workers and retained 40 Mexican nationals at this camp. I thought there was great exploitation of the workers. They were charged $1.75 a day for their food. At noon they received a bologna and cheese sandwich which is not in the Mexican diet. The food was not included in the [illegible]

The living conditions [illegible] there was filth all round.

Because pay was on a piecemeal basis, the Mexican nationals claimed they were given poor places to pick the fruit and they could not earn as much as the domestic workers who were given better trees.

It is my contention that inherent in this program is gross exploitation.

In conclusion, may I say, that if decent wages were paid, there would be plenty of domestic workers and there would be no need to import the Mexican nationals.

I oppose the extension of this law for 2 more years or even 1 more year—if these amendments cannot be adopted.

Our State labor commissioner and his assistant, Tom Current, have made a detailed study of the migrant workers—both domestic and Mexican nationals. In a hearing conducted by Secretary of Labor Mitchell, Commissioner Norm Nilsen had this to say:

"We to Oregon have made a close study of the conditions of migratory farmworkers. And can cite them, chapter and verse. However, every State in which any study has been made has found conditions similar, or worse, to those found in the State of Oregon. A number of State agencies, at the request of a State legislative interim study committee, conducted an extensive survey in 1958 which led to the establishment of a bureau of information on conditions in Oregon. The bureau of labor interviewed over 1,200 migrants in a selective sampling of this State's sizable migrant population. In doing so, staff members of my department worked long hours, 7 days a week, during many weeks—they lived with them and sought them out wherever they were—in the camps, worked in the fields with them and sought them out wherever they were—in the camps, in the fields, even in the railroad jungles, and the taverns if that was where they were. Other agencies took assignments related to their jurisdiction.

In Oregon the public employment service is not under the bureau of labor. This separate department, therefore, had a different assignment from ours. The State employment service interviewed over 4,000 growers with respect to their problems and their viewpoint. The welfare department talked to all of the migrant applicants for aid during a 3-month period throughout the state. The board of health interviewed 2,000 migrants relative to their health and checked the sanitation of a large number of camps and fields. The industrial accident commission checked over 500 trucks and buses for safety.

The following comments relate in very brief form the findings of these agencies pertinent to the problems in these areas treated by the regulations proposed by the Secretary of Labor at this hearing:

HOUSING—TITLE 29, CHAPTER V, SECTION [illegible]

The Oregon State Board of Health reported that over one-quarter of all migrant housing facilities to their survey sample were in a condition, or of a type, which were so unsatisfactory as to be nuisances to the public health of the State of Oregon. The board of health, moreover, showed that many, many more than one-quarter of the facilities were unsatisfactory in one respect or another, conditions which also would be considered as unhealthful.

The bureau of labor found in one county, for example, 14 percent of the migrant population had no shelter other than bedding rolls, tarps and stick arrangements, or personal automobiles. The 14 percent included [illegible] large platform [illegible] were ordinary campsites.

The bureau of labor [illegible] State that a one-room [illegible] situation for a family [illegible] single migrants. Of the [illegible] singles in buildings [illegible] in our survey sample [illegible] one-room cabins. Six [illegible] families were in one-room [illegible] these families, approximately [illegible] an average of 4.3 [illegible]

We look no average [illegible] tion on the size of [illegible] familiar with migrant [illegible] the cabins are either [illegible] room, the parents eat [illegible] their children, either [illegible] their belongings. [illegible] children.

Although the Oregon [illegible] very, even more than [illegible] vey, conducted [illegible] Oregon State Employ[illegible] adds insight into the [illegible] which we must focus.

One thousand [illegible] stors with migrant [illegible] employment service [illegible] that only 10.5 percent [illegible] and 14.6 percent of their barrack units have been constructed since 1952. There is considerable doubt that the percentage is as high with respect to the proportion of workers accommodated. The only figure available on proportion of workers accommodated was on the barrack type. Of the barrack units built since 1952 (14.6 percent of the total barracks), only 6.9 percent of the total workers (30.5 percent) were accommodated. (Table XVII and XVIII, 1956 Farm Operator Survey, OBES.)

These statistics are dramatized by the most frequent estimate of these farm operators that the life expectancy of their migrant housing was between 10 and 14 years (Table XX). With 85 percent of the housing units already over 7 years old, it is obvious that new construction was not keeping pace with the need.

Furthermore, of the 4,278 farm operators reporting (1,017 of whom had some housing), only 85 were planning any expansion (Table XXI).

Since this is the housing situation, [illegible] would appear unjustifiable for a Federal agency to sanction importation of workers into a State without some proof that [illegible] of the adequacy of the housing [illegible] such a substantial proportion of the [illegible] is of a quality below decent standards [illegible] more than likely that a substantial [illegible] tion of the imported workers would [illegible] inadequately housed. In Oregon he [illegible]

'Truth in Lending' Bill Has Split Administration and Is Giving Business Community Headache

Calls for Sellers to State 'Simple Annual Interest Rate'—Douglas and 17 Other Senate Backers Hopeful of Passage in New Congress.

By JAMES DEAKIN
Washington Correspondent of the Post-Dispatch.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 6.

WITH THE FORTHCOMING SHORT SESSION of Congress likely to emphasize political jockeying, there appears to be little chance for enactment of a pending major piece of consumer legislation—the "truth in lending" bill sponsored by Senator Paul H. Douglas (Dem.), Illinois.

Douglas and the 17 other Democratic Senators who are backing the bill are guardedly optimistic, however, that the measure will be passed in the Eighty-seventh Congress which convenes in January. In the interim they plan to continue an educational campaign which they believe already has shown some results.

The Douglas [illegible] financing charges [illegible] being purchased, expressed in terms of a "simple annual interest rate."

Although this sounds simple enough, it has stirred up controversy. Retailers [illegible] uncomfortable [illegible] charges which a [illegible]

The Republican platform adopted at Chicago last month is silent on the Douglas proposal. Vice President Richard M. Nixon, the G.O.P. presidential nominee, has been noncommittal. A group of business men the Post-Dispatch was told, sought to talk to Mr. Nixon [illegible] was prompted by two closely related considerations: the tremendous increase in installment buying in recent years and the widely-held belief that many buyers do not have a clear idea what much interest they are actually required to pay when [illegible] on time.

[illegible] BOARD [illegible]

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH — Aug. 7, 1960

[illegible] through the Douglas bill, at least theoretically, would apply to all retail transactions involving credit, including home mortgages; the measure is designed primarily to apply to short-term installment credit, which essentially means new and used cars, other durable goods, and personal loans from banks and small loan companies.

DOUGLAS, AN ECONOMIST, has said that because of varied and misleading finance charges, over one-third of the American public simply does not have a definite idea, accurate or otherwise, of what installment credit costs. Those who do have an idea, he added, frequently think the cost of credit is less than it actually is.

Those who support the interest labeling proposal, including the National Consumers League and various labor groups, point out that since installment credit does not involve the use of money, it is not subject to the laws of usury.

Although most states have placed a limit on credit charges (the highest is an effective rate of 21 per cent per annum), the state laws do not require that the financing charges be expressed in the form of a simple annual interest rate, which is what the ordinary person understands by the word interest.

WITNESSES TOLD a banking and currency subcommittee headed by Douglas that this simple [illegible] appliances, a per annum interest [illegible] cars and home [illegible] is often quoted ranging from [illegible] to 8 per cent, with 6 per cent [illegible] the most common figure. The [illegible] buyer repays the purchase price [illegible] installments but continues to [illegible] the same rate of interest on [illegible] unpaid balance.

[illegible] the purchase price is $1000, [illegible] repaid over a year, the [illegible] at 6 per cent is $60 and [illegible] monthly payments about $88. [illegible] the buyer has not actually [illegible] had the use of) a full [illegible] over a full year, since he [illegible] $88 each month. On [illegible] payment, for instance, [illegible] ing interest at the rate [illegible] year on an unpaid balance [illegible]

This means that the buyer has actually had the use of about $500, averaged out over a year. His actual rate of interest has been almost 12 per cent, not 6.

2. On small loans, an interest rate of 2 or 3 per cent a month may be quoted. The Douglas subcommittee was told that a surprising number of people think they are getting a low rate of interest, not realizing that this comes out to 24 or 36 per cent a year.

3. Using what is called revolving credit, some department stores or mail-order houses will quote an interest of 1½ per cent a month on the unpaid balance. This actually comes out to 18 per cent a year.

4. In the so-called "easy payments" plans, which state "a dollar down, a dollar a week," is quoted, and the buyer, in Douglas's words, is at the mercy of "hucksters and fast-talking salesmen."

THE CONTROVERSY over the interest labeling bill has centered around its requirement that actual financing charges on a retail item be stated in terms of an easily-understood actual annual interest rate.

Opponents of the bill, included Senator Wallace F. Bennett (Rep.) Utah, who runs a department store and automobile agency in Salt Lake City, have asserted that it would be all but impossible for the [illegible] [illegible] president of the National Foundation for Consumer Credit, told the subcommittee the American public's concept of "interest" is based on the "6 per cent per annum" idea.

"It is too much to ask the business community to . . . completely re-educate the American people to the point of eliminating this fiction from their minds—this fiction that 6 per cent per annum is interest and that interest is 6 per cent per annum," he told the subcommittee.

The National Consumers League replied however, [illegible] "Frankly, we find it hard to imagine that a well-run finance company or retail store maintaining an efficient accounting department . . . would find any difficulty in determining these rates.

"Surely, the accounting department employees are more able to deal with the formulae than are the customers."

WASHINGTON CHRONICLE

Monday, June 20, 1960

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Higher Pay Not Mass Bracero Program, Is Proper Solution

Congress is looking into the problem of the migrant farm worker—one of these problems we always have with us and of which we cannot be proud.

A House resolution would continue for two years, without change, Public Law 78 which provides for the mass importation of Mexican farm workers, or braceros. It also would deny the secretary of agriculture his present authority to establish standards for wages, transportation and housing for farm workers recruited by the United States Employment Service. The National Consumers League calls the House resolution (No. 12178) thoroughly bad, particularly in that it would, the league says, permit undercutting of existing area wages and other standards. The league goes on from there to assert that importation of braceros should be eliminated over a five-year period.

The bracero program has worked well for the imported laborers and for the farm owners. However, it has worked a tremendous hardship on the native American farm laborer.

His purpose was to assure an adequate supply [illegible] labor and incidentally [illegible] of "wetbacks" [illegible] plated and [illegible] deportation [illegible] depress [illegible]

A case can be made for the theory that the bracero depresses wages. He certainly is too tough competition for the native migrant laborers. While the bracero can earn enough money in three to six months for his family to live on in Mexico for twice as long, the native American farm worker cannot live in this country on the 50 cents an hour which is the usual wage the bracero gets. (Cotton picking generally pays a little more.)

The result is that each year as the harvest season begins there is a mass exodus of Texas farm workers, mostly Latin Americans, to points in the North and Northwest where they can get better wages and are not so directly exposed to competition from their fellow Latins from across the border.

What is needed, it would seem, even more than a program of phasing out the importation of braceros over a period of years is to raise farm wages in Texas and other states where the minimum is anything like 50 cents an hour. Surely $1 an hour is little enough for that hard, back-breaking work. If wages were raised to $1 an hour the lot of the native farm laborers would [illegible] and the domestic [illegible] sharply, [illegible] anything [illegible] each

THE WASHINGTON POST
August 16, 1960

For Fairer Wages

Both major political parties have formally pledged in their platforms to increase the minimum wage and extend the coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act to millions of low-paid workers. The 1960 Democratic platform says, "We pledge to raise the minimum wage to $1.25 an hour and to extend coverage to several million workers not now protected." The 1960 Republican platform pledges "upward revision in amount and extended coverage of the minimum wage to millions more workers."

Both parties will have an opportunity in the present session of Congress to put into legislative effect this part of their platforms. One of the first orders of business before the Senate is S. 3758 which would increase the minimum wage in gradual stages to $1.25 an hour over a three-year period.

It would also extend protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act to about 5 million more workers. This bill is a moderate measure.

S. 3758 had bipartisan support in the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee. It certainly should have full support both from Democrats and Republicans in the entire Senate when it is considered.

It must be quickly pointed out that the measure passed by the House, the Ayres-Kitchin bill, does not meet the criteria set by either the Democratic or Republican platform. Even if that bill did not have the shocking error which exempts 14 million previously covered employees, it would still fall far short of the platform promises. The Ayres-Kitchin bill, in [illegible] correctly drawn form, [illegible] provide coverage for [illegible] million new workers [illegible] would come [illegible] 700,000 [illegible] from some [illegible] who have enjoyed FLSA [illegible] tection since the inception of the law in 1938. Thus the Ayres-Kitchin bill would have a net increase in coverage of 700,000 people. This can [illegible] by be considered an extension of coverage to "several million" workers not now protected," as the Democratic platform says, or to "several million more workers" as the Republican platform states.

S. 3758 deserves the support of the legislators of both parties. It is legislation which is desperately needed, long overdue and definitely promised.

VERA MAYER,
General Secretary, National Consumers League.
Washington.

AFL-CIO NEWS, WASHINGTON, D. C., SATURDAY, MAY 16, 1959

Churchmen Hold Morality Demands [illegible]

[illegible] of $1.25 an hour and the widest possible extension of coverage, two churchmen told Congress [illegible] require a minimum [illegible] minimum would raise paid workers and interfere [illegible]

But [illegible] these objections had already been answered by Very Rev. Francis B. Sayre, Jr., dean of the Washington Cathedral and chairman [illegible] Committee on the Fair Labor Standards [illegible] Very Rev. Msgr. George G. Higgins, director, Social Action Dept., National Catholic Welfare Conference.

Dean Sayre said the business community opposed as "potential disasters" such social advances as the original wage-hour law, the social security system and unemployment compensation. Yet the economy is far healthier today, he added.

The ethical demand for a living wage outweighs the objections raised, Msgr. Higgins said. Employers forced by competition to pay low wages have a moral obligation to seek ways to end the exploitation and one way is a minimum wage floor.

THE WASHINGTON POST Thursday, March 24, 1960 A 21

Foreigners Said to Hurt Farm Labor

By Laurence Stern
Staff Reporter

A University of Chicago economics professor tangled with a House Agriculture subcommittee on [illegible] this country should continue importing foreign labor for seasonal farm work.

In a rough-and-tumble exchange which found both protagonists wearing thin, Prof. Gale Johnson charged that cheap Mexican labor is undercutting the income of American farmers.

Johnson, speaking for the National Consumers League, was the first witness to criticize the "bracero" program which last year brought 437,000 Mexicans into the United States for farm work. Other witnesses during two days have been grouped representatives.

The subcommittee, headed by Rep. Ezekiel C. Gathings (D-Ark.), has proposed a two-year extension of the 11-year-old foreign labor act.

Growers told the subcommittee they need foreign workers because there is an insufficient supply of domestic labor for harvesting. They also maintained the "bracero" program has built up a "vast reservoir of good will" with Mexico.

Committee members said Johnson's claim that there is no critical shortage of domestic workers was "preposterous," that he was "preposterous" in dealing in generalities and that he knew nothing about the problems of the farmer.

"I was raised on a farm and studied agricultural problems all my life," the professor shot back.

Johnson endorsed a bill by Rep. George McGovern (D-S. Dak.) which would gradually shut off the "bracero" program during the next five years. Such a move was suggested last October by consultants to the Labor Department.

NATIONAL CONSUMERS LEAGUE
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NATIONAL CONSUMERS LEAGUE

1025 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Washington 5, D. C. • DIstrict 7-3853

September 30, 1960

Vera Waltman Mayer
General Secretary

LEGISLATION
and
NATIONAL CONSUMERS LEAGUE
ACTIVITY IN 1960

The 86th Congress which came in like a lion has limped out like a sick lamb. Of the many social reforms which were high on the liberals' priority list of "must legislation," none have been signed into law. Only much watered-down civil rights and housing bills survived. Other vital social legislation survived some of the obstacles placed in the way by the conservative coalition in Congress and the Administration -- only to flounder and fail on other obstacles.

Strangely enough, on farm labor legislation, the area in which Congressional action has been so dismal in the past, there were two successes. For the first time in decades, the corporation farm groups were stopped this year. They were soundly defeated in their attempt to ban regulations concerning the interstate recruitment of farm workers, and they were prevented from getting the long extension of the Mexican farm labor importation program, Public Law 78, which they sought.

A quick run-down of the other major social legislation in the 86th Congress looks like this:

* Minimum Wage -- a very poor bill passed the House and a good bill passed the Senate, but the legislation died in the Senate-House Conference.

* Depressed Areas -- a good bill passed both the House and the Senate, but was vetoed by President Eisenhower.

* Aid to Education -- a good bill passed the Senate and a more limited bill passed the House, but bills died in the Rules Committee which refused to allow them to go to Senate-House Conference.

* Health Insurance for the Elderly under Social Security -- the Forand Bill was stopped in the House Ways and Means Committee, and efforts to put social security medical care into a weak bill on the Senate Floor were beaten by usual coalition of conservative Southern Democrats, Republicans and the conservative Administration.

* Second Housing Bill -- a good bill passed the Senate, but the House Rules Committee refused to allow the bill to come before the House for a vote.

* Federal Standards For Unemployment Compensation -- the measure was blocked in the House and most of its parts were defeated in the Senate.

In analyzing the record of failure of the 86th Congress to enact vital social legislation, the major reason is: the forces for reform were faced with a conservative

- over -

John Howland Lathrop, *President*
Hyman Schroeder, *Treasurer*
Mrs. Louise Q. Blodgett, *Recording Secretary*
Mrs. Richard A. Zwemer, *Chairman, Board of Directors*
Louise Stitt, *Vice-Chairman, Board of Directors*
Walter Frank, *Vice-Chairman, Board of Directors*
Eleanor Hadley, *Vice-Chairman, Board of Directors*

Administration, which worked closely with a tight coalition of conservative Republicans and Southern Democrats. This coalition controlled key Committee positions in both Houses of Congress.

Hope for the 87th Congress and enactment of liberal social legislation lies in the possibility that the following changes will be made:

1. A Change in Administration -- The elections may provide new direction for legislation in placing exponents of reform in the Presidency and powerful Administration positions.

2. A Change in the Conservative Coalition's Power -- The elections may also diminish the Conservative coalition's power by (a) the reduction of the number of conservatives in Congress, (b) the assertion of power by a liberal Administration, and (c) the changes in the structure of some major committees.

3. A Change in the Rules Committee's Structure and Functions -- The liberals in the House have grown restive under the undemocratic veto exercised by the powerful Rules Committee. The exact nature of the needed reform is now a subject of ardent discussion and planning.

4. A Change in the Senate Rules -- The filibuster or the threat of a filibuster, although at times useful to the liberals as well as the conservatives, is no longer tenable since it reduces the democratic legislative process to a test of physical endurance. The limited changes made at the beginning of the 86th Congress are being restudied with a view to further revisions.

5. A Change in the House Labor Committee -- The Conservative chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor, Rep. Graham Barden (D., N.C.), is retiring and is being replaced by Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D., N.Y.). This may make an immense difference for the prospects of minimum wage, education and labor legislation within the Committee.

6. A Change in Republican Leadership -- The aggressively conservative leader of the House Republicans, who is one of the two men most responsible for the resurgence of the House conservative coalition, Rep. Charles Halleck (R., Ind.), is in election trouble. If he is defeated, the conservatives could be seriously hampered in the House.

All of the factors above, except the change in the House Labor Committee, are only possibilities. They depend upon the outcome of the elections and upon developments in the two months after the elections.

Against this general background, let us look at the major pieces of legislation supported by the National Consumers League to consider what happened in 1960 in more detail and what the League did on behalf of these bills.

I. FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT AMENDMENTS

A. FLSA Legislation's History in 1960

The fight to increase the minimum wage to $1.25 an hour and to extend coverage to millions of unprotected workers in retail, service, laundry, and other low-wage industries came within eight votes of victory. Yet it failed to pass Congress.

The House Labor Committee which had dragged its feet during the first session of Congress held hearings in the spring and reported out a bill in June. This measure, although inferior to the Bill finally reported out by the Senate Committee, was a big step in the right direction.

The conservative coalition offered a substitute, the Kitchin Bill. The House by an eight vote margin adopted the Kitchin-Ayres bill, which provided for $1.15 an hour and extension of coverage to only 1.4 million workers. (These newly-covered workers would have had second class status with a minimum wage of only $1.00 - no more - and no overtime protection.) A mistake in the drafting of an amendment attached at the last minute by Rep. Frank Smith (D., Miss.), actually took away minimum wage protection from 14 million workers presently covered by the law.

The Senate went on to pass the Kennedy bill, which represents a landmark in the history of the Fair Labor Standards Act. It provided a minimum wage of $1.25 in three stages and full FLSA protection for 4,000,000 additional workers.

However, when representatives of the Senate and the House of Representatives met in conference to iron out the differences between the two minimum wage bills, the conservatives, led by Rep. Barden, would not accept any liberalization of the House-passed measure. The liberal conferees led by Senator John F. Kennedy (D., Mass.), regarded the House bill as a mockery of minimum wage legislation -- and rightly so. The Conference ended in failure.

B. The League's Action on FLSA in 1960

The increase in minimum wage and the extension of FLSA coverage has been a major goal of the League. For several decades the League has sponsored, and worked through, the Citizens Committee on the Fair Labor Standards Act of the National Consumers League.

The Citizens Committee was the principal voluntary civic group seeking the enactment of the FLSA legislation in the 86th Congress. It spurred and coordinated the efforts on behalf of the legislation of thousands of individuals and dozens of voluntary organizations.

Members of the Citizens Committee are some 160 leaders in public life, business, religion and other fields. They participated in a variety of activities in support of the legislation to improve the Fair Labor Standards Act.

1. Work with National Organizations -- After the initial meeting of 35 national organizations last year, the League's Citizens Committee kept organizations informed by letter and telephone on the legislation's status and sought supporting action from these groups. Listed below are some of the ways in which various organizations aided the legislative campaign, in cooperation with the Citizens Committee:

   (a) Prominent individuals and organizations were alerted for the House hearings, as they were for the Senate hearings during the first session of Congress. The League's Citizens Committee urged them to submit statements, rather than testify in person, in order to speed the hearings. As a result of the efforts, the following statements were submitted to the House hearing record:

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(i) Labor Commissioners

William L. Batt, Pennsylvania Secretary of Labor and Industry
George S. Jolly, Commissioner of Labor for Nevada
Owen L. Kerth, Commissioner of Labor for Kentucky

(ii) Organizations

Dean Francis B. Sayre, Jr., Chairman of the Citizens Committee
Mrs. Mary D. Keyserling, Board of Directors, National Consumers League
Dr. Cameron P. Hall, National Council of Churches in Christ
Miss Fern Colborn, National Federation of Settlements
Mrs. Marie Lane, American Public Welfare Association
Robert Sanchez, American G. I. Forum
Myron Kronisch, New Jersey Consumers League

(iii) Individuals

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
Miss Elizabeth S. Johnson
Professor Walter Gellhorn
Robert J. Mozer

(b) Organizations having resolutions on minimum wage made them available to the League's Citizens Committee for insertion in the Congressional Record. Thus, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's resolution was the subject of appropriate remarks by Rep. John D. Dingell (D., Mich.), the National Council of Churches' by Senator Wayne Morse (D., Ore.), the National Council of Jewish Women by Rep. Victor Anfuso (D., N.Y.), and the National Federation of Settlements by Rep. Edith Green (D., Ore.).

(c) Organizations which held legislative institutes in Washington and arranged visits with Congressmen were urged to include minimum wage among the topics for discussion. This was done by Americans for Democratic Action and the National Council of Jewish Women.

(d) Stories on minimum wage based on materials from the League's Citizens Committee were carried in the newsletters and publications of the American Veterans Committee, National Council of Churches and the National Council of Jewish Women.

(e) Materials for distribution at meetings were made available to other organizations, among them the Methodist Women, the Young Women's Christian Association and the United Church Women.

(f) Work was undertaken with organizations not having resolutions on minimum wage improvements to draft and submit them to their board of directors.

(g) The display on minimum wage improvements developed by the League's Citizens Committee was shown at the National conventions of several organizations: Americans for Democratic Action, National Conference of Social Welfare, Unitarian Workshop, National Council of Jewish Women. Several thousands of people saw the display. It was accompanied by supplies of literature for distribution.

2. Delegations to Washington -- The League's Citizens Committee organized delegations of influential citizens and representatives of civic organizations to visit their Representatives and Senators in Washington and urge support of the Fair Labor Standards Act legislation. Under Citizens Committee sponsorship, delegations from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Vermont, Ohio, California and Michigan interviewed their legislators in the Capitol.

   Particular efforts were made to secure delegates from Congressional districts whose Representatives were not committed to the legislation. Special work was done to get delegations to visit the uncommitted members of the Labor Committees of both Houses of Congress. Where the interviews were unsatisfactory, arrangements were made for a follow-up campaign by the delegates and the Citizens Committee in the attempt to secure the Congressmen's support.

   Publicity was issued by each delegation after its Washington visit to its area newspaper. A tape recording, made by some of the delegates, was used on a radio discussion of minimum wage legislation.

3. Letters to Congress -- The organization of letter-writing campaigns to Congress on behalf of the FLSA bills was a major effort of the Citizens Committee. A number of techniques were used to get this type of mail. For example:

   (a) The members of the League and its Citizens Committee were urged to write letters to their own Congressmen and Senators. Since many of the members of the Citizens Committee are prominent in their states and are nationally known, they were able to write to entire state delegations. For example, Mayor Robert Wagner of New York City undertook to write a detailed two-page letter to the entire New York State delegation outlining the importance of the legislation to the city and the state. Mrs. Katheryn Fitzgerald, as Chairman of the New York State Citizens Committee, sent communications to all New York Congressmen. Similar action was undertaken by Governor J. J. Hickey to the Wyoming delegation and Labor Commissioner Renato E. Ricciuti to the Connecticut delegation.

   (b) The League's Citizens Committee wrote to all Labor Commissioners and national organizations strongly urging them to write to Congress in support of the bill.

   (c) On several occasions the Washington Office of the Citizens Committee sent individually typed letters to all Congressmen and Senators together with Citizens Committee leaflets and materials.

4. Petitions -- Thousands of signatures were gathered on Citizens Committee petitions to be mailed or hand delivered to Senators and Congressmen in key areas. These were favorably received by the Congressmen and Senators.

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5. Efforts to Gain Newspaper Support and Publicity-- The League's Citizens Committee undertook a number of activities to publicise and secure further support for the FLSA bills.

   (a) In an attempt to stimulate editorial support for the legislation, letters were written to the editorial writers of 780 newspapers enclosing an abbreviated version of Mrs. Roosevelt's Senate testimony and urging editorial comment.

   (b) A similar letter was sent to the editors of 250 religious newspapers and publications to stimulate articles and editorial support.

   (c) At critical times during the campaign, letters were written to the editors of major national newspapers. Several of these letters were published by the Washington Post and Times Herald and the New York Times.

   (d) Press releases were issued by the Citizens Committee. These concerned: (i) Dean Francis B. Sayre's statement to the House Committee on behalf of the Citizens Committee; (ii) Mrs. Mary Dublin Keyserling's statement to the House Committee on behalf of the National Consumers League, and (iii) Each Citizen Committee delegation's activities in Washington on behalf of the FLSA bills.

6. Internal Committee Work -- Needless to say, an important part of the Committee's efforts was to keep its own and League Members informed on the developments of the FLSA legislation and to suggest supporting activities they could undertake. Many Committee members played major roles in letter-writing campaigns, delegation visits to Washington and other important efforts on behalf of the legislation. Their active support of the legislation was of significant value in the fight.

II. MIGRANT FARM LABOR

A. History Of Migrant Labor Legislation In 1960.

The major farm labor issues before the 1960 session of the 86th Congress were (1) the two-year extension of the Mexican farm labor importation program or Public Law 78, and (2) the attempt to take away the Secretary of Labor's power under the Wagner-Peyser Act to establish regulations for wages, housing and transportation in the inter-state recruitment of farm workers. On both of these issues the growers suffered serious setbacks at the hands of a coalition of determined liberals in both Houses of Congress. Their efforts were spurred on by the intensive work of the National Consumers League in cooperation with civic, religious, farm and labor organizations.

P.L. 78

The Mexican farm labor importation program, or P.L. 78, has long been recognized as a major cause of the depressed wages and unemployment of migrant farm workers in the post-war period. Until this year, however, little success has been had in opposing the program in Congress. Despite the fact that the current law does not

expire until June 30, 1961, the friends of the growers in the House of Representatives introduced a bill early in 1960 to extend the program, as is, for a two-year period. In the same legislation, the growers also sought to ban the regulations on the interstate recruitment of farm workers. Their plan was to push the measure quickly through the House of Representatives and then have the Senate adopt the House-passed bill without holding any hearings of its own.

P.L. 78 in the House -- But things turned out very differently. Rep. George McGovern (D., S. Dak.) together with ten other Congressmen introduced a bill which incorporated the reform recommendations of four distinguished men who had studied the program in 1959 as consultants to the Secretary of Labor. Many national organizations, including the League, endorsed the McGovern bill. There never was any hope that the conservative House Agriculture Committee would adopt the McGovern bill, but the measure performed the important task of rallying the reform forces and providing direction. Two members of the Agriculture Committee joined Rep. McGovern in signing a minority report in support of the reform bill and condemning the Committee's action in reporting the two-year extension of the program.

Once the bill was out of Committee, the reform forces secured a delay in scheduling of the legislation for floor debate. The delaying tactic made the supporters of the growers drop the Wagner-Peyser section of their bill, but the liberals continued to oppose any P.L. 78 legislation which did not contain reforms. The bill, now only a two-year extension of P.L. 78, was debated by the House of Representatives on the eve of the June Congressional recess. The bill passed the House over the vigorous opposition of the liberals. The House rejected the reform amendments offered by Rep. John Fogarty (D., R.I.) and Rep. Alfred Santangelo (D., N.Y.).

P.L. 78 in the Senate -- The fight then moved into the Senate where we hoped to delay action on the legislation until next year. To accomplish this end, Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.) had the House-passed bill referred to his Subcommittee in the Agriculture Committee. In the meantime, Sen. Eugene McCarthy, (D., Minn.) joined by nine other Senators, introduced a reform bill similar to Rep. McGovern's bill. Grower pressure on the Agriculture Committee mounted to such a point that the full Committee took consideration of the bill away from the Humphrey Subcommittee and, by way of a compromise, reported out a six-month extension of the P.L. 78 program.

It was feared at the time that the six-month extension was a booby trap, that if a six-month extension passed the Senate, it would be transformed into a longer extension in the Senate-House Conference. Approaches were therefore made to the leadership to prevent consideration of the measure on the Senate floor. Several Senators, led by Senators McCarthy, Harrison A. Williams (D., N.J.) and Jacob Javits (R., N.Y.), made it clear that they would filibuster if the measure came on the floor for debate.

However, in the early hours of the day Congress adjourned, Senator Carl Hayden (D., Ariz.), the member of Congress with the most seniority, made a personal plea for a six-month extension. He promised that the extension would not be longer and that a thorough consideration of reform of P.L. 78 would be held next year. On the basis of these promises, the six-month extension passed the Senate. The House dropped its two-year bill and adopted this measure, in accordance with Sen. Hayden's promise.

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Although we had wanted to prevent any action at all this year on P.L. 78 extension, the outcome was a success. For the first time, the growers did not get the extension they wanted, when they wanted it. Four times in the last nine years they had succeeded on this legislation. The fight this year also made P.L. 78 an important legislative issue which it had never been before. The battle over reform of P.L. 78 will resume next year.

2. Recruitment Standards

The growers suffered an even greater defeat in the related fight over the regulations concerning interstate recruitment of farm workers. In 1959, the growers had bitterly fought the Secretary of Labor's issuance of regulations concerning wages, housing and transportation of farm workers recruited by the U.S. Employment Service. As stated in the previous section of this report, the growers attempted to ban these regulations with the passage of a provision in the P.L. 78 renewal bill. But the growers' Congressional allies were forced to drop this section when they had difficulty with the P.L. 78 extension in the House of Representatives.

They tried another tack in the Senate. When the Kennedy bill, improving the Fair Labor Standards Act, was debated by the Senate, Sen. Spessard Holland (D., Fla.) offered an amendment to FLSA banning the recruitment regulations. The Holland amendment was soundly defeated by a 56-42 vote. Before this vote, the growers and their Congressional allies had argued that Congress had never acted on any powers concerning recruitment regulations for the Secretary of Labor. The defeat of the Holland amendment defeated that argument also.

3. Other Migrant Legislation

The Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor continued its hearings on many aspects of the farm labor problems. These included farm labor minimum wage, agricultural child labor and crew leaders registration legislation. The crew leader registration bill was reported out of the Subcommittee, but it got no farther. There was no action on the other legislation.

Separate hearings were held in both the House and the Senate on legislation to aid the education of migrant children. Although both Subcommittees reported the bill, the measure could not be gotten farther in the 1960 session.

B. <u>League Action on Migrant Labor Legislation in 1960</u>

The League led the efforts of voluntary civic organizations in the battle over P.L. 78 and the ban on recruitment regulations. The League served as the informant, coordinator and director of the various organizations and individuals concerned with this legislation during the second session. Through a series of memoranda and through telephone calls, the League kept the groups appraised on what was happening in Congress and what actions were needed.

1. <u>Attempt at Administration Policy</u> -- In an effort to get the Administration to come forth with a policy to reform the Mexican farm labor program, the league organized a delegation of representatives of seven national organizations to meet with Secretary of Labor Mitchell and urge his support for reform of P.L. 78. The League issued a statement following the meeting on behalf of the participating organizations. The statement received national

TV attention and, strangely enough, the Arkansas Gazette carried a feature article based on the statement. The Administration eventually adopted a policy which urged Congress to take no action in the 1960 session in extending the program and called for additional study.

2. Efforts During House Hearings -- Professor D. Gale Johnson of the University of Chicago's Economics Department testified on behalf of the League on P.L. 78. His forceful statement as a long-time expert in agricultural economics received good coverage in the Washington Post. Due to the League's efforts, twenty-one national and state organizations and three state labor commissioners testified in person or submitted written statements to the House Committee. The New York, New Jersey, and Ohio Leagues also submitted strong statements based on their long experience with migrant labor problems.

3. Publicity -- The League wrote letters to the editors of national newspapers outlining the issues involved in the importation program. This letter was printed in its entirety by the New York Times, Washington Post and Times Herald, Christian Science Monitor, Washington Evening Star, and St. Louis Post Dispatch.

   Letters enclosing materials on the issue were sent to editorial writers of 780 daily newspapers and 250 religious publications urging favorable editorial comment. As a result, such varied newspapers as the Houston Chronicle and the New York Times carried editorials endorsing the reform of the importation program. Columnists were also sent materials and urged to comment in their columns. Edward P. Morgan of ABC used this material for both his radio program and his column.

4. Letters to Congress - The League wrote to all members of the House of Representatives twice during the course of the campaign and once to all Senators. League members were urged to write their own Congressmen and the response was very good judging from carbon copies sent to the League office.

   The League also organized a letter-writing campaign among other national organizations. As a result, a dozen organizations sent official letters to all members of Congress and many individual members of the organizations wrote to their legislators. All these communications served as clear demonstrations of public support for reform of P.L. 78 and were invaluable in the campaign.

5. Labor Commissioners -- The League wrote all state Labor Commissioners and urged them to contact their state delegations. The response to this was good. The Labor Commissioners of New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Kentucky wrote to all Congressmen. Others made contact with selected Congressmen.

6. Visits to Congressmen -- The League talked to many Congressmen and Senators at various stages of the legislation urging their support for reform. We cooperated very closely with the leaders of the fight in both Houses: Rep. McGovern, Rep. Fogarty, House Majority Leader John McCormack (D. Mass.), Senator McCarthy and Senator Humphrey.

- over -

7. Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor Hearings -- Dr. Eleanor Hadley, Vice Chairman of the League's Board, testified for our organization before the Subcommittee. She supported minimum wage for farm workers and the need to reform P.L. 78. She participated in a panel discussion made up of representatives of various groups, including the American Farm Bureau Federation, before the Subcommittee.

8. Migrant Education Bills -- The League presented testimony to both the House Subcommittee and the Senate Subcommittee considering migrant education bills. The statement stressed the need to educate migrant farm children, so that they can compete for better jobs and attain a better life.

III. MEDICAL AID FOR THE AGED UNDER SOCIAL SECURITY

A. History of the Legislation in 1960.

One of the most wonderful things that happened during this Congressional session was the tremendous public and editorial support that developed, almost overnight, for the Forand bill, the legislation to provide health insurance for the elderly under the Social Security System. That some form of the Forand Bill failed to be enacted despite this groundswell of support was extremely disappointing. As the legislation picked up support it also took on a political significance which made it impossible to put together the necessary votes in the Senate during an election year. For example, only one Republican voted for the proposal in the Senate.

Congress did pass a program providing health care for the elderly under federal-state public assistance programs. Using a means test and necessitating individual state action, this program is not expected to make much inroad into the problem of health needs for our older population. In fact, Governor Nelson Rockefeller, for example, has already expressed doubts as to whether New York State will be able to participate in this costly program. Congress also voted to eliminate the 50-year age limitation for disability benefits.

B. League Activity on Medical Aid in 1960.

The League strongly supported the Forand bill in the House and the Anderson-Kennedy amendment in the Senate. It worked closely with other organizations in joint efforts on behalf of this legislation. Concentrating on the House Ways and Means Committee which had primary jurisdiction over the legislation, the League wrote to all members of the Committee and stimulated mail and back-home visits to pivotal Congressmen.

When it looked as if a discharge petition would be the only means of stimulating the House Ways and Means Committee to act, the League urged its members to wire and write their Congressmen to sign the discharge petition.

To encourage the Administration to come forward with a proposal in keeping with the Forand bill, the League joined with twenty-six national organizations in wiring the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare asking to be consulted. A meeting resulted from this action. Unfortunately, the Administration's final proposal was in basic conflict with the Forand bill.

When the Senate Finance Committee held hearings in late August, many of the organizations supporting the Forand bill feared that long, drawn-out hearings would prevent any action on the legislation in the Senate. They, therefore, decided not to testify but to send telegrams for the record. The League sent a telegram for inclusion in the record emphasizing the need for enactment of the principle of the Forand bill and urging short hearings.

IV. EDUCATION

A. History of Education Bill in 1960.

The slow, tortuous progress of legislation to provide federal aid to education continued, but did not reach a successful conclusion. For the first time, federal aid to education passed the House of Representatives. It had twice before passed the Senate but floundered each time in the House. This is a great step forward.

The progress of the legislation was finally blocked in the House Rules Committee which refused to allow the bill to go to a Senate-House Conference. Such a conference was necessary to reconcile the differences between the House and Senate versions. The Senate bill provided funds to be used for school construction and/or teachers salaries, leaving it to the states to determine their own needs. The House-passed bill provided funds for school construction only.

The blame for the failure of the Rules Committee to act must be shared by the Administration -- which opposed the method of financing the funds -- and the Southern Democratic-conservative Republican coalition -- which opposed the principle of aid to education. These forces prevented the switching of two votes on the Rules Committee to allow the bill to go to Conference.

B. The League's Action on Education Bill in 1960.

The League strongly supported the bills which gave the states the choice of using the funds for school construction and/or teachers salaries. As a member organization of the Clearing House on Education, the League worked with other organizations on projects concerned with the legislation. For example, the League joined the organizations in sponsoring an advertisement in the Washington Post on the eve of the vote in the House. It also joined in delegations to persuade the leadership of both parties to help switch the needed votes on the Rules Committee.

The League wrote to all Senators urging their support for the legislation and pointed out how the funds could be used in the education of the children of migrant workers. This letter was released to the press. A memorandum was also prepared on migrant labor education for several Senators for use in the floor debate on the legislation.

V. CONSUMER LEGISLATION

A. Credit Cost Disclosure Bill.

Of particular interest in arriving at a solution for the growing problem of huge credit charges to consumers and irresponsible credit buying was the "truth in

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lending" bill introduced by Senator Paul H. Douglas (D., Ill.). The legislation would have provided the purchaser with a simple and accurate statement of the annual interest rate and cost on any item bought on a payment deferral plan. The simplicity and reasonableness of this approach evoked widespread support -- more than was expected during the first year of its introduction.

Mrs. Patricia Harris testified for the National Consumers League at the Senate hearings in support of the bill, stressing the present impossibility of determining a realistic budget because of the mystification surrounding credit costs. She said that this problem is particularly difficult for persons with modest and low incomes. A release on the testimony received attention in the press. The League endorsed similar legislation in the House and encouraged the holding of hearings there.

B. Milk Sanitation.

The League testified in support of legislation in the Senate and House which would have established a national standard for milk sanitation. Milk is one of the only foods that is subject to no uniform standard throughout the country. As a result, each state has developed its own standards which, purporting to be health standards, are actually used to block the sale of out-of-state milk. Price competition is thus prevented and higher prices for milk result.

A national standard would go a long way to protecting both the health and the purse of consumers. Unfortunately, this legislation was not voted on by either House during the session.

VI. EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

A. History of Amendment in 1960.

That perennial, the Equal Rights Amendment, was again before the Senate this year. Again, it was defeated. As usual, Senator Carl Hayden (D., Ariz.) amended the bill on the floor to take away its bad effects on existing social legislation. Thus amended, the bill was unacceptable to its supporters in the National Women's Party and it was voted down. This procedure was according to the tried-and-true formula which the League's own Miss Elizabeth Magee developed years ago.

A new note is audible this year. Although no recorded vote was taken, the Senate debate and individual interviews with Senators indicated that a strange coalition of liberals and conservatives has developed against the legislation. The liberals oppose it for the reasons the League has always opposed it -- that the amendment would wipe out a variety of legislative protections women now enjoy. The conservatives oppose the amendment as an encroachment on "states rights" since one of its possible effects would be to declare hosts of state statutes invalid. Underlying this may also be the Southerners' fear of causing some sort of precedent which might be carried over into the civil rights field.

The realization that this strange coalition is probably here to stay led one persistent advocate of the amendment to state publicly that time had run out on the chances for the amendment. Another indication that the Equal Rights Amendment is dying as an issue is that for the first time, the Democratic Party's Platform has

omitted mention of the amendment as a goal in its Platform. The Republican Party's Platform continues to adhere to the amendment.

B. League's Action Against Amendment in 1960.

As in past years, the League, in cooperation with other organizations, sent a joint letter to all Senators urging their opposition to the amendment. The League also submitted statements to the Platform Committees of the Republican and Democratic Parties urging both to drop their previous support for the amendment. When the bill was scheduled for Senate action, the League discussed the issue with many Senators and received commitments from them to vote against the amendment.

National Consumers League, 1025 Vermont Ave., N.W., Washington 5, D. C.

Date: _____

Enclosed is my membership contribution of $_____

Name: _____

Address: _____

_____

(Include Zone No.)

Make checks payable to National Consumers League.

Type of Membership	Annual Dues
Donor	$100.00 and over
Sustaining	25.00 " "
Contributing	10.00 " "
Maintaining	5.00 " "

The National Consumers League is an educational movement founded in May, 1899, to awaken consumers' interest in their responsibility for conditions under which goods are made and distributed, and through investigation, education and legislation, to promote fair labor standards, and protect the public health and welfare.

National Conference on Citizenship

LWD

CHARTERED BY ACT OF CONGRESS—APPROVED AUGUST 13, 1953

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ROCKVILLE, MARYLAND

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MAY 19 1962

Dear Executive Officer:

The Directors of the National Conference on Citizenship are pleased to invite your organization to participate in its Seventeenth Annual Meeting to be held at the Statler Hilton, Washington, D. C., September 16-19, 1962

The National Conference on Citizenship operates under a charter granted by unanimous vote of the Congress of the United States. In the words of our past president, the late Judge John J. Parker, the Conference "is undoubtedly the greatest mobilization of forces for good citizenship that has ever existed in this country". This year's meeting will again bring together delegates from several hundred organizations representing all levels of government; religious faiths; professional, veteran, farm, civic, and youth organizations; labor, business, industry, and finance; and other groups. The enclosed brochure will give you information about the objectives, history and management of the Conference.

"WHAT CAN I DO FOR MY COUNTRY IN A CHANGING WORLD?", the theme for this year's meeting, follows up that of last year, "What We As Citizens Can Do for Our Country". This year's theme stresses the new responsibilities, new opportunities, and new challenges that changing times place upon each of us. The theme will be emphasized throughout the Annual Meeting - in the keynote address at the opening session, in table discussions at the luncheon, by the youth panel, in the group discussions, and at the dinner. Outstanding speakers and leaders will help delegates to focus on the theme.

The enclosed form is for your use in designating representatives. If your organization has youth members, or a youth program, we would like you to designate both youth and adults. We are looking forward to the participation of your organization in what promises to be another inspirational and productive Conference. Immediately upon receipt of the names and addresses of your representatives, we will send them information and forms for registration.

Sincerely,

Carl B. Hyatt

Carl B. Hyatt
Executive Director

SEVENTEENTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CITIZENSHIP

September 16-19, 1962
The Statler Hilton, Washington, D. C.

Conference Theme

WHAT CAN I DO FOR MY COUNTRY IN A CHANGING WORLD ?

DESIGNATION OF REPRESENTATIVES - Each organization may name three, preferably the President or ranking officer and/or Chairman of the Citizenship (or similar) Committee. Organizations with youth programs or affiliated youth groups may also name three youth representatives. Senior high and college students are especially desired. (If you wish to send more representatives, please contact Executive Director.)

VOTING DELEGATE - Each organization is entitled to have one voting delegate attend the Business Meeting. Please indicate on the Designation Form who this will be.

CONFERENCE EXPENSES

Registration (includes coffee hour)	$16.00
Luncheon (September 17)	4.50
Dinner (September 18)	7.50
OR	
SPECIAL (Includes all of the above)	27.00

PUBLICITY - Please send local press clippings about your representatives or the Conference to the National Conference on Citizenship, P. O. Box 172, Rockville, Maryland.

EXHIBITS - To exhibit citizenship materials, contact immediately Exhibits Chairman, Mr. Thomas F. Clear, Katherine T. Murphy School, Stamford, Connecticut. Space is limited.

OUTLINE OF CONFERENCE PROGRAM

September 16 (Sunday)	all day	Meeting of Group Leaders and Reporters Only
September 17 (Monday)	morning	Coffee Hour
		Opening Session - Keynote Address - Conference Theme
	noon	Luncheon - Table Discussions
	afternoon . . .	Citizenship Day Celebration
	evening	Youth Panel
September 18 (Tuesday)	morning	First Group Discussions
	afternoon . . .	Second Group Discussions
	evening	Annual Dinner
September 19 (Wednesday)	morning	Business Session for Voting Delegates
		Naturalization Proceeding
		Closing Session - Summarization

ATTACHED IS FORM FOR DESIGNATING REPRESENTATIVES AND INDICATING VOTING DELEGATE.

S E V E N T E E N T H N A T I O N A L C O N F E R E N C E O N C I T I Z E N S H I P

September 16-19, 1962
The Statler Hilton, Washington, D. C.

Conference Theme

WHAT CAN I DO FOR MY COUNTRY IN A CHANGING WORLD ?

FORM FOR DESIGNATION OF REPRESENTATIVES AND VOTING DELEGATE

The following persons are designated as representatives of:

_____
(Name of Organization)

Name (Please print)	Position in Organization	Mailing Address
ADULT REPRESENTATIVES		
1.		
2.		
3.		
YOUTH REPRESENTATIVES		
1.		
2.		
3.		

VOTING DELEGATE
(Please Name One of Above _____

OFFICIAL MAKING DESIGNATIONS:

Name:

Title:

Address:

PLEASE MAIL THIS FORM TO:

National Conference on Citizenship
P. O. Box 172
Rockville, Maryland

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THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CITIZENSHIP

FOUNDED 1946

CHARTERED BY CONGRESS 1953

P. O. Box 172, Rockville, Maryland

"Liberty is not necessarily our permanent possession. Both external and internal pressures constantly assail it. Every generation, to keep its freedom, must earn it through understanding of the past, vigilance in the present and determination for the future."

EARL WARREN

Chief Justice of the United States
Honorary Chairman of the
National Conference on Citizenship
(From Address, Washington University,
St. Louis, Mo., February 19, 1955.)

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

PURPOSES To Support and Strengthen the Efforts of the People in Maintaining the Blessings of Freedom and Justice and in Protecting and Perpetuating the Principles and Ideals upon which this Nation is Founded; to Develop a More Thorough Knowledge of Citizenship Rights and Responsibilities; to Inspire a Deeper Devotion to Citizenship Obligations; to Encourage Ever More Effective Participation in Citizenship Activities and to Promote a Spirit of Cooperation on the Part of all Citizens—to these High Purposes, the National Conference on Citizenship is Dedicated.

ORIGIN

The National Conference on Citizenship was founded in 1946, when a small group of men, women and youth met in Philadelphia to consider how the spirit of cooperation that had bound together all citizens of the United States during World War II could be conserved for the future. They sought a means to maintain this spirit so that, in peacetime as in wartime, all citizens might dedicate themselves to upholding continuously our concept of government and the democratic way of life.

★ GROWTH

The Conference is unique in that it brings together the most comprehensive cross-section of organizations and agencies to be found in any single National meeting. Since 1946, more than 1,200 organizations and agencies have participated. Through their memberships and activities these touch nearly every wholesome aspect of our life and reach most of the population of our Nation.

Included are all levels of government—national, state and local; schools, colleges and universities; major religious faiths; professional associations; veterans' and related organizations; labor, business, industry and finance; farm and civic groups; and youth organizations.

The Honorary Chairmen of the Conference have been the late Harlan F. Stone and the late Charles Evans Hughes, former Chief Justices of the United States; the late Alben W. Barkley, former Vice President of the United States; and Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the United States, who is the present Honorary Chairman.

★ CONGRESSIONAL CHARTER

The National Conference on Citizenship now has the distinction of operating under a Federal Charter. From 1946 to 1954, the United States Department of Justice and the National Education Association sponsored the Conference. The two agencies lent their support until the Conference could function as an independent entity.

A Bill to incorporate the Conference passed both Houses of the Congress by unanimous consent and was signed by the President on August 13, 1953. Under the provisions of the Charter, the officers and Board of Directors are elected by the delegates at the annual meeting of the Conference.

★ THE FUTURE

The Congressional Charter empowers the Nati
ideals and objectives into realities. Plans for the f
ate projects and activities. The Conference will i
directly. Others, it will encourage and assist org
munities to initiate and carry on. Proposed project

1. **Annual Meetings of the National Conference** at which participants will consider the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, discuss major problems facing the Nation, and ways in which the ideas inspired by the National Meeting can be carried out in their home States and communities.

2. **Regional, State, and Local Conferences on Citizenship** which will have purposes similar to those of the National Conference, with organization and procedures adapted to State and community situations.

3. **"Citizenship Day" Observances** which will commemorate the signing of the Constitution, recognize the native youth reaching voting age and the foreign born receiving citizenship through naturalization, and afford all citizens opportunity for rededication to the ideals and principles of the Constitution.

4. **A "New Voter" Program** which, carried on through cooperating groups and other organizations and agencies, will stress responsible exercise of suffrage by all, and emphasize greater recognition of youth in civic affairs and their better preparation for the assumption of citizenship responsibilities.

5. **Naturalization Ceremonies** in which the Conference, through its participating organizations and agencies, will assist Federal and State courts

tional Conference on Citizenship to translate its future include both long-range and immedi- initiate and conduct some of these activities rganizations and agencies in States and com- cts and activities include the following:

with inspirational court induction ceremonies that stimulate in new citizens appreciation of American traditions and ways of living.

6. **Integration of Foreign-born Citizens** through State and local programs in which the native and foreign born may achieve mutual understanding by working together and those of foreign birth may become more effective citizens.

7. **A Magazine and Other Publicity Materials** which will provide current, pertinent information for the press, radio and television, for those carrying on projects and programs to promote good citizenship, and for those planning conferences and patriotic observances.

8. **Citizenship Programs in Schools and Colleges** for which the Conference, in cooperation with educational authorities, will assemble and make available information about significant developments in methods and materials for citizenship education.

9. **Information on Legal Aspects of Citizenship** which will be assembled and made available to Conference members and other participating organizations and agencies.

10. **An Information Center** which will collect, compile, catalog, exchange and disseminate information and materials on matters relating to citizenship.

OFFICERS AND BOARD OF DIRECTORS

WALTER M. BASTIAN, President

Circuit Judge, United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit; Judge, United States District Court for the District of Columbia, 1950-54; Past President and Treasurer, District of Columbia Bar Association; American Bar Association, Member, House of Delegates, 1936-53, 56—, Treasurer 1945-50, Member, Board of Governors 1950-53, Chairman, Committee on American Citizenship 1956; Trustee, George Washington University; President, Board of Trustees, Swartzell Methodist Home for Children.

Residence, Washington, D. C.

EARLE T. HAWKINS, First Vice President

President, Maryland State Teachers College, Towson, Maryland; Chairman, National Education Association Citizenship Committee, 1944-49; helped to initiate the National Conference on Citizenship in 1946, Conference Chairman, 1946-49; former Member, Attorney General's Advisory Committee on Citizenship; former Chairman, Maryland Conference on Citizenship.

Residence, Towson, Maryland.

SAMUEL I. PARKER, Second Vice President

Lieutenant Colonel, USA, Ret. Has held various positions in business, 1919-56, including Assistant Superintendent, Cone Mills, Greensboro, N. C. and Vice President, Ciba Co., Inc., New York, N. Y.; Secretary-Treasurer, Congressional Medal of Honor Society of the United States of America, 1956—; appointed by Governor Luther H. Hodges, North Carolina, to State Committee for Improved Courts, 1958.

Residence, Concord, North Carolina.

MRS. J. BORDEN HARRIMAN, Third Vice President

A manager, New York State Reformatory for Women, 1906-18; only woman Member, Federal Industrial Relations Commission, 1913-16; Chairman, Committee on Women in Industry of Council for National Defense; Colonel, Red Cross Motor Corps, 1917-18; U. S. Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Norway, 1937-41; Member, National Institute of Social Sciences; Co-Chairman, Washington Home Rule Committee, Inc.

Residence, Washington, D. C.

LEE R. PENNINGTON, JR., Treasurer

Approximately 25 years with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, retiring 1953 to become Director, National Americanism Commission of the American Legion; Member for 20 years, Board of Directors, Metropolitan Y.M.C.A.; President for five years, G.A.R. Memorial Day Corporation, which has charge of Memorial Day Service and decoration of graves of veterans in Arlington, Virginia.

Residence, Chevy Chase, Maryland.

LAWRENCE A. OXLEY, Secretary

Former Organization and Methods Examiner, Bureau of Employment Security, U. S. Department of Labor; has held various positions in Department of Labor for 25 years; after World War I, served as special investigator for War Department Commission on Training Camp Activities; teacher Social Sciences, St. Augustine College, Raleigh, N. C.; 10 years State Director, Division of Negro Welfare, N. C. State Board of Public Welfare. Residence, Washington, D. C.

CARL B. HYATT, Executive Director

Former Assistant Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service; planned and initiated Nationwide program to make court naturalization ceremonies more inspirational; Chairman, Federal Bar Association Citizenship Committee, 1942—; Director, Attorney General's Citizenship Program, 1946-55; helped to initiate and direct the National Conference on Citizenship.

Residence, Rockville, Maryland.

ROBERT N. ANDERSON, General Counsel

Past President, Federal Bar Association; Chairman, Organizing Committee of the International Bar Association; helped to initiate Nationwide program to make court naturalization ceremonies more inspirational; former Member, Attorney General's Advisory Committee on Citizenship; President of the Arlington (Va.) Historical Society.

Residence, Arlington, Virginia.

ALVIN M. BENTLEY

Member, U. S. Congress 1953-60, House Foreign Affairs Committee and House Select Committee on Communist Aggression; U. S. Foreign Service, 1941-50; seriously wounded in House Chamber when shot by Puerto Rico Nationalist fanatics on March 1, 1954. Later made a good will trip to Puerto Rico which strengthened relations between Puerto Rico and the mainland.

Residence, Owosso, Michigan.

MAURICE BISGYER

Executive Vice President, B'nai B'rith; former Member, Attorney General's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency; former President, National Association of Jewish Center Workers; Member, National Advisory Committee on Education, appointed by Presidents Hoover and Roosevelt; Secretary-General, Coordinating Board of Jewish Organizations—Consultant to the United Nations Economic and Social Council.

Residence, Washington, D. C.

BRENDAN BYRNE

Executive Director, The American Heritage Foundation 1957—; Editor, Facts Magazine, Read Magazine, New Books' Digest, 1946; Vice President, Valley Forge Foundation, 1951-52; Executive Vice President, Goldby and Byrne, Inc., Philanthropic Consultants, New York City, 1954-55; Director, Nationwide Campaign Contribute to Your Political Party, 1958; Director, Non-partisan program to modernize archaic election laws, 1957-59; Member Board of Education, New York City, 1961-.

Residence, Kew Gardens, N. Y.

ERWIN D. CANHAM

Editor, Christian Science Monitor; Deputy Chairman, U. S. Delegation, United Nations Conference on Freedom of Information, 1948; U. S. Alternate Delegate, United Nations General Assembly, 1949; Member, U. S. Commission for Information, U. S. National Commission for UNESCO, 1948-51; President, Chamber of Commerce of the U.S.A., 1959; Member (executive committee), President's National Committee, Golden Anniversary White House Conference on Children and Youth.

Residence, Boston, Massachusetts.

TOM C. CLARK

Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, 1949—; Assistant Attorney General, Department of Justice, Antitrust Division, 1943, Criminal Division, 1943-45; Attorney General of the United States, 1945-49; Member at large, National Council, Boy Scouts of America. While Attorney General, Justice Clark co-sponsored the National Conference on Citizenship.

Residence, Washington, D. C.

THOMAS F. CLEAR

Principal, Katherine T. Murphy School, Stamford, Connecticut; Vice President, National Education Association, 1949-50, and Member, Citizenship Committee, 1950-53; President, Connecticut State Teachers Association, Classroom Teachers 1949-50; former Member, Attorney General's Advisory Committee on Citizenship; Director of Exhibits for the National Conference on Citizenship.

Residence, Springdale, Connecticut.

WILLARD E. GIVENS

Director of Education, Scottish Rite Masons, Southern and Western States; former Executive Secretary, National Education Association; Past President, California Teachers Association; Member, American Youth Commission of American Council on Education; Chairman, Board of Trustees, Senior Citizens of America; helped to initiate the National Conference on Citizenship; as Secretary of National Education Association, approved Bill introduced in Congress to charter the Conference and give it independent status.

Residence, Washington, D. C.

BROOKS HAYS

Special Assistant to the President, 1961—; Assistant Attorney General of Arkansas, 1925-27; President, Arkansas Conference of Social Work, 1932-34; Member, U. S. Congress, 1942-58, House Foreign Affairs Committee; Member, U.S. Delegation to General Assembly, United Nations, 1955; Member, Board of Directors, Tennessee Valley Authority, 1959-61; Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations, 1961; Trustee, George Peabody College and George Washington University.

Residence, Little Rock, Arkansas.

RICHARD B. KENNAN

Secretary, Commission for the Defense of Democracy through Education, National Education Association; Consultant, National Education Association Committee on Citizenship; helped to initiate and direct the National Conference on Citizenship; former Member, Attorney General's Advisory Committee on Citizenship; Deputy Executive Director for the National Conference on Citizenship.

Residence, Chevy Chase, Maryland.

J. ALBERT WOLL

General Counsel, American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations; Special Assistant to Attorney General of the United States, 1934; Head, Fraud Section, U. S. Department of Justice, 1939-40; United States Attorney, Northern District of Illinois, 1940-47; Member, Executive Board, Chicago Council, Boy Scouts of America, and Member, National Council.

Residence, Chicago, Illinois.

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, Inc.

—for the advancement of agricultural labor—

112 EAST 19th STREET • GRamercy 3-0284 • NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

file

June 27, 1962

Mr. Paul Anthony
Assistant to Executive Director
Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am writing to you concerning our planned Southern fall conference on the problems and needs of low-income farm families and ways to meet them. The conference is being planned with the cooperation of church leaders and others who are concerned with the problems of the rural South. A copy of a preliminary notice of the conference is enclosed.

We hope very much that we may have your help in developing the program for the conference and in securing the attendance of persons who would profit by attending. I will be very pleased to have your suggestions concerning resource leaders and conference participants. Any other suggestions you can give me to help the conference achieve its goals of working for economic and social progress in rural areas would be very much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Fay Bennett

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

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enc.

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Preliminary Announcement
of a
Southern Conference to Aid Low-Income Rural Families

FARM PEOPLE AND THEIR PROBLEMS:

HOW LOW-INCOME RURAL FAMILIES CAN SECURE A BETTER LIFE

PROGRAM: Speakers, panels, and conference participants will discuss the various aid and development programs of the federal government, and the roles of local, private, and government agencies in promoting economic development and social progress.

DATES: November 14-16, 1962

PLACE: Franklinton Center, Bricks, North Carolina

COST: Approximately $12 for room and board for the duration of the conference. Car pools will be organized, and some funds may be available to assist those who could not otherwise attend.

The past decade has seen millions of people uprooted from their homes in the rural South. The continuing decline of opportunities in small-scale farming and the lack of alternative employment have forced low-income rural families, many without adequate education and vocational training, off the land without the means to better their lives elsewhere. This conference is called to discuss the problems and needs of these rural families and to learn what can be done to improve life in Southern rural communities. Various programs are going forward in the South to meet the needs of rural families. Among them is a program in Fayette County, Tennessee, sponsored by the National Sharecroppers Fund to help local residents use available federal funds for the economic development of their community. Other groups, too, are gaining experience in working toward economic and social progress. The conference will facilitate the sharing of these experiences and help to demonstrate how rural families, working together with government and private agencies, can help themselves.

The conference invites all who are interested in participating in the development of rural areas: farmers, leaders of church, civic, labor, fraternal, and business groups, educators, staff members of concerned organizations, and government personnel working in this field.

National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, N.Y.

September 18, 1962

Miss June Shagaloff
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Miss Shagaloff:

As you requested, I am letter you know that I'll be in New York next week, most of it. Would late afternoon--say 3:00 or 4:00--on Tuesday, September 25 be convenient? If so, I'll try to arrive a few minutes early in order to say hello to anyone else who may be around.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

MET PAV SRV - my - file

NATIONAL WOMEN'S COMMITTEE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

Room 904 Munsey Building • 1329 E Street, N.W. • Washington, D. C., 20004 • Tel. 783-7071

Co-Chairmen
Mrs. Douglas Horton
Mrs. William B. Harris

Executive Director
Miss Shirley B. Smith

Gen. Corresp. 11/13/63

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
November 12, 1963

File "N", Gen.

For Further Information:
Miss Shirley B. Smith
Phone: 783-7071
Washington, D. C.

The National Women's Committee for Civil Rights announced that they have released to their membership today the recent exchange of correspondence between President John F. Kennedy and the Committee Co-Chairmen, Mrs. Mildred McAfee Horton and Mrs. William Beasley Harris.

The President, in response to the Committee's first progress report, wrote, "Your members have compiled an impressive record of action in many areas concerning human relations in the comparatively short period since July 9th when I met with these leaders of women's organizations. It is clear that one of the basic achievements has been the establishing of new and stronger avenues of communication among all segments of the community -- communication that will inevitably lead to better understanding and help in the elimination of bias and discrimination."

One highlight from the report included news of the Committee's Open Letter to the Women of Birmingham following the church bombing on September 15th. The Committee also reported to the President on their program to help achieve peaceful integration of schools. White women were enlisted in many communities to literally take the hand of a Negro child and accompany him into the classroom.

The report placed emphasis on the Committee activity on the legislative front stating, "The church women have been extremely active and we believe, effective in their appeals to their constituents to wipe out prejudice."

- More -

More than 4,000 copies of the digest of the Civil Rights Bill have been sent to women's groups which have reprinted the digest for wide circulation on a nation-wide basis.

As a tribute to the 300 women who set up the Committee and the 50 million women who are members of their various organizations, the President wrote, "Even in this short period you have demonstrated how effective and influential the women of the United States can be when they participate in the solution of national problems. ....The leadership and members of the National Women's Committee for Civil Rights have done and excellent job thus far and deserve the appreciation of the nation."

-End-

file
"HA" - gen. corresp.
"HA" - gen. corresp.

February 7, 1964

Miss Yoriko Nakajima
15, 1-chome, Kotoen,
Nishinomiya
Japan

Dear Ricky:

Thank you very much for your Christmas card. We still have yours from last year. And these are so lovely that we think we'll hang the two of them on next years Christmas tree -- with the hope that the collection will grow.

The Southern Regional Council is still moving along. The size of our staff has increased so much that we have been forced to move to larger quarters on the fifth floor of 5 Forsyth. We hope that one day you will have a chance to look in on us.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

AMERICAN TEAMWORK WORKS

Rec'd 10/28/65

L E - if you are free please call Coleman & see if you can represent SBC

National Urban League, Inc.

Southern Regional Office
78 MARIETTA STREET, N.W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303 • AREA CODE 404 – 688-8778

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Arthur Q. Funn
Legal Counsel

October 27, 1965

MJ

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sir:

The National Urban League, in its concern with programming for the general improvement of the economic life of American Negroes, is planning an exploratory conference with Regional business leaders to hopefully later develop a formal meeting (either national or regional) to plan for the expansion and diversification of capital investments of Negroes.

Arrangements have been made for holding this initial meeting in the Georgian Terrace Hotel, Terrace Room, 659 Peachtree Street, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia, Thursday, November 4th at 2:00 p. m. Invitations to attend this meeting are being directed to a select number of business leaders throughout the South.

As we are vitally interested in setting up appropriate machinery and devising a practical approach to stimulating broader participation of Negroes in business enterprises, we are most interested in having your assistance in shaping plans for an effective subsequent conference.

Please, therefore, reserve the above mentioned date, and advise us of your availability for attending.

Yours respectfully,

Clarence D. Coleman

Clarence D. Coleman, Director
Southern Region

CDC:mm

See J. NA "Gen."

September 2, 1966

Mr. Verneord Hennessey
National Center for Education in Politics
46 Washington News
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Hennessey:

This is just to bring you up to date on our interest with the Mayor's office here.

I believe the latest developments are that the Stern Family Fund will consider making a grant either to the United States Conference of Mayors or directly to the City of Atlanta for one year to allow the Mayor to hire an aide of the type we discussed. Either way, the U. S. Conference of Mayors will endorse the program. Under the circumstances, I think this is the best arrangement that was possible.

We deeply appreciate your interest in this, and your assistance.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

See "Ga" file

National Education Association

1201 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C., 20036
(202) 223-9400

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Technical Writer

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Technical Writer, Jr.

Dr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

November 29, 1966

Dear Dr. Anthony:

The NEA Committee on Civil and Human Rights of Educators invites your participation as well as the participation of your organization in a national conference on the treatment of minorities in American texbooks on February 9 and 10, 1967, here in Washington.

We also ask your assistance in identifying persons outside your immediate unit who have responsibilities in textbook selection, editing, purchasing, promotion or review as well as individuals and other organizations who have an interest in this area of education.

The purpose of the conference is threefold: (1) to acquaint educators and civic leaders with the progress currently being made in the development of texts and supplementary materials which include minorities both in terms of pictures and related subject matter; (2) to allow an opportunity of textbook publishers and editors to hear first-hand from teachers and civil rights leaders from across the nation about their felt needs for further improvements; (3) to afford an opportunity for educators, government officials, civil rights leaders, publishers, and parents to exchange views on their relative roles in meeting the challenges and problems of the future with regard to the inclusion of Negroes and other minorities in textbooks and supplementary materials.

Additional information concerning the time, place, speakers, and topics, will be made available within a few weeks to those indicating an interest.

In the meantime, we hope that you or one of your associates will be kind enough to fill out the enclosed questionnaires and return them at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel B. Ethridge
Associate Secretary for
Human Rights of Educators

Enclosures

To: Samuel B. Ethridge, Staff Contact
NEA-PR&R Committee on Civil and Human Rights of Educators
1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

From: _____

_____

_____

Re: Invitation for our participation in Conference on the Treatment of Minorities in American Textbooks - February 9-10, 1967.

/_/ We are unable to accept the invitation at this time.

/_/ We are interested in participating in the conference. Please send additional information to the following:

1. Name _____ Title _____

Address _____

City _____ Zip Code _____ State _____

2. Name _____ Title _____

Address _____

City _____ Zip Code _____ State _____

Comments and Suggestions for Topics to be Discussed

To: Samuel B. Ethridge, Staff Contact
NEA-PR&R Committee on Civil and Human Rights of Educators
1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

From _____

_____

_____

Re: Request to list of persons and/or organizations suggested to receive invitations to Conference on Treatment of Minorities in American Textbooks

1. Name _____ Title _____

Organization _____

Address _____

City _____ Zip Code _____ State _____

2. Name _____ Title _____

Organization _____

Address _____

City _____ Zip Code _____ State _____

3. Name _____ Title _____

Organization _____

Address _____

City _____ Zip Code _____ State _____

4. Name _____ Title _____

Organization _____

Address _____

City _____ Zip Code _____ State _____

5. Name _____ Title _____

Organization _____

Address _____

City _____ Zip Code _____ State _____

Yes
OK "Gen"

April 19, 1967

Mrs. Betty Weems
Capital City Club
7 Harris Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Weems:

You will recall that I telephoned you this morning inquiring about registration for your NSA Seminar on Saturday, April 22nd. Please find enclosed a check in the amount of $18.00 to cover costs for the following three secretaries:

Mrs. Carolyn Lockhart
(Secretary to the Director of Field Activities)

Mrs. Nobbie Morgan
(Secretary to the Director, Voter Education Project)

Mrs. Mildred M. Johnson
(Secretary to the Executive Director)

Judging from the program o utline, we expect to come away from the Seminar highly motivated. We look forward with eagerness to being with you.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Executive Director

MMJ
enclosure - 1. (Check; $18.00)

CL

THE NATIONAL SECRETARIES ASSOCIATION
(International)

(4-39-110)
Atlanta Chapter
Atlanta, Georgia

Please Reply to:

P. O. Drawer 1734
Atlanta, Georgia

BUSINESS EXECUTIVES
SECRETARIES, AND EDUCATORS
OF ATLANTA AND THE SOUTHEAST

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Every one of you will be interested in the excellent program which has been arranged for the Thirteenth Annual Institute for Secretaries, April 22, 1967 at the Dinkler Plaza Hotel.

Every one of you business and professional executives knows that the success of your work is dependent on a loyal and efficient secretary. Her ability to handle the correspondence, meet the public and do the many other duties connected with the management of your office is of tremendous help to you.

Every secretary and every one of you who aspires to be a secretary will benefit greatly from the program which has been specifically adapted to help you increase your knowledge and efficiency. In addition, you will see many interesting exhibits showing the newest typewriters and other office equipment. Don't forget!

Educators, you may get some new ideas for teaching secretarial courses!

NOW IS THE TIME TO REGISTER! Fill in the enclosed form and mail it with your check today!

Cordially,

Mary Axtell

Mary Axtell
Chairman

Enclosure

Mrs. Carolyn Lockhart
2091 Gordon Road, N.W.
#C
Atlanta, Georgia 30310
755-2328

See DA " Gen

August 28, 1967

Mr. Berkeley G. Burrell
President
National Business League
3418 Georgia Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20010

Dear Mr. Burrell:

I deeply regret that we will be unable to send a representative to your annual convention. During those dates we have a meeting scheduled here that will involve our professional staff and policy leadership. If this were not so, we would certainly want to be represented.

Every good wish.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

BERKELEY G. BURRELL, PRESIDENT

F. D. PATTERSON, CHAIRMAN BOARD OF DIRECTORS

NATIONAL BUSINESS LEAGUE

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FLORIDA
JOHN H. WINTERS
NORTH CAROLINA

August 18, 1967

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Knowing of your expressed concern and continuing interest in the economic development of the ghetto, we are writing to invite you to attend the Sixty-Seventh Annual Convention of NBL. This historic meeting, the first since we were federally funded will be held at the Ambassador Hotel, September 14-16, 1967, in Atlantic City.

As a resource person who contributed immeasurably to NBL's current program direction, we are hopeful that your agency will see fit to have you present to participate in discussions on the implementation of Project Outreach. In addition to NBL members from across the nation, business leaders who are being asked to serve on our newly founded National Committee for Equal Participation in Business will join with Government, private foundation persons and other national organization leaders in working out the details of a herculean effort to give ghetto residents a source of legitimate power.

We are reserving space for your participation and the enclosed material should be incentive enough for you to hopefully, respond favorably.

Please respond as quickly as possible in order that we might print our program to include your name and agency.

Very truly yours,

Berkeley G. Burrell

Berkeley G. Burrell
President

Encl.

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Project OUTREACH——What It Is:

The National Business League—Project Outreach mobilizes the technical and management resources in various communities throughout the nation for the purpose of providing Management Training and Technical assistance to disadvantaged Small Business owners and aspirants eligible for the Title IV, Business Loan Program of the Economic Opportunity Act. The identification and recruitment of such persons for this service will be conducted by local chapters of the NBL which further proposes to staff its national and regional offices as a means of directing, assisting and coordinating its local chapters to carry out this program.

Its PURPOSES:

1. To provide Management training at the college, high school and sub-high school levels of instruction to respond to the differences in levels of educational attainment among Small Urban business operators.

2. To develop an inter-relationship between the less successful small business community and the majority business community in urban centers around the nation.

Its OBJECTIVES:

(a) To train 40 persons to the point where they are capable of entering management trainee jobs;

(b) To train 240 persons who will open new businesses on a sound basis.

(c) To train 500 persons who are now in business to the point where their businesses will show some measurable improvement in performance.

NBL

EDA—OEO

U.S. Government Subsidy

Identifies Small Business Potential, Training Needs, Technical and Financial Assistance Needs

1. Surveys small business needs.
2. Surveys local entrepreneurial potential.
3. Recruits and organizes Small Business operators and aspiring owners for training and assistance programs.
4. Collects, catalogues and evaluates information on Small Business and franchise opportunities.
5. Provides information on Mergers, Cooperatives, Partnerships and other business techniques for survival and growth.
6. Defines problems and needs of Small Business operators and offers solutions by application of local community resources.

Develops Community R
Existing Resources to
And Develop Small Busi

1. Provides training at thre of Small Business oper preneurs.
2. Develops permanent c teachers in local comm Education for Small Bu
3. Involves the affluent to advantaged Small Busi involved in such busines Redevelopment, Public Government Procureme
4. Secures such assistance SBA, SCORE, and IC
5. Provides Management Loans and Business Pr
6. Involves local university resources in Small Busi
7. Develops junior manag

FEEDBACK Investment Of TIME, TALENT, MONEY (Resources Developed) To Future NBL Outreach Pro

esources and Utilizes
Train, Assist, Expand
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unities to provide Adult
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as is provided by the
BO.

Consultant services on
blems.

and higher educational
ess research and service.

erial career positions.

Initiates New and Continuing Programs of Outreach To Promote the Growth and Development of Small Business Enterprises

1. Organizes National Committee for Equal Opportunity in Business.
2. Establishes Organizational Cooperation between NBL and the various business organizations of the majority business community.
3. Influences public and private policy makers to serve the needs of the Small Business operators.
4. Trains a staff for "Permanent Service Chapters" and Community Resource Organization.
5. Promotes business opportunities by expanded use of "Franchises" and "Distributorships."
6. Develops new "Program Packages" for future NBL service.
7. Strengthens NBL nationally by creating "Permanent Service Chapters."

Individual BUSINESS and COMMUNITY Progress

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THE NATIONAL BUSINESS LEAGUE
NBL
Founded in 1900 By Booker T. Washington

"A Link in the Chain of Business Progress"

☆ ☆ ☆ ☆

Reinvestments

rams

National Business League

PROJECT "OUTREACH"

Identifies small business training needs, profit potential and technical assistance requirements

Utilizes and develops community resources to train, assist and develop the potential latent in small business operators

Initiates new and continuing programs of outreach to the small urban business operators

National Business League

3418 Georgia Avenue, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20010
(202) 726-6200

Berkeley G. Burrell, President
F. D. Patterson, Chairman, Board of Directors
Henry M. Miller, Secretary
B. Doyle Mitchell, Treasurer

National Project OUTREACH Office
4324 Georgia Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C., 20009
(202) 829-5900

Provides These SERVICES

- ★ Management Training Material And Guidance
- ★ Franchise and Business Opportunity Data
- ★ Economic Research and Development Data
- ★ Administration and Project Monitoring

YOUR
Local "OUTREACH"
OFFICE is
Located at:

This Project is operated with funds provided under a contract with the Economic Development Administration and the Office Of Economic Opportunity of the United States Government.

File
Nat'l Business League

November 21, 1967

Mr. Berkeley G. Burrell
President
National Business League
3418 Georgia Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20010

Dear Mr. Burrell:

Because of a prior commitment I deeply regret that I will be unable to attend your meeting December 5-6. However, I am very interested in this subject and would like to do anything possible to assist the program and the National Business League generally.

I hope you will keep me informed and call on me in the future.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

BERKELEY G. BURRELL, PRESIDENT

F. D. PATTERSON, CHAIRMAN BOARD OF DIRECTORS

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NEW YORK
JOHN H. WHEELER
NORTH CAROLINA
EARTHA M. WHITE
FLORIDA
JOHN H. WINTERS
NORTH CAROLINA

November 9, 1967

Dear Mr. Anthony:

You are invited to attend a meeting of the National Committee for Equal Participation in Business to be held in Washington December 5-6, 1967 at the Sheraton Park Hotel, beginning Tuesday, 7:00 p.m. December 5, 1967.

The National Committee is being founded as a joint activity of the Federal Government and the National Business League, 67 year old pioneer economic development organization founded by Booker T. Washington. It is operated as part of a Federal contract "Project Outreach" which is largely devoted to serving management training needs. As the enclosure indicates, the mission of the National Committee is to influence all aspects of private and public policy on behalf of minority small businessmen and aspiring entrepreneurs.

At this meeting, which continues through Wednesday, December 6 at 5:30 p.m. the National Business League will present 1) what it is now doing: namely "Project Outreach" 2) its longer range approach to the opportunities for business and profit oriented solutions: "Project Mainstream," and 3) several action proposals for debate and discussion.

The group will then organize into subcommittees, choose its chairmen and develop its program.

The meeting is intended to produce a working group, a self-selected committee of seriously concerned persons seeking practical approaches in a variety of interest areas across a broad policy spectrum. A staff team of government and business experts will be present to further develop what can be done.

If you are so concerned, therefore, we invite both your attendance and your participation on the Committee in a capacity appropriate to your interests.

Looking forward to your participation in confronting the challenge presented to us, I am,

Very sincerely,

Berkeley G. Burrell

Berkeley G. Burrell

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Please check one(or two) and return your reply to:

National Committee for Equal Participation
in Business
% Project Outreach of the
National Business League
4324 Georgia Avenue NW
Washington, D. C. 20011

1. I will attend December 5, 6, 1967 and I am particularly interested in_____

   Please make a single reservation for me at the Sheraton Park or other convenient hotel for the night of December 5._____

2. I will not attend but wish to be kept informed of future activities._____

3. I am not interested in further communication._____

NAME:

TITLE:

ORGANIZATION:

ADDRESS:

TELEPHONE NUMBER:

National Committee For Equal Participation In Business

a function of

PROJECT OUTREACH

funded by

The Office Of Economic Opportunity

and

The Economic Development Administration

directed by

THE NATIONAL BUSINESS LEAGUE

Headquarters: Georgia Ave., N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20010

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR EQUAL PARTICIPATION IN BUSINESS

A cooperative effort by Government and Private Business to Promote the Economic Growth and Development of depressed Urban Populations

ORIGIN AND MISSION

The National Committee for Equal Participation in Business is created by the terms of a contract between The National Business League and the Economic Development Administration of the Department of Commerce and the Office of Economic Opportunity. The basic thrust of the contract concerns the training and preparation of minority small businessmen. Complementing this concern, the mission of the committee is to engage national issues and problems which account for the under-representation of minority group members among small business operators and in management and in management-trainee positions in larger businesses.

The disadvantaged small businessman's problems to be addressed range from such matters as sources of equity capital to management trainee opportunities, and includes such functions as assuring that representatives of minority disadvantaged buinessmen are present on local Small Business Administration Advisory Councils.

The Committee will attempt to utilize the franchise programs of major corporations to expand opportunities for the disadvantaged or assist in adopting such programs by identifying qualified applicants on other means. It will also seek to involve corporations as equity capital sources.

Other specific kinds of activity it will attempt will be stimulating universities to train and technically assist small disadvantaged businessmen and encouraging Federal government and foundations to sponsor small business research.

METHOD OF APPROACH

More generally, what the National Committee will do will be to stimulate and influence both public and private agencies in all areas related to the needs of disadvantaged minority businessmen. It will aid such agencies to utilize their programs for minority small businessmen or will assist them in adapting their programs so that they can be so utilized. The Committee will work, therefore, with major corporations, government, banks and insurance institutions, universities and foundations, Chambers of Commerce and other private agencies, presenting to them the issues and problems of minority disadvantaged businessmen and utilizing community resources from local to Federal levels, and to resolve issues and solve problems.

OTHER PURPOSES

In addition, the National Committee will serve as an advisory board to Project Outreach, NBL's program of which the National Committee is itself a part.

The four purposes of Project Outreach Follow:

One, of course, is to utilize national and local resources through public-private policy influencing. The National Committee functions in this area.

Second is to strengthen NBL as a private agency devoted to serving small business; third and fourth are training and technically assisting small businessmen in local communities.

LOCAL EQUIVALENT GROUPS

The National Committee will meet bi-monthly, after its first meeting, in Washington. Local Committees will be formed by NBL Chapter Presidents and local Project Outreach Directors will serve locally to advise local Project Outreach offices and to influence similarly local community private and public policy makers. Some local members may be National Committee members.

BACKGROUND

The social policy context to which this activity relates is the fact that no such national program now exists to realize the potential of the minority disadvantaged small business operator for either removing discriminating practices inhibiting his normal economic growth, or for assisting him to grow for his own and his minority sub-community's benefit, thereby integrating it into the economic and social mainstream of American business culture.

The National Committee and NBL's Project Outreach program therefore aims at making major visible and substantive impact upon the problem of advancing business ownership and control by minorities and their participation in management careers.

The National Committee-Outreach effort therefore is neither a lending program like the Small Business Development Center program nor a simple equal opportunity program for employees such as Plans for Progress. Its emphasis is training for management and the equal opportunity to be an employer, i.e., to own and control small business as well as to participate and advance in the management careers in larger business.

Whatever establishes this opportunity and aids disadvantaged minority small business operators or aspirants to entrepreneurial or management careers is the National Committee and NBL's area of concern.

Through such action a new leadership voice is developed in the urban minority sub-community. It is a voice which must be heeded by both minority sub-community and majority community because it is based on economic competency and achievement which is the central legitimate source of power in our society. Its full and authentic development and its expression is urgently needed today as perhaps the only permanent cure to urban unrest.

SUGGESTED PROGRAM PLANS: LONG AND SHORT RANGE PAYOFFS

In order to initiate and develop the committee's program NBL is suggesting that it address itself to several key areas of need for small business.

1. Equity Capital
2. Management Training needs
3. Technical Assistance needs such as need for expert urban renewal planning resources to gain for small businessmen a proper share of the urban market
4. Business Technology needs
5. Business Research and Development and Information needs

It is proposing for discussion and debate five well developed program-solutions to resolve issues and attack problems facing small business in these areas. Five NBL proposed economic development programs are summed up in Project Mainstream (See NBL's Project Mainstream summary)

OVERVIEW

Project Mainstream is a long range comprehensive payoff economic development program addressed to basic economic needs of an underdeveloped nation of ghetto residents of inner city areas. It is similar to a foreign aid program, but it is aimed at a depressed and discriminated against populace that has been excluded from first class citizenship and economic opportunity not by geography or lack of national resources but by status as American ethnic minority — Negroes, Mexican or Puerto Rican American or American Indian. It is an approach to the problem in depth and seeks to create economic development and business growth as an alternative to welfare dependency or urban riot and rebellion. Businessmen understand it as an investment which must be planned for carefully now.

For immediate use NBL will be proposing the development within the next six months of short-run high-payoff programs which can be expanded to become larger scale model programs of Project Mainstream. The immediate steps NBL recommends to initiate this combined short-to-long run process are as follows:

SUGGESTED NATIONAL THRUST TO JUNE 1968

NBL is proposing to the National Committee that they consider adopting resolutions recommending actions such as the following to the appropriate public and private policy makers.

1) that a government-private policymaker task force be created to investigate the problems disadvantaged businessmen face today and to recommend programs and program adaptations. The task force would be appointed by the President or the Vice President of the United States and report six months after initial convocation;
2) that a national "White House" level conference on the problems of realizing the potential of the small businessman to economically develop the minority subcommunity of urban centers in March 1968 to consider the programs recommended by the National Committee at that time;
3) that the Committee between now and March 1968, adopt as much as appropriate of NBL's suggested programs as policies and programs to recommend for national utilization at the March 1968 conference.

This 1-2-3 approach is designed to provide both long- and short-range program solutions with both immediate and long-range payoffs.

Immediate short-run payoff programs may include the recommendation and development of an insurance and performance bond system for small Negro contractors and skilled tradesmen applicable in cities from coast to coast. This could lead to immediate job creation for minorities and expansion of indigenous Negro-owned business participation in urban renewal and development programs now underway.

DEVELOPMENTAL APPROACH

This type of aid falls under the category "technical assistance." Providing this service initially could be expanded depending on the resources available to an office of the proposed NBL Urban Development Foundation, or a subsidiary wholly controlled affiliate of the NBL Urban Development Foundation. (See Project Mainstream)

The fully developed Foundation would supply all the technical assistance needed in the way of urban planning expertise, and legal knowledge to utilize such programs as Section 221D3 Federal housing legislation for the benefit of small disadvantaged businessmen and the population of urban centers.

Other programs are more complex and involve utilization of the Small Business Investment Company and Local Development Company programs of SBA, and possibly EDA for ghetto redevelopment, in such a way that indigenous urban businessmen rebuild and *become a part of* a rebuilt inner city of industrial parks and shopping and housing centers.

Others are simpler and involve only new combinations of management education methods for business growth, job creation and job training such as the Los Angeles Chapter NBL has worked out with Atlantic Richfield Corporation.

Both Raytheon Corporation and Mobil Oil Corporation are meeting with NBL at present to develop similar programs of cooperation.

On October 23, 1967, at the request of the Presidents Commission on Civil Disorders the President of NBL, Berkeley G. Burrell, had the opportunity to present the case for equal opportunity in business before that public policy body. His testimony covers some of the same matter as outlined above and also suggests both short and longer run programs. (See Testimony of NBL, Oct. 23, 1967)

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NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR SUPPORT OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS
SUITE 102, 1424 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 • 202-483-5543

MRS. MARIAN BENDIXSEN
Executive Associate

February 19, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Here are the materials on our Sixth Annual Conference. We are very grateful for any assistance you can provide. Further, I am enclosing the conference and hotel registration cards in the hopes that you will be able to attend.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Marian Bendixsen

Marian Bendixsen

November 20, 1968

Dr. Leroy E. Burney
President
National Health Council
1740 Broadway
New York, New York 10019

Dear Dr. Burney:

There are two persons from this organization whom I think would particularly enjoy your conference and contribute much to it. The first is Dr. Wheeler, Chairman of our Executive Committee, and the other is Mr. Lewis of our staff. Both have a particularly keen interest in providing better health services for the poor. You may reach them at the following addresses:

Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler, M.D.
1900 Brunswick Avenue
Charlotte, North Carolina 28207

Mr. John Lewis, Director
Community Organization and Education
Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

NATIONAL HEALTH COUNCIL
1740 BROADWAY, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10019 *Telephone:* 212-245-8000

Officers President LEROY E. BURNEY, M.D. | President-Elect MRS. MARGARET B. DOLAN | Vice Presidents RICHARD P. McGRAIL, WALTER J. McNERNEY, JOHN M. RUSSELL | Secretary HOWARD ENNES, M.P.H. | Treasurer GEORGE W. NORTHUP, D.O. | Assistant Treasurer HARMON P BUTLER

Executive Director PETER G. MEEK

November 6, 1968

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

The 1969 National Health Forum, to be held at the Americana Hotel, New York, New York, March 10 - 12, 1969, will consider "Health Problems of the Inner City." The enclosed PROGRAM PREVIEW gives information on what is being planned.

The Forum will convene 600 - 700 leaders drawn from the ranks of those who now formulate health policy, train health workers and deliver health services, and from among consumers of health services residing in the inner city. At least 150 of those attending will be from the latter group. The 1969 Forum is to provide an opportunity for pooling and exchange of information on the nature and dimensions of health problems of the inner city and to develop recommendations for action.

Participation in the Forum is by invitation, and both Dr. Alonzo S. Yerby, Chairman of the Forum, and I would appreciate suggestions from you of people from your organization who should be considered for invitation. Since attendance is limited and not all nominees can be invited, we suggest five to ten names.

It is suggested that nominees be individuals who are concerned with, interested in or otherwise involved with your organization's activities in the subject matter of the 1969 Forum. This is a timely, urgent problem and we would like the participants to be individuals who can bring the input of your organization's experience with the problem, and who, in turn, will benefit from Forum participation on behalf of your organization.

In sending the names to us, please give the titles and mailing addresses of those you suggest. We would appreciate it if you could send us your suggestions by November 15, 1968, addressed to the attention of the Council's Forum Coordinator, Arthur J. Grimes.

You will note from the enclosure that most of the Forum is to be devoted to the discussion group approach. The Planning Committee is hoping to build the discussion around aspects of the inner city health problems that are of most interest to the participants. Therefore, we would also welcome suggestions of questions, problems, existing or proposed programs which your organization would find it useful to have considered by the "consumers" and "providers" who will participate in the Forum.

We look forward to hearing from you at your earliest convenience and to participation of persons from your organization in the National Health Forum next March.

Sincerely,

L E Burney

Leroy E. Burney, M.D.
President
Enclosure

PROGRAM PREVIEW September 1968

1969 NATIONAL HEALTH FORUM

"Health Problems of the Inner City"

March 10-12, 1969 (Mon.-Wed.)

Hotel Americana, New York, N. Y.

The National Health Council will hold the 1969 National Health Forum, the seventeenth in this series, on the subject of the health problems of the "inner city."

THE PURPOSE of the Forum is to convene 600-700 leaders, drawn from the ranks of those who now formulate health policy, train health workers and deliver health services and from among consumers of health services residing in the inner city to discuss poverty area health problems and develop proposals for action. At least 150 of those attending will be from the "inner city" group.

The Council is aware that the recent report of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders did not emphasize the role of health services in the problems which the United States now faces in the urban slums. Numerous conferences, new organizations and new programs are testimony to the significance of these health problems and reinforce the Council's belief that the problem is far from solution and urgent as a national priority. The National Health Forum provides an almost unique vehicle for bringing together those who provide and those who consume to consider together the present unsatisfactory state of provision and consumption.

THE FORUM FOCUS is a realistic assessment of the challenge which the inner city presents to our present "health industry" including: experiments in organizing and delivering of services, such as neighborhood health centers; man-power needs and utilization—both of the professionally trained and the indigenous worker; population control problems; and evaluation of program effectiveness. It is intended that the issues surrounding the health problems presented by confined living in urban slums be honestly ventilated by an attendance fairly representative of those concerned with these issues and in a position to influence action for their solution. The Forum is planned so as to stimulate action as a result of the deliberations.

THE FORUM PROGRAM will provide opportunity for pooling and exchange of information on the nature and dimension of health problems that have been defined by inner city residents and health professionals concerned with these problems. In small group discussions, Forum participants will be given an opportunity to advance recommendations for action and assign responsibility for providing high quality in health services to "inner city" areas. In advance of the Forum, members of the Forum Planning Committee will meet with "inner city" residents in major urban centers across the Nation. The purpose of these meetings is to obtain, for the Forum, a problem focus that is relevant to the needs, attitudes, and proposals of those involved with obtaining or providing health services in the "inner cities." The Forum deliberations are expected to provide the basis for a statement of priority proposals for action by the 1969 National Health Forum Planning Committee.

PARTICIPATION in the Forum is by invitation. Inner city "Consumer" representatives and individuals at the local and state levels as well as on the national scene with active leadership responsibilities from the fields of planning, research, education and provision of health services will be invited. The attendance list and the issuance of invitations is developed with the advice and guidance of the Forum Planning Committee.

A proceedings of the Forum will be published, not only for distribution to those attending, but, anticipating an intensification of interest in this subject by 1969, for distribution to a wider audience.

THE NATIONAL HEALTH FORUMS

The annual National Health Forum, sponsored by the National Health Council, is a conference ground for all elements of the health movement with the participation of other related interests. The Forum focuses public and professional attention on a selected national health problem or important national health development; it offers a well-planned setting where health leaders can come together to discuss what might be done about it; it provides a means for:

- pooling and exchange of information and experience
- reporting new developments to a broader audience
- identifying action potentials.

The annual National Health Forum is made possible by support from the member agencies of the Council, business, industry, and the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

1969 NATIONAL HEALTH FORUM

PLANNING COMMITTEE

Chairman: **ALONZO S. YERBY, M.D., M.P.H.**
Professor and Head
Department of Health Service Administration
Harvard School of Public Health
Boston, Massachusetts

Mrs. Mary Lou Andersen
Chairman, House of Delegates
American Pharmaceutical Association
Washington, D. C.

Honorable Herman Badillo
President
Borough of the Bronx
New York, New York

Arthur M. Browning
Vice President
New York Life Insurance Company
New York, New York

H. Robert Cathcart
Vice President
Pennsylvania Hospital
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

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Robert Curvin
Project Director
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National Treasurer
Acting Chairman, Standing Committee on Community Health
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Mrs. Julia Miller
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Fitzhugh Mullan, M.D.
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Quentin Young, M.D.
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Medical Committee on Human Rights
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Mrs. Stella Zahn
Director
Health Worker Training
Montefiore Neighborhood Medical Care Demonstration
Bronx, New York =

Address Forum Inquiries to:

ARTHUR J. GRIMES, M.P.H., *Forum Coordinator*

NATIONAL HEALTH COUNCIL **1740 BROADWAY, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10019**

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The National Council on Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States

"To assure every American family an adequate diet"

ACTION REPORT

February 1969

John R. Kramer
Executive Director
1211 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 293-1220

Volume I, Number 1

This is the first in a series of reports that will summarize the major public and private developments affecting hunger and malnutrition in the United States.

The Departments

New Head of CSM - Roy W. Lennartson, formerly associate administrator of the Agriculture Department's (USDA) Foreign Agricultural Service, has been named Administrator of the Consumer and Marketing Service, replacing Rodney B. Leonard. Lennartson will be directly responsible for the operation of Federal food assistance programs.

Hardin on Urban Affairs Council - On January 23rd, in his first Executive Order, President Nixon established the Council for Urban affairs to be composed of the Secretary of Agriculture, six other cabinet members, and the Vice President, with a mandate to seek constant improvement in the actual delivery of public services to citizens. Agriculture Secretary Hardin is Chairman of the Council's subcommittee on surplus food programs and nutrition.

Budget Crunch - The prospect that the Nixon Administration might seek additional appropriations for food stamps and child nutrition programs beyond the 1970 Johnson budget levels has dimmed in the face of the general mandate to all agencies to trim expenditures and the specific presidential directive to Secretary Hardin to propose cuts on the Agriculture budget sufficient to offset $168 million the President has determined to spend in order to continue making 50 percent advance payments to primarily Midwestern farmers who agree to reduce their acreage planted in feed grains. This is the first indication that the producer prospective may dominate the agricultural policy of the Nixon Administration and appears to be contrary to the President's emphasis, in a recent visit with USDA workers, upon USDA's role in eliminating malnutrition. The Section 32 $300 million annual carryover remains the best potential source for expanding food assistance.

Food Stamp Bonus - USDA announced in December an expansion of food stamp benefits for approximately 500,000 persons in four-person households with monthly net incomes of less than $70. The revised program schedule would couple a decrease in the down payment each family must make with an increase in the bonus stamps issued and would cost an estimated $14 million in fiscal 1969. While the changes would enable the poorest families--those with less than $20 a month--to buy more food ($60 worth for an outlay of $2 in the North as compared with $52 currently, $58 for $2 in the South instead of $48), the $2 minimum payment would be retained, effectively denying participation to those with no income. Most low-income families would still

Dr. Jean Mayer *Chairman*
The Rev. Ralph Abernathy
Doris Calloway
Jack Conway
Leslie W. Dunbar
Marian Wright Edelman
Jean Fairfax
Herman Gallegos
Richard Gordon
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William Sebrell, M.D.
Philip Sorensen

be forced to spend one-third or more of their income on food, an exceedingly disproportionate slice of their limited budgets, considering the normal American family's food expenditures of 17 to 18% of income. The new schedule also continues the practice of providing a smaller amount of total stamps for families in the lowest income-brackets than for those in somewhat higher brackets, even though the nutritional needs of a family do not increase with income. For example, a family in the North with net income under $20 can obtain only $60 worth of stamps, whereas a family earning $70 can get $66 in stamps. Neither of these sums amounts to more than 62% of the $107 a family of four must spend monthly to secure a minimum adequate diet according to ex-Secretary Freeman.

Model Cities - USDA is planning to work with five model cities programs (Boston, Mass.; Athens, Ga.; East St. Louis, Mo.; San Antonio, Tex.; Richmond, Cal.) to develop innovative forms of food assistance, particularly in feeding children, with the use of funds available to the states for regular programs. No new money is being sought for these activities.

Areas Without Food Programs - Approximately 470 counties and independent cities still have no food program, although USDA now confronts law suits in 26 states seeking to require it to put a federal food program in effect in every county. 235 additional areas were designated for food stamps on November 18, including 94 counties that had no previous federal food aid.

School Lunch Guidelines - As of February 1, all schools and service institutions participating in the school lunch program had to announce publicly and put into effect their policies and procedures for determining the eligibility of children for free or reduced price meals as well as to operate food service programs in such a way that children receiving free or reduced price meals could not be identified. Schools which do not comply cannot continue to receive federal lunch funds after July 1, 1969, or come into the program from now on. The Committee on School Lunch Participation, Suite 2030, 10 Columbus Circle, New York, N. Y. 10019, (212) 586-8397, is collecting school district policy statements and sponsoring nationwide monitoring of adherence to USDA regulations embodying these requirements.

Nutrition Aides - Under the nutrition aide program conducted by the USDA's Federal Extension Service with Section 32 funds, aides are being given an average of three weeks' training by professional home agents with materials developed by the Service and sent into the field supervised (one professional for every 15 aides). Approximately 4,500 aides are scheduled to be ready to work by the end of the month and will be expected to handle caseloads of between 35 and 50 families by June. Datographics, Inc. of Pittsburgh has contracted to undertake qualitative evaluation of the program in seven states, using questionnaires repeated over a period of months to determine improvement in diet attributable to the work of the aides. The program's impact will depend upon the quality of the training process and the aggressiveness of recruiters in seeking out low-income persons already part of the communities to be served to act as aides. USDA developed this project without specific Congressional authorization, which may lead to trouble on the Hill. Bureau of the Budget has reduced the proposed fiscal 1970 funding for a full year's operation to $15 million, which is only 50% greater than the 1969 level when the program will be in effect only for six months.

The National Council on Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States

"To assure every American family an adequate diet"

John R. Kramer
Executive Director
1211 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
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Freeman's Last Stand - In his final press conference after eight years as Secretary of Agriculture and in his 1968 Annual Report, Orville Freeman urged the creation of a powerful national nonprofit, independent, citizens' advisory board to organize and coordinate a high level of public support for public and private programs to end hunger and act as an informed voice of the Nation's conscience. Freeman suggested that in order to close the gap in existing food programs, Congress should, as a first step, establish national minimum eligibility standards for food stamps, provide financial assistance to state and local governments for program administration, and authorize direct federal administration where local governments will not act. Thereafter, Congress should provide the funds necessary to furnish food stamps in every county and independent city, lower purchase requirements to not more than 25 percent of the recipient's income, increase bonus levels to enable each person to purchase a fully adequate diet, and include all schools in the lunch and breakfast programs at a cost of over $1 billion annually to assure free and reduced price lunches for all needy children. Freeman also stressed increased and improved program evaluation and better nutrition education to assist low-income groups.

HEW's Annual Report - HEW Secretary Wilbur Cohen, in both his Annual Report and testimony before the Select Committee, called for establishing the elimination of malnutrition as a national goal and ending the fragmentation of governmental responsibility for nutrition activities. He proposed creation of a Federal Inter-Agency Nutrition Council to outline national nutrition policy and coordinate the various departments as well as of a Human Nutrition Administration within HEW, which would distribute food stamps nationwide with eligibility based on Social Security poverty standards and operate all other food assistance and health and education programs related to nutrition.

Food and Welfare - An HEW survey of welfare mothers has revealed that nearly half of the responding mothers indicated that they would use increases in their welfare checks to purchase more food and could not at times afford milk for their children.

The Hill

McGovern Committee - The Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs for the first session of the 91st Congress consists of Senator McGovern, Dem.-So. Dak., Committee Chairman, Democrats Ellender of La., Talmadge of Ga., Yarborough of Tex., Hart of Mich., Pell of R.I., Kennedy of Mass., and Mondale of Minn.; and Republicans Javits of N.Y., Dominick of Colo., Percy of Ill., Dole of Kan., and Cook of Ky. Republicans Prouty of Vt., Boggs of Del., and Goodell of N.Y. are no longer Committee members. Committee offices are in Room 134, Senate Office Building, (202) 225-7326. Committee staff consists of William Smith, Chief Counsel-Staff Director; Bert Waters and Kenneth Schlossberg, professional staff assistants; Peter Stavrianos, researcher; and Clarence McKee, minority professional staff.

54 Senators joined in cosponsoring Senate Resolution 68 authorizing a six-month extension of the Committee's life through December 31, 1969 and Committee expenditures of $250,000 (compared with an operating budget of $25,000 through January 31). On February 6th the Senate Rules Committee agreed to the extension, but not to the funding level, cutting $100,000 from the proposed budget (Senator Thurmond, Rep.-So. Car., reportedly wanted all but $25,000 deleted). Senator McGovern will fight on the floor to restore his Committee's funds when the Senate reconvenes during the week of February 17.

Committee hearings will resume in Washington on February 18, 19, and 20, with the focus on problems of malnutrition in Beaufort and Jasper Counties in South Carolina. Senator Hollings, Dem.-So.Car., who recently toured the rural area and announced that Congress was going to have to come up with a solution to getting food to the people in the face of Federal roadblocks and red tape, will be the lead witness and will be followed by local officials and citizen groups.

McGovern Urges Emergency Food Assistance - In a speech delivered in the Senate on February 7, Senator McGovern called for Presidential and Congressional leadership to help the poor obtain food and specified eight steps that could be immediately taken without awaiting new programs or legislation. The first was "a declaration of national policy and urgency that no citizen of this nation will be permitted to go hungry or malnourished" to be supported by action by the USDA Secretary "to institute emergency food distribution programs in food stamp counties and counties without food assistance where there is a clearly recognized problem of hunger." Additional remedies for the malnutrition crisis suggested by McGovern for prompt implementation by USDA and other concerned agencies included making all 22 commodities available in every distribution locale; adding CSM pasta (a product containing a mixture of cornmeal, soybean flour, and dried milk, 3/4th of a pound of which provides all the daily individual requirements of proteins, vitamins and minerals) as the 23rd commodity for nationwide distribution; charging poor people who buy food stamps only what they normally spend for food; starting to provide free breakfasts and lunches for the needy in every rural and urban ghetto school; committing funds to complete the National Nutrition Survey in a minimum of 20 states; and agency monitoring of the food that actually gets delivered at the local level.

Biafra - 52 Senators and over 105 Representatives have introduced concurrent resolutions calling upon President Nixon to act immediately to increase significantly the amount of surplus food, relief money, non-combat aircraft, and ground vehicles sent to Biafra to reduce the tragic rate of starvation there.

Prof. Jean Mayer, Chairman of the Council, is leading a team of nutrition experts accompanying Senator Goodell, Rep.-N.Y., during the week of February 10 on a study tour of the critical problems of hunger in Biafra with a view to aiding the delivery of food supplies.

School Lunch Legislation - Congressman Perkins, Dem.-Ky., Chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, has held several days of hearings on two bills introduced by him to improve the school lunch and related child nutrition programs. Two similar bills passed the House with over two-thirds voting in favor last session. H.R. 515 would amend the present programs to require states to put up money of their own to finance an ultimate 10 percent of the non-Federal share of the programs rather than use the children's payments to meet all of their matching requirements, authorize

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appropriations one year in advance to facilitating program planning, and empower USDA and the states to use up to one percent of available funds for education and training in the nutrition field for program workers and participants and an additional one percent for special developmental projects involving new methods of food delivery. H.R. 516 would provide an additional $100 million in Section 32 monies for each of the next three years to schools in order to finance free or reduced prices for lunches or breakfasts for financially needy children, purchase or rental of food service equipment, and state administrative expenses. Under the proposed Fiscal 1970 budget, Section 32 funds would be fully spent and thus unavailable to fill H.R. 516's demands. Funding alternatives include use of the $111 million in Section 32 monies that remains unobligated in Fiscal 1969 or depletion of the $300 million reserve.

Other Food Legislation - Senator Mondale, Dem.-Minn., has introduced S.6, the Domestic Food Assistance Act of 1969, designed to overhaul completely existing food programs. The bill's novel feature, besides free food stamps for those who cannot afford them, simultaneous operation of food stamp and commodity distribution programs, and program eligibility certification by means of applicant affidavits, involves bringing commercial food and grocery enterprises as well as nonprofit and charitable agencies into the operation of food programs.

Senator Montoya, Dem.-N.Mex., has prepared S. 339, authorizing the Commodity Credit Corporation to distribute food to needy households in sufficient quantity and variety and at a sufficient number of locations so as to furnish recipients the minimum recommended daily nutritional allowances and empowering the USDA Secretary to establish food distribution outlets (under contract with competent private firms or nonprofit organizations, if that will facilitate matters) in any local area where food need exists and the local officials have failed to provide an adequate food program within 120 days of the bill's enactment.

The Courts

USDA in Contempt in California - A three-judge Federal court in the Northern District of California has continued indefinitely a temporary restraining order issued on December 30,1968, directing USDA and responsible state officials to institute a federal food program in the shortest time feasible in the 16 California counties that have no such program. Neither Secretary Hardin nor his deputies have taken any steps to comply with this order, despite their stipulation that the $300 million Section 32 carryover is available for this purpose should the Secretary choose to act, that there is substantial hunger in California, and that there will be immediate and irreparable injury to people unless food programs are put into effect. The Secretary's intransigence is tantamount to contempt of court and compares unfavorably with the attested willingness of state officials, including Max Rafferty, Superintendent of Public Instruction, and county personnel to implement the order fully, as soon as USDA acknowledges its willingness to make funds available to administer the programs.

The suit, brought by Robert Gnaizda, Deputy Director of California Rural Legal Assistance, is similar to suits brought in 25 other states under the aegis of the Columbia Center on Social Welfare Policy and Law. Lee Albert is the Center's Director and Ronald Pollack is Staff Attorney managing these cases. The suits claim that persons arbitrarily denied food benefits solely on the basis of their residence are deprived of due process and equal protection of the laws. Motions for preliminary injunction prohibiting denial of federal food benefits to needy persons are now being filed in Texas (107 counties without food programs), Missouri (52), Florida (18), South Dakota (10), and Ohio (5).

Future Actions - The Columbia Center, which is located at 401 West 117th Street, New York, New York, 10027, (212) 280-4114, is currently preparing a series of lawsuits designed to test the legality of making families pay more for food stamps than their normal outlays for food, the lack of school lunch programs in urban ghetto as opposed to suburban schools, and the failure to supply free or reduced price school lunches to needy persons under the new guidelines.

The Private World

Equipping Small Farmers to Grow Food for the Hungry - The board members of the National Sharecroppers Fund, Drs. Robert Coles and John Holloman, Jr., have written to President Nixon proposing that the Administration undertake to "equip the nation's impoverished small farmers to grow the food needed by the nation's millions of hungry people" by giving marginal farm families subsidies and technical assistance to produce nutritional food for guaranteed sale to the government which would redistribute it to the poor on the basis of need.

Special Analysis - The Food Assistance Budget

USDA's Consumer and Marketing Service budget estimates for the fiscal year from July 1, 1969 through June 30, 1970 reflect expenditures of approximately $644 million for child feeding programs (up $21 million from fiscal year 1969), $725 million for family feeding programs (an $177 million increase), $63 million in direct distribution to institutions (a decline of $1 million), and $15 million for nutrition aides and education ($5 million more) for a grand total of $1.45 billion for food assistance.

Support for these programs is expected from appropriations of $454.5 million ($114.5 million for child nutrition, $340 million for food stamps), $356 million worth of commodities donated by the Commodity Credit Corporation to needy persons ($335 million) and institutions ($21 million) pursuant to surplus removal statutory authority, and $637 million in so-called Section 32 funds, which constitute a permanent appropriation of 30% of annual customs receipts. Since overall Section 32 funds amount to $665 million in fiscal 1970, only $28 million of such funds would be transferred away from feeding Americans to administering marketing agreements or orders, encouraging the distribution of fishery products, or the like, and, for the first time in many years, no Section 32 monies would be returned to the Treasury unused in the face of substantial need. $111 million of 1969 Section 32 monies will still be wasted by this July unless USDA decides to spend them. The traditional $300 million carryover balance to cover emergencies would remain unobligated.

The National Council on Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States

"To assure every American family an adequate diet"

John R. Kramer
Executive Director
1211 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 293-1220

The major change in child feeding involves the allocation of an additional $67 million ($44 million is now available) to enable schools to provide free and reduced price lunches for needy children under Section 11 of the National School Lunch Act. USDA believes that with this special assistance money it can help an additional 1.7 million children who cannot afford the full price of lunch, still leaving over 2 million more impoverished children hungry at lunchtime.

170,000 more children would be served school breakfast with an extra $4.5 million, while the $8 million in new funds for acquiring food preparation and service equipment would theoretically enable 500 more schools to serve lunch. A $15 million jump is scheduled for food assistance in such non-school settings as neighborhood houses and day-care centers.

The budgetary gimmick upon which nearly all of this broadened aid for school meals depends is the demise of the special milk program. USDA is not requesting Congress to spend more on feeding children. It is repeating its unsuccessful attempt of 1966 to prompt Congress to forego providing 2 half-pints of milk to school children daily by emphasizing that the $103 million thus saved would be redistributed for more school meals for the needy including milk and that $10 million would be set aside to finance milk for needy children in schools without lunch facilities. That the dairy lobby will kill this proposal again and thus dim the hopes for expanding the universe of needy children who are fed lunch appears likely. Senators McGovern, Dem.-So. Dak., and Proxmire, Dem.-Wisc., have introduced a bill to expand, not contract, the milk program (to $120 million in fiscal 1970), and McGovern will be listened to by his colleagues as the leading Senate expert on how to deal with hunger and malnutrition. Congressmen Ryan, Dem.-N.Y., and Steiger, Rep.-Wisc., have already spoken out against eliminating the milk program.

Family feeding expenditures would rise more dramatically under the proposed budget--a 32% overall increase--primarily because of an additional $60 million for food stamps, $25 million of which would go to cover the full year costs of the recently increased bonus levels, and $91 million more for commodities distribution. The new budget thus reverses the trend of phasing out commodity distribution in favor of food stamps.

The greatest percentage rise in funding is being sought for distribution of packages of specially enriched foods to expectant and new mothers with local health clinics acting as the delivery mechanism, rather than the traditional remote commodity warehouses.

Special appropriations language first employed last year would enable this package to be distributed regardless of the concurrent existence of a food stamp

program in the area, if the Secretary of Agriculture determined that certain needy children and other low-income persons were suffering from general and continued hunger through no fault of their own. While $34.5 million is budgeted for this program (only $8.8 million will be spent in 1969), there is considerable question about the Department's ability to utilize these funds effectively given the limited number of local health centers oriented toward helping the poor (only 48 OEO-financed centers are in operation).

An outline of the budget, indicating program and funding sources follows:

Project	Fiscal Year 1969	Fiscal Year 1970	Net Change
I. CHILD FEEDING PROGRAMS	623,000	644,000	+ 21,000
a) Appropriations and Section 32 Funds	333,000	342,000	+ 9,000
1. General school lunch	162,000	168,000	+ 6,000
2. Free and reduced price school lunch (Sec. 11)	43,600	111,000	+ 67,400
Regular program	10,000	90,000	+ 80,000
Special feeding appropriations	33,600	21,000	- 12,000
3. School breakfast	6,500	11,000	+ 4,500
Regular program	3,500	10,000	+ 6,500
Special feeding appropriations	3,000	1,000	- 2,000
4. Nonschool food service	5,750	20,500	+ 14,750
5. Special milk (all children)	103,000	-	-103,000
6. School milk (needy children)	-	10,000	+ 10,000
7. Non-food assistance	7,150	15,000	+ 7,850
Regular program	750	10,000	+ 9,250
Special feeding appropriations	6,400	5,000	- 1,400

The National Council on Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States

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Executive Director
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Project	Fiscal Year 1969	Fiscal Year 1970	Net Change
8. State administrative expenses	1,750	2,750	+ 1,000
Regular program	750	750	-
Special feeding appropriations	1,000	2,000	+ 1,000
9. Federal administrative expenses	3,350	3,850	+ 500
b) Commodity Donations	290,000	302,000	+ 12,000
Section 32 (and Section 6 of National School Lunch Act)	145,000	148,000	+ 3,000
Section 416 (Commodity Credit Corporation)	145,000	154,000	+ 9,000
II. FAMILY FEEDING PROGRAMS	547,700	724,500	+ 176,800
a) Appropriations and Section 32 Funds	280,900	351,000	+ 70,000
1. Food stamps	279,900	340,000	+ 60,000
2. Nutritional supplement packages	1,000	11,000	10,000
b) Commodity Donations	266,800	373,500	+106,700
1. Regular distribution program	259,000	350,000	+ 91,000
Section 32	142,000	210,000	+ 68,000
Section 416	117,000	140,000	+ 23,000
2. Nutritional supplement package	7,800	23,500	+ 15,700
Section 22	7,300	32,000	+ 14,700
Section 416	500	1,500	+ 1,000

	Fiscal Year 1969	Fiscal Year 1970	Net Change
III. DIRECT DISTRIBUTION TO INSTITUTIONS	63,000	63,100	+ 100
Section 32	2,000	1,700	- 300
Section 416	43,000	40,400	- 2,600
Veterans, Armed Forces Penal Institutions	18,000	21,000	+ 3,000
IV. NUTRITION AIDES	10,000	15,000	+ 5,000

USES OF SECTION 32 RECEIPTS

Project	Fiscal Year 1969	Fiscal Year 1970	Net Change
Total Available	597,000	665,000	+ 68,000
Total Allocated for Feeding Programs	465,000	637,000	+172,000
School Lunch Assistance	114,200*	188,700	+ 10,200
School Lunch Procurement	64,300*	64,300	+ 64,300
School Lunch Donations	80,500	83,800	+ 3,300
Special Feeding Appropriations	45,000	50,000	+ 6,000
Nutritional Supplement Package	7,300	22,000	+ 14,700
Commodity Distribution	142,000	210,000	+ 68,000
Direct Distribution to Institutions	2,000	1,700	- 300
Nutrition Aides	10,000	15,000	+ 5,000
Total Unobligated and Wasted	111,000	-	-

*$178.5 million was requested from Section 32 funds for carrying out the school lunch program, but the $64.3 million for procurement of food was part of that request, not in addition thereto.

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RECENT ARTICLES OF INTEREST ON HUNGER AND MALNUTRITION

Arnold, Mark, "Millions of Poor Suffer Effects of Malnutrition," The National Observer, January 13, 1969.

Coles, Robert and Huge, Harry, "FBI on the Trail of the Hunger-Mongers," The New Republic, December 21, 1968, pp. 11-13.

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Maxwell, Neil, "The Ailing Poor," Wall Street Journal, January 14, 1969, p. 1.

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Schaefer, Arnold, "Pigs, Now, Get Balanced Diets," Washington Post, February 2, 1969, p. B2.

"At A Bargain Price: Help For The Underfed," U. S. News & World Report, February 3, 1969, pp. 84-85.

"New Challenges To World Hunger," Life, January 24, 1969, pp. 38-52.

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Mr. Paul Anthony, Exec. Director
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March 3, 1969

Miss Edith J. Barksdale
Executive Director
The National Committee on Household Employment
1346 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Miss Barksdale:

Thank you for letting us know where you are. We shall see that you get our materials.

When you have time, I would very much like to know more about the National Committee.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

March 3, 1969

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Janet Smith

FROM: Paul Anthony

***

Please have the following person placed on our Interagency Mailing List:

Miss Edith J. Barksdale
Executive Director
The National Committee on Household Employment
1346 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

PA/km

The National Committee on Household Employment

1346 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N.W. • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036
Telephone: 223-5240

February 11, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30318

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am sorry for the delay in informing you of my new position and address, but a new job always offer one million new things to do FIRST.

I am pleased to inform you that I have accepted the position of Executive Director with the National Committee on Household Employment and would appreciate on your mailing list for all of your helpful publications.

Sincerely yours,

Edith J. Barksdale

(Miss) Edith J. Barksdale
Executive Director

March 5, 1969

Mr. David L. Chewning
Senior Associate
Robert R. Nathan Associates, Inc.
1218 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Dave:

It was, for me too, a pleasure to meet you. I hope for an early opportunity to visit you in Washington and to meet your colleagues.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

RRN|A

ROBERT R. NATHAN | ASSOCIATES, INC.

1218 SIXTEENTH STREET N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036
PHONE 202/393-4900 —— CABLE: NATECON

M. Folder

February 24, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

It was a real pleasure last Wednesday to have a chance to meet with you and learn more about the activities of the Southern Regional Council. Although we are a commercial organization, we do have a dedication to the same kinds of social service that have so long dominated the programs of the SRC. I hope you will think of us as a source of professional services in the future and that you will feel free to call upon me at any time as an individual when you think my services can be of value. On one of your trips to Washington I hope it will be possible for you to visit with Bob Nathan and some of our other senior people. They are mostly northern liberals and need to know more about the kinds of things the SRC is doing and what your activities can mean in the long run to the solution of important national problems.

Cordially,

Dave Chewning

David L. Chewning
Senior Associate

DLC:mm

NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON THE EDUCATION OF MIGRANT CHILDREN

145 east 32nd street
new york, n. y. 10016
murray hill 3-4545

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Bryn Mawr, Pa.

Cassandra Stockburger
Director

June 24, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Your response to our recent membership appeal has been most gratifying. We especially appreciate this expression of your interest and your confidence in the work which the Committee is doing.

We want to welcome you to membership in the National Committee on the Education of Migrant Children.

Sincerely yours,

Cassandra

Cassandra Stockburger
Director

Enc.

Free Opa "Jen"

NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

NATIONAL COMMITTEE
ON EMPLOYMENT OF YOUTH

NATIONAL COMMITTEE
ON THE EDUCATION OF MIGRANT CHILDREN

Incorporated by Act of Congress February 21, 1907

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T. P. TOWNSEND, *Treasurer*

145 East 32nd Street, New York, New York 10016

We gratefully acknowledge receipt of your contribution in the amount of $ 100.00

JUNE 18 1968

MR. PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET N. W.
ATLANTA GA. 30303

384

December 10, 1969

Mr. Warren I. Cikins
Deputy Executive Director
National Conference on Citizenship
The Lee Building
300 North Lee Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Dear Warren:

Please forgive me this delay in acknowledging the materials you sent. It has taken me a while to get to them, but I have done so and am very happy to you gave me an opportunity to learn more of your work. Certainly, there is no question that what you are doing is more than worthwhile.

Come see us some time.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

National Conference on Citizenship

CHARTERED BY ACT OF CONGRESS—APPROVED AUGUST 13, 1953

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November 12, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Brooks Hays has suggested that I write to you to provide you with some information about the work of the National Conference on Citizenship. As you know, we are currently engaged in an intensive effort to provide for youth involvement in the decision-making processes of our society as a means of obtaining a new creativity and stability in American life. In that regard, we are currently engaged in a wide range of programs which are reflected in our last quarterly report (a copy of which is enclosed).

I am also sending you a number of other materials which might give you a more in-depth picture of what the Conference is attempting to achieve. I would welcome your reaction to these materials and hope you think that what we are doing is worthwhile.

Highest personal regards.

Sincerely,

WARREN I. CIKINS
Deputy Executive Director

Enclosures:
Quarterly Report
Program
Goals
Brochure #3
Newsletter

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 EXCHANGE PL., S. E. ATLANTA, GA.

RECEIVED FEB 23 1957

For your information

Harold Fleming
You wanted copies of
the attached.

not acknowledged

Regards
Art Levin

Copy to HCF

HOW THE NASHVILLE COMMUNITY
RELATIONS CONFERENCE CAME ABOUT

In the spring of 1955, the local presidents of the United Church Women and the Council of Jewish Women agreed that something should be done to educate the community on the Supreme Court's decision against segregation in public education. So they invited thirteen additional community organizations to co-sponsor a workshop. Seven organizations accepted: American Association of University Women, B'nai B'rith, Citizens Committee for the Public Schools, Council of Colored Parents and Teachers, League of Women Voters of Nashville, Nashville Association of Churches, Young Women's Christian Association.

The sponsors had anticipated 150 for the evening meeting in May, 1955; 500 came to hear a local attorney, the president of Fisk University, and the director of the Southern Regional Council on "The Supreme Court Decision and Its Meaning for Our Community." The next day, 180 people came back for the experience of communication through small groups across racial lines. The meetings were held in the Jewish Community Center; clergymen of the three major faiths gave the invocations.

But a workshop, however effective, is soon over. Some religiously-motivated people stepped into the gap. Typical were a teacher at a college for Christian workers and a head of a commission for a Protestant denomination. Luncheons for discussion and fellowship were held at intervals. Out of the sharing grew two goals, another community workshop and a permanent community organization on human relations.

The sponsors of the February 1956 workshop had grown from nine to twenty-six organizations, including labor, nursing, and church

groups. Now the topic was "School Integration--How and When?" Now the workshop was held in a Protestant church. Now school experience from outside the community was called on. School men from Baltimore and St. Louis talked to 600 people and held an off-the-record conference with local superintendents and school board members. Back the next night came 360 to work out recommendations to sponsoring organizations for follow-up action.

Active civic and religious leaders requested other community leaders to join in sponsoring a permanent local organization on good human relations. After many doors had opened and closed, eighty-four community leaders issued an invitation. In April, 1956, the Nashville Community Relations Conference was formally born.

"The purpose of this organization is to retain the friendly relations our community has achieved in many fields, and to help resolve, in a lawful manner, unresolved problems, prejudice, discrimination, and group tension, upon a friendly, firm, and lasting basis.

"The organization shall study, and participate in activities for additional improvement in community relations, and -- by planning for the future with lawful agencies in the community, by education and the use of public communication -- attempt to forstall and eliminate possible causes of unrest.

"The organization is dedicated to equal justice under the Law, and a true brotherhood of man."

At the next meeting, members as individuals were urged to write to the school board suggesting desegregation of schools in the fall of 1956. The president then held conferences with the Governor and Mayor.

Responsibility was lodged in the hands of established Nashville community leaders. The five officers were the president of a local

foundry and machine company, an attorney who was the son and grandson of Tennessee lawyers, a professor of medicine, a leader in state PTA work, a leader in a national organization of Negro women, and an active community worker of the Jewish faith. A fifty-person Board of Directors and a thirteen-person Executive Committee, bi-racial, multi-religioned, and active in business, labor, and the professions, were created. Later, eleven committees were set up to tap the energies of still more members. Currently, there are committees on membership, finances, meetings, fact-finding, fellowship, community deucation and legislation, juman relations education in schools, parent relations, health, religious activities, and employment.

In August, 1956, a letter from the Executive Committee to the Nashville school board, which was being sued by Negro parents, urged members to formulate a plan and to place it in effect in the coming school year. "Only in one respect do we make any suggestion--we would much prefer that you, as the local authority, develop and install the plan rather than have the United States Courts order some plan of compliance."

The school board took no action toward desegregation till the fall term began. But, October 30, 1956, the headlines read, "City Schools Act to Integrate Next Fall." "The Nashville School board last night voted to abolish compulsory racial segregation in the first grade of the city schools next September (1957). This plan, if approved by federal court, will be expanded to include the remaining grades."

The Nashville Community Relations Conferance will do all in its power to aid in harmonious and effective transition from segregated public education.

Copy for file

The purpose of the Nashville Community Relations Conference is "to retain the friendly relations our community has achieved in many fields and to help resolve, in a lawful manner, unresolved problems of prejudice, discrimination, and group tension, upon a friendly, firm, and lasting basis."

To retain friendly relations and to resolve problems, the people of Tennessee must continue to share their ideas and to communicate freely. Discussion of the problems of integration of the races, characterized by the expression of a variety of points of view, must take place. As Woodrow Wilson points out, discussion is essential to democracy.

Of particular importance is discussion of problems of integration in the schools. Unless teachers are free to talk over the problems they face with other persons, including fellow teachers and administrators, intelligent decisions on school policy and practice can never be achieved. Unless teachers are free to discuss with students problems of integration, without teachers being fearful of being fired, the young people of Tennessee will be cheated of the chance to think on an issue of great importance to them. Good human relations can only be created through open discussion and mutual understanding.

Therefore, the Executive Committee of the Nashville Community Relations Conference opposes House Bill 154 which provides that a teacher may be discharged "if while within the buildings, he shall make pronouncements or engage in or promote discussions for the purpose of influencing students or other persons with reference to the problems of the integration of the races."

Though the motives of the legislation may be high, the practical effect would be to silence all discussion of integration and indeed all consideration of developing democratic human relationships in Tennessee schools.

Teachers

would be fearful that any comment made by them, by fellow teachers, by administrators, by visiting parents, and by students would be interpreted by extremists as "preaching discussion for the purpose of influencing students or other persons." Irresponsible people, such as a disgruntled student or a critic of public education, would be encouraged to hurl irresponsible charges at honest open discussion. An incidental comment relating problems of race to international opinion might be interpreted as influencing opinion. So might a reference to the Supreme Court of the land, our democratic documents, or our religious heritage with respect to race problems. As a result, teachers would avoid any and all references to problems of human relations. The children of Tennessee would be deprived of the democratic birthright to study and learn about the real problems they must meet in the school, the community, and the world.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

F 16 R

May 1, 1958

Mrs. Jack Yulman
Nashville Community Relations Conference
P. O. Box 1002
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Yulman:

Because of an extended absence from the office Mr. Routh has asked me to reply to your letter of April 26th.

He wishes you to know that he appreciates being informed of the change of plans and that he will be most happy to be with your group in the fall.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/hs

NASHVILLE COMMUNITY
RELATIONS CONFERENCE
P. O. BOX 1002
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

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MRS. DAVID PRICE, JR. VICE-PRES.
DR. HUGH MORGAN, VICE-PRES.
WHITWORTH STOKES, VICE-PRES.

April 26, 1958

Dear Mr. Routh,

The Institute on Community Relations which I had discussed with Mr. Harold Fleming by phone recently, has been postponed from early May to late September. We feel that such an undertaking would attract wide attention in Nashville, and in order to insure its success in terms of reaching large numbers of both the committed and un-committed, we should have at least one "name" speaker. To our increasing dismay, we found that all those we attempted to reach had previous committments. Planning now for September, we hope, will erase that problem .

Many of the 20 co-sponsoring organizations are relatively inactive during the summer and we hope,too, that the problem of keeping the interest level high during any follow-up period after the Institute would be more likely to occur in the Fall.

We are deeply grateful to you for accepting our invitation to participate in this Institute, and hope that this postponement will not seriously alter your plans. We are most appreciative of Mr. Fleming's interest and advice and hope that you will express this to him .

Sincerely yours,

Ruth Yulman

(Mrs. Jack Yulman)

Thank you — we glad to
Come in fall

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for info & any suggestions you may have

Rec'd 2-17-61

NASHVILLE COMMUNITY
RELATIONS CONFERENCE
~~P. O. BOX 1002~~
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

NEW ADDRESS
216 THIRD AVE., N.

February 16, 1961

Mr. Harold Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201
No. 5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

The Executive Committee of the Nashville Community Relations Conference has requested that I write you and find out certain information about theatres here in Nashville. As you are no doubt aware, there has been "stand outs" going on here in Nashville. The effort has been concentrated at the Loew's Theatre, which is part of the Loew's chain, and at the Paramount, Tennessee, and Crescent Theatres, which all belong to the Martin Theatre Company.

The Martin Theatre Company, either of Alabama or Georgia, I'm not sure which, bought out the Crescent Amusement Company last month, which included the latter three theatres. We are interested in knowing whether or not you have any contacts with the Loew's corporation in New York, or wherever its home location is, in regards to these matters. If so, we would appreciate being advised of such. We would also like to know if you have any contact with the Martin Theatre Company, and if so, can you advise us in regards to these matters.

For the last several weeks I have been attempting to get to Atlanta to discuss the matter with you, but so far have been unable to get my schedule arranged so as to be there when you would be there. It is my hopes that I can get down there in the next month, and we can sit down and discuss some matters.

Looking forward to hearing from you in regards to the above request, I am

Sincerely yours,

George E. Barrett

GEORGE E. BARRETT

GEB:sg

Please send me a copy of the Report you prepared for the Pres. of the U. S.

DA Testimony before Rural Poverty Commission - Feb. 2, 1967 (incomplete (appendix & Biblio not here)

"THE WAY IT IS"

To create attractive option among styles of life available to its people and to afford its people both the freedom and the capacity to choose among those options must be primary considerations in any society which aspires to be humane and creative. But humanity and creativity are revealed to be more pretensious than they are aspirations of the United States when the restricted, choiceless and impotent existence of most of the poor in the rural South is considered. This paper's aim is to stimulate efforts to change that existence by providing choices that make a difference in "the way it is."

THE SOUTHERN RURAL POOR ITENTIFIED

By currently accepted census and economic definitions of the respective terms the South is by far both the most rural and the most impoverished region in the U. S. More than 41% of its population is classified as rural by the U.S. Bureau of Census. Only 10.8% is rural-farm, however.

In the 1960 Census, of the 22,797,630 southerners designated as rural, nearly 18 million are white and nearly 5 million are non-white. (In the South, almost all non-whites are Negroes.) The "rural" designation can be divided into farm and non-farm categories. Among southern rural non-farm people, 13.5 million are white and 3.3 million are non-white. Among rural farm people, 4.4 million are white and nearly 1.5

million are non-white. Juxtaposing the 1.6 million rural farm non-whites in the U. S. reveals the concentration of non-white rural farm folk in the South.

The poverty of the South is reflected in a recent study in the Social Security Bulletin. According to the study by Mollie Orshansky, more than half of the nation's poor live in the South.

Moreover, whereas the majority of the poor in other regions reside in urban areas, considerably more than half the South's poor reside in rural areas.

The extent of poverty in the rural South knows no racial bounds. There are more white poor than black poor in the region. Yet a much higher percentage of rural Negroes are poor. More than 80% of Negro rural people in the South had annual family incomes of less than $3000 according to the 1960 census. 40% had family incomes below $1000 annually. By contrast, the percentage of white rural non-farm families with less than $3000 dollars a year ranged from 39% in S.C. to 47% in Ala.. The range of white farm families below $3000 annually was from 49% in S.C. to 60% in Alabama. Thus both races suffer. The degree of poverty is greater among rural Negroes but, because there are more rural whites, the total number of white poor is greater.

Why, then, will what follows attend more to the problems of the rural Negro in the South? The answer is not at all obvious nor is it ultimately possible to destroy poverty solely in a racial frame of reference.

THE ONCE AND FUTURE INFLUX

The reality of our present situation is that the rural poor are being forced off the land by immense economic and technological pressures which strike most immediately at the Negro rural poor but which will more and more destroy the option of rural life for the white poor, also. In an April 8, 1966 memorandum, the National Sharecroppers Fund estimated that mechanization and reduced acreage allotments in the cotton belt will create from a narrow economic perspective, 300,000 "surplus" families in 16 southern states in the next 10 years. When the whole rural economy is considered, there is the prospect that 45 million "surplus" people will be displaced in the cities in a few decades.

Because King Cotton's semi-feudal socio-economic order is no longer useful commercially, and because this order no longer requires an abundance of cheap, unskilled black labor, the abrupt changes fall most heavily on the "surplus" Negro poor. The result is the prospect of a mass migration of untrained rural people against their will to ~~the~~ join others in the dense and explosive city ghettoes of the North and increasingly, the South.

It is in the face of this prospect that the present paper asks whether other options should not be provided the rural poor. Should rural people be afforded the dignity of choosing not to abandon the rural culture? Should they be forced to opt for the pathologies of slum life solely because they have not way to survive if they remain in the rural setting?

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It is not socio-political dynamite literally to dump "surplus rural labor" into bulging, impoverished urban slums? Is it not the essence of pragmatism and prudence, to say nothing of humanity, to create viable new ways of rural life even on an interim basis in order to allow longer term efforts against existing urban poverty to take effect without being swamped by a sharp new influx of the rural poor to the cities? This sharp new influx is now happening with dire consequences for the nation's survival. It is in the nation's interest to stem the tide. Providing the option of a new viable rural life for the rural poor is no longer a matter of pastoral romanticism and Jeffersonian nostalgia as it once was for many. It is a matter of the adaptability and survival potential of the American socio-political system.

THE NEGRO FARMER: ATTRITION, ABOLITION, OR ADVANCE?

The depth and the dimensions of the rural poverty syndrome can be recognized when some facts about the Negro farmer are considered. Calvin Beale, writing in The American Negro Reference Book, is realistic:

To be optimistic about the future of Negro farmers would be to disregard almost every facet of their past and present status and of the factors that impinge upon them. But then, the odds have always been against them even in the period when they reached their greatest number. Beale goes on to give some suggestions that try to assure a successful future for the Negro farmers who remain today and to prevent their being

driven to the cities. We will return to Beale's suggestions for improvement and others later in our regional rural development proposals. Now we must see how difficult the problems are from Beale's and other agricultural census data.

At their peak in 1920, Negro farmers numbered 926,000, including all tenant farmers. In 1964, approximately 180,000 Negro farm operators are left. This is 3% of all Negro men. (Another 8% of all Negro men are employed as wage-earning farm laborers; the plight of these rural poor in elaborated by facts in Appendix_____.)

The desperate problem of the Negro farmer, however, has been a lack of land. This dilemma is becoming worse. In 1964, there were approximately 80,000 Negro farm owners or part-owners out of 180,000 Negro farm operators. This means that the majority of Negro farmers work another man's land.

The average size of the Negro farm ~~xxxx~~ was 52 acres in the 1959 census of agriculture, an increase of only 8 acres since 1935. By contrast the average white farm had increased by 118 acres since 1935 to an average size of 249 acres. This lack of land on which to work and the consequent need to pay rent to or share crops with a landowner has its full impact when we consider that somewhat less than 24,000 non-white southern farmers produced and sold more than $5,000 of products when U.S.D.A. estimates that a farmer must sell $10,000 of products to make $2,500. Of these 24,000 in 1959, only 7,000 own their land, and some of the others who were

tenants, according to Beale, have probably lost their lease or share arrangements since the 1959 census of agriculture. Nevertheless, Beale estimates that it is in this care of Negro farmers that the future potential for commercial success by Negroes full-time farming would come if the majority of the 24,000 without land could be provided a homestead.

In addition, there were 3,000 owners with inadequate commercial production, but a fair amount of off-farm work, and 34,000 owners and renters who produced few goods for sale but had rather steady farm work, according to the census. Beale's judgment is that this group of 44,000 plus the 17,000 who marketed more than $5,000 Of products but do not own the land on which they are dependent -- these 61,000 out of 180,000 Negro farm operators are the ones with "a tangible expectation of obtaining a minimum adequate income from farming or a combination of farm or nonfarm work." The reader should note that even this "successful" group includes many whose income level is below current poverty lines.

But what of the other Negro farm operators who are not "successful" or the other thousands who work as hired men in burgeoning " agribusiness" corporate farms and in neo-plantation servitude. In Beale's view, the crucial factor once again is land. "The possession of land is the key to the future participation by Negroes in American agriculture as operators." Once again, "The farmer who does not control the land he works does not control his own destiny in the far-reaching changes now affecting agriculture. This puts the typical Negro farmer with his limited capital and lack of ownership experience

at a disadvantage."

Nevertheless, Beale proposes that many more than 61,000 of the present "successful" Negro farmers could be made "successful" if land in the hands of small-scale owners could be "combined through lease or purchase into larger units, or if Federal programs of assistance in land purchase could be made effective on a widespread basis for low-income landless farmers, or if additional non-farm employment opportunities became available for rural Negroes." We should add immediately that present loan and credit programs are of virtually no help. Moreover, it can be asked, in view of the national commitment to end poverty, whether a new program of land grants should not be considered as a means of helting migration to urban areas.

Our basic purpose, however, is to show the extremity of the Negro farmer's predicament as part of our larger plea that the rural poor in the South be given options which will not force them into an alien urban environment and alienated urabn existence. We should note, in addition that most of the rural poor are not farm operators. Their plight of the Negro hired farm worker is often more desperate than that of the farm operator in the South, as the facts in Appendix_____ indicate. Clearly, land reform alone will not suffice to transform their deprivation and dependence but it might if combined with agricultural training programs and effective minimum wages legislation or income subsidies and offer options to the virtual serfdom which now prevails.

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AGRICULTURE AND SOCIAL POLICY

It is not the purpose of this study to describe and analyze the various approaches which treat the "farm problem" solely as an economic issue of efficiency, productivity, and resource allocation. Yet the narrowness of such approaches must be pointed out. To most such approaches, the "ultimate solution" is to move people off the farms, to destroy the "myth" of the family farm, and to approach food and fiber production with every resource of modern management and technology available. Typical of this approach was the much publicized, corporation sponsored study, An Adaptive Program for Agriculture, prepared by the Research and Policy Committee of the Committee for Ecomonic Development. Similar in approach but not in all details are Roots of the Farm Problem by Earl D. Heady and others of the Iowa State University Center for Agricultural and Economic Development and Farm Policy: New Directions by Geoffrey S. Shepherd, an economist also of Iowa State University. It is not within our competence to judge the technical economic judgements made in these documents by professionals except to note that they are contradicted by the technical judgements of other professions that we shall consider shortly.

However, it is within our competence to criticize the social myopia which is the context of these judgements. The center of our critique is that these proposals fail to see the issue in a broader context of the surplus of untrained rural immigrants fighting to survive the cultural shock of change to an urban style of life being added to their burden of poverty and/or discrimination.

It is also within our competence to criticize the regional myopia of these approaches. When we consider these proposals for national policy from a regional standpoint as well as a social policy standpoint, we are impressed by the extent to which they project as national goals solutions relevant only to the Middle West. The Committee for Economic Development program barely alludes to the "farm problem" as seen in the context of Appalachia. It totally ignores the nation's and the South's racism as it blithely suggests moving "surplus" farm labor to cities. Seen from the perspective of what is faced by the rural, southern Negro moving to Atlanta, New Orleans, or even Chicago, the C.E.D's easy optimism about finding employment "off the land" has at best a superficial quality.

Don Paarlberg, an agricultural economist of Purdue University, in his book American Farm Policy, makes a comment which suggests that, wittingly or unwittingly, these "experts" have become mired in three clichés of the farm policy "right wing" which:

1. ....considers "the farm problem" to be over-production.
2. ....assumes that reducing the number of farmers will reduce the output of farm products.
3. [Believes that] to the degree that the farmer at the low end of the income scale enters the problem at all, he is considered only as an impediment to the aspirations of the big farmer, the one who really counts.

Paarlberg concludes that "all these points are questionable on either economic or ethical criteria, or both."

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Whether all of Paarlberg's criticism applies to the sources cited here, their peculiarly Mid West regional perspective requires that we plead for a consideration of other regions, the poor, and racial minorities whose problems are obscured by Iowa's tall corn.

BROADER CONSIDERATIONS IN AGRICULTURE

The contention of this section is that some economists and social planners have gone beyond mere economic considerations in studying agricultural policy. It is the heart of our position that rural poverty cannot be separated from urban poverty and that agricultural policy must be consistent with general economic and social policy. It is also central that the South's unique regional problems not be overlooked in national programs. We wish to indicate some who have moved in the direction of broader considerations and to conclude with suggestions from this broader perspective which are applicable to the South as a region.

Edward Higbee clearly sets his analysis of agricultural policy in an urban context in his book, Farms and Farmers in an Urban Age. He recognizes the human as well as the social disintegration that accompanies forced migration of rural people to urban areas. He argues that there could be only two acceptable justifications for federal funds being used to move "inefficient" farmers from the land. One is that a food shortage might require that land be put in hands capable of greater productivity. But no such shortage presently exists.

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The other justification might be that farming's "surplus" manpower was demanded by other fields with labor shortages. But since this manpower is untrained to fill shortages of technical labor and since there is already a high rate of urban unemployment among the unskilled, this labor is not needed elsewhere. Higbee concludes: "until the nation needs their land and labor, inefficient farmers may be better off where they are than if they were to head for the city's slums and welfare rolls."

But Higbee's contribution to our understanding goes beyond his comprehension of the social context of the farmer's dilemma. He is also helpful in providing a socio-economic typology of farmers today. He proposes three major categories; first, middle, and third class.

The first class covers all producers who make sales of $20,000 or more annually. They number 312,000 (8.3% of all census farmers) but they are the source of 50% of all production. Within this category, Higbee includes the 1200 elite farms which made $1.4 billion of the national total of $30.6 billion of farm sales in the last census year. (1959). Each of these farms had sales sold of $500,000 or more each year. Also within the first class category are all units selling more than $40,000 per year. These number 102,000 and are the top 3% of all farms. Moreover, this top 3% produce more than the bottom 78% per cent of farms. Concludes Higbee: "it is the amazing productivity at the very top of American agriculture which sets the sizzling pace for all the remainder. Unless the magnitude and intensity

of this competition is grasped it is impossible to understand why the majority of farmers are in trouble."

At the opposite extreme, Higbee identifies third class farms. He is highly critical of the census definition which creates this category. By marketing "more than $50 and less than $2500 a year", 1.6 million "farms" enter this third class category. Closer examination reveals that while these "farmers" average $217 net annual income from agriculture, they averaged $2,884 from other sources. Higbee contends that most of these people are not farmers and that, therefore, their needs and their poverty cannot be adequately dealt with solely through agricultural policy.

On the other hand, Higbee recognizes that within this third class of 1.6 million farmers, there is a large minority of 350,000 families who have negligible non-farm income, who average farm product sales of only $438 annually, and who are among the most impoverished people in America. We should note that most in this group are rural and Southern. They comprise many of the Negro rural people whose plight was considered earlier as well as many rural whites. They will benefit most by a broad, understanding of agricultural policy which considers social as well as economic needs.

Between the extremes of efficient and inefficient farming lies the middle class of 1.8 million farms which sells 45% of all farm goods. Higbee distinguishes the $483,000 upper middle class farms ($10,000-$20,000 annual sale) from the 1.3 million lower middle ($2,500-$10,000 annual sales). He comments that

the farmer is most similar to the stereotype of the successful family farm. The latter are at the point of lacking viability in that net incomes average about one-third of sales and hence these farmers make $800-$3,300 annually. Most of these men will be forced off the farm unless they are given access not now available to sources of capital to buy machinery and land. But present federal programs of credit and crop subsidy favor the first class and upper middle class farms. Among this group, too, are many rural southern Negro farmers who have the potential for success if capital can be made available and cooperative production and marketing methods can be implemented.

Yet it is the success potential of such farmers as these and other poorer ones which is most severely questioned by those who make efficiency and no change in federal land and credit grants thetwin pillars of their world of agricultural assumptions. To them, Leon H. Heyserling, economist and farmer presidentail adviser, directs a strong and persuasive response in Agriculture and the Public Interest, by the Conference on Economic Progress.

In Keyserling's view, the attempt to justify the move from smaller family-type farms to corporate, "agribusinesses" on the basis of the efficienty of the latter fails on four counts. First, except for farms whose land is sub-standard, there is no lack of efficiency or of increased productivity. Second, "there is no conclusive and perhaps no respectable evidence that the large to giant-size farm is more efficient than the family-type farm, when the latter receives enough income to realize its full potentials." Third, even if larger

farms were more efficient, that economic benefit would be taken away by the rapid shrinkage in the number of farmers (who would presumably enter the depressed unskilled labor market of urban areas.) Fourth, productivity in agriculture and in the entire economy has become so great "that we need to become more deeply concerned abou t the quality of farm life, and not merely about the efficiency of farm production. This means that we should strive constantly for a more appropriate balance and distribution among farms of different sizes, with particular accent upon the family-type farm....The only hope for most of the substandard farmers is that they be accorded opportunity to operate family-type farms."

"Accorded opportunity." It is precisely this which present national agricultural, land, and credit policies fail to do in the cases of the South's rural poor,all Negro farmers, and marginal or sub-standard farmers of both races. What follows are some suggestions to accord opportunity in the rural south. While much of the region's poverty is common to all the poor, i.e., a lack of money for minimum expenses, and while this lack must be made up for all by some new form of income maintenance, guaranteed income, or children's allowances, there are many measures which would be especially applicable in the South.

TOWARD OPTIONS AND OPPORTUNITY IN THE RURAL SOUTH

(Here, I would revise my minor revision of the Memo to John Wheeler of April 20, 1966. It may have to be made more specific than it is and than I was able to make it.)

I left this in because you might not have seen it Carter

"THE WAY IT IS"

TOWARD OPTIONS AND OPPORTUNITY IN THE RURAL SOUTH

1) Land and Credit

(A) An obvious and basic problem in developing rural areas is the lack of land owned by Negroes and the unavialability of low interest, long term financing to correct this. For instance, the average farm size for whites is 249 acres. The average for Negroes is 52 acres. The average value for farms owned by whites is $25,370 and that for Negroes is $6,240. This in turn, of course, reflects the amount of products sold, the amount of income and all other aspects of Negro, white compaisons. There is need for an entirely new and different approach to making long term, low interest loans available to all persons in the region, but particularly to Negroes and poor whites for the ownership of land.

NOTE: AL, insert action here or elsewhere on credit unions and cooperatives as tools.

(B) ~~Relative~~ Related to this is the poor use of land presently owned, poor management, poor marketing procedures, and the like. Present USDA programs need to be much more concerned with this, particularly for the small Negro farmer, and entirely new imaginative programs need be developed. For instance, the Franklinton Center in Bricks, North Carolina has concluded a very

successful experiment in which they requred a relatively large plot of land and settled six farm families on it. These farmers had been tenant farmers. Over a period of several years this center worked closely with these families in developing good agricultural and marketing techniques. A financial arrangement has now been made whereby each of these farmers are purchasing the land which they work. While small, the results of the project are that six former tenant farmers have now been settled on land, will in time own it, and have been trained in good farm management. We need a great many more experiments of this kind.

More significant and needed on a much wider basis are programs in farm management such as that in Tennessee conducted under MDTA.

c) In regard to the above two problems and opportunities, we need promptly a far more detailed study than has heretofore been done on the opportunities for relatively small farm operations. We have been going on the assumption that there was need for less and less agricultural production and that there was every economic reason for larger and fewer farm units. Both of these assumptions no longer seem correct and need to be reviewed in light of our recognition of the need for food throughout the entire world and our new encouragement of crop increases. We need, particularly, to know far more than we do at this time about the opportunities for at least partial income

from the small farm unit. As this study is conducted it must take into account the rapidly rising yields per acre and the possibilities that good farming techniques, expanding markets and the new opportunities for truck farming produce to be sold to nearby cities may well make it possible for feasible operation of farms heretofore considered too small for profitable operation.

D) Relative to the above, but separately as well, there is a need in working with all southern agriculture, but again particularly with the smaller farmer to completely change the base of our agriculture. Cotton is no longer profitable and no longer needed. The future role of southern rural people on land is to produce meat and food products for the anticipated 100 million increase in the population of the east, which will occur during the coming thirty years.

Alabama corn production averaging 20 bushels per acre twenty years ago increasing to 40 bushels per acre in 1966 is still an inadequate yield to compete with midwest corn-hog production, with midwest corn yields at 80 to 100 bushels per acre. The pork from both areas will be needed. Alabama and Mississippi food crops, vegetables and fruits, will also be needed. Their production and processing may employ southern labor and help to stop excessive migration of southern families to northern cities. This beginning, plus all the investments of capital and housing, school rooms, hospitals, medical and school personnel and southern

town building may create an adequate number of jobs--and a tax recovery base -- to stabilize the southern rural population.

E) In all of this there is an assumption that efforts need to be made to devise ways for many relatively small farms to become adequate income producing units for the families which run them. This should not, however, preclude a strong interest in determining the extent of which a small farm can provide supplementary income to some other occupation away from the farm where the two together will provide total family unit with income beyond the minimum poverty level.

F) Stanley Andrews in The Farmer's Dilemma, proposes "beneficial use" land grants to younger men who want to farm for a living but who lack land and/or capital. This idea has merit.

2. HOUSING

A) A great need in the rural areas is adequate housing. This may also be one of the simplest problems to meet if there is a national commitment to do so. Rural housing units of an adequate nature can be provided at a cost of from three to five thousand dollars per unit. Given an adequate structure under which low interest, long-term loans can be arranged it will be possible for home owners to meet this kind of a financial demand. The construction of such

houses has the added advantages of contributing substantially to the economy of these regions, to providing jobs and to providing training experiences. A small amount of work in this area is allowed for under Title III B Funds. But the funds are very limited and they have at present all of the disadvantages of the operations of a cautious bureaucracy. (There is currently a rumor that Title III B Funds will be harder to come by very soon.)

B) Any programs concerned with housing cannot be approached in a vaccuum. It is absurd to provide housing for people, no matter what the long term financial arrangements, without planning at the same time for minimum income for those people who will occupy them and attempt to pay for them. No housing programs should be undertaken without companion programs in economic development. It is also a mistake, I believe, to plan for housing units close enough to present cities that the owners may commute. There are several projects, partly federally financed, now being discussed in Mississippi where new housing units would be placed within ten miles of medium size cities on the assumption that the persons living in these new units would be able to find jobs in these towns. Given the present lack of job opportunities in the typical deep South community, and the lack of training on the part of persons in need of housing, this seems like an unsatisfactory idea.

C) In developing programs for housing a minimum part of the funds, but considerable planning, should go into total community development. For instance, in practically every area where there is a serious need for more adequate housing there is a need also for community centers, for buildings to house day nurseries, and the like. These facilities should be developed and financed along with individual housing unit development.

3. INDUSTRY

A) Quite obviously there is a need to get away from agriculture as the sole provider of income in rural areas even while we strengthen and support family farms for some. Much can be done in developing adequate housing, the small farm, and providing outside jobs as a companion to the total situation.

B) Programs must be encouraged that will assure that some industry goes to the rural areas where the people now are, although caution must be exercised so that non-exploitative, long term commitments are made. Many variations of this have been suggested but quite obviously there will be a need for public funds to encourage such moves. This could be done through providing public funds for the construction of plants and facilities and very likely it would be a sound idea to provide on a short range basis a subsidy for the industry.

In recogniction of the initial difference in productivity between an untrained labor force and that which may be available in the larger cities. Training programs for that labor must also be provided.

C) It goes without saying, of course, that quality industry must be brought in. At the present time a great deal of industrial development in the rural and small town areas is of the fly-by-night type which provides an inadequate wage for the workers and nothing for the community. It is a long tradition of the federal government to provide public funds for such items as farm mechanization. We see nothing inconsistent with these recommendations of public funds for industrial development.

D) The idea of industry in the rural areas has certain dangers that must be guarded against. This is no magic formula as is frequently believed and there are limitations that should be imposed on any such program. For instance, making rural areas more livable does not necessarily mean making them urban, ie, industralized. It makes sense to locate an industry large enough to provide incentives to local people to stay in rural areas and to inject additional capital into the community. But beyond the population stability motive, further industrialization could be self-defeating.

E) Beyond being concerned with the type of industry there are

other protections which should be guaranteed for new industry. These would include guaranteed protection for labor unions, guaranteed minimum wages, guaranteed working conditions on a par with those in the nation as a whole. We believe great care will have to be taken and much deliberate planning done to avoid establishing sweatshops.

F) Groups and agencies engaged in attracting industry must, in some way, begin to develop the ideas of less competition and more concern with the welfare of a large area. For instance, Atlanta now seeks industry without any concern for any other part of the state of Georgia. On a state, and perhaps regional, basis planning must be done on where industry is most needed for the good of the whole economy and not on the basis of what particular locality can offer the most attractive package to new industry.

4. RURAL RECLAMATION

A) Much needs to be done in the way of making rural areas more livable and more attractive. This is consistent with the current national policy on beautification and has in it implications for federally funded programs to employ large numbers of people and in the opportunities for developing substantial tourist and recreation business. It has recently been announced that one point five

million in anti-poverty funds will be used in the project known as Green Thumb. This idea was developed by the outspokenly liberal National Farmers Union and that group has been chosen to run it. Many more of these kind of projects need to be developed. The Farmers Union hopes to realize from this program an expanded economy which will employ 325 or more retrained farmers (see the Wall Street Journal-February 9, 1966).

B) Any rural reclamation programs are to tie in directly with expansion of the recreation industry. There is now every reason to believe that this is one of our promising industries for employment for the future and that increasingly as population grows and the conomy expands more and more in the way of recreational areas will be needed. Considerable employment of local people is a possibility here if there is the proper development programs of reclamation and beautification should not conducted in a vacuum but should have direct tie ins to the availability of population, recreational areas that will attract tourists and the like.

C) In this area great care must be taken to see that poor rural people actually been on a reasonable basis. This is not necessarily happening in our present program in the Appalachian area. There, for instance, many small farmers (a large number of them conducted the poultry farms in the past) have been pushed from the small farms

they occupied. Much of the land is going into speculation. In North Georgia, for instance, tens of thousands of acres of land are being bought for speculation purposes by wealthy individuals in the surrounding cities. This has actually hurt the small farmer and has tended to shove a number of additional people off of the land rather than making it possible for them to remain there as land values go up and new tourist possibilities open. Programs must be developed with these situations in mind and the opportunities for speculation, particularly unscrupulous speculation, must be accounted for.

D) Reclamation or giving considerable attention to beautification and recreation should not overlook the other substantial opportunities. This would include, for instance, preserving our timber supplies and greatly expanding them on a more planned and logical basis. It includes giving Negroes attention to some of the natural resources in the region, particularly mineral deposits. This area should concern itself with the fishing industry and related industries along the coast of the region. Particular attention, for instance, should be given to the oyster beds along the coast of South Carolina. SRC is now attempting to get federal assistance for this purpose for a group of persons in South Carolina who earn a seasonal income from the oyster beds. We envision concern with this aspect of the economy, housing, and other suggestions reflected in this memo. If such private efforts are to be encouraged, supported and greatly expanded by the

federal government.

5. ARTS AND CRAFTS

A) There is a substantial employment - economic potential in this area for the first time. In the past a limited amount of work has been done in improving the skills of persons engaged in arts and crafts and finding a market for their production. Most of this has been done in the Appalachian area. With our expanding economy and the interest of our population there is now a substantial and larger market and this area offers a real potential if it is properly assisted and developed. Someone concerned with the research aspects of this subject should do substantial work in what has been done and what is possible. One source of valuable information is the magazine Mountain Life and Work, "the magazine of the Appalachian south" published quarterly by the Council of Southern Mountains, Inc. The Spring issue of 1965 and the Spring issue of 1966 and the Winter issue of 1965 have interesting information on some of the programs being carried on in the Appalachian area. In rural Alabama a group of women are currently making quilts and are attempting to market them on a cooperative basis. A skilled group in rural South Carolina is currently considering the establishment of a gift shop and otherwise looking for markets for their products. Enough effort is now going on and enough skills exist that a study of the problems of quality, marketing and distribution

should be made to determine the extent of opportunity in this area.

B) If there is real potential for substantial employment here it will require considerable assistance. One is in the area of the training. We have found enumerable instances where there are commendable basic skills but still need for some training particularly on quality control. Marketing, of course, is the other important area. At present there are only very limited marketing outlets and too much of this depends on a sympathy market. At the moment, for instance, the quilting group in Alabama is enjoying substantial sales in a sympathy market sponsored by the Episcopal Church in New York. This is obviously not a stable situation but probably could be corrected. In the case of the Alabama effort, we are now attempting to arrange to have the persons skilled in arts and crafts spend the summer in that community to concentrate on the problems of quality. Other efforts are being made in marketing. These are, of course, very limited efforts and we need a substantially expanded effort which can only be sponsored by public funds.

6. PLANNING

A) There is quite clearly a need for overall planning in these areas. We have attempted to say earlier in this memo that one cannot attack a problem in isolation. Housing is related to jobs and so forth. We must have state and

regional planning in the coordination of a number of efforts if rural progress is to be achieved.

B) Planning on an area basis is essential for industrial locations. We have referred to this earlier but we need also to think of planning in terms of a rural educational effort in terms of how, for instance, recreation can fit into the economy and job situation. How arts and crafts can affect an area or a community. How education can concern itself with adults as well as with children. How local and regional situations can be called to the attention of such agencies as agriculture with the understanding that not all programs should be blanket one's plan for the entire nation.

C) Private agencies have an important role to play in all of this and their interest and experience should be used. So, too, present reluctance to put funds into private agencies efforts should be changed. Many groups are coming forward and expressing the willingness, indeed asking, to be able to develop programs. This should be encouraged, not discouraged. In this regard those who supply funds must be prepared for failures. We will have many failures if we embark on truly experimental programs. It should be realized too that some of these programs will be unorthodox, indeed radical. We should welcome this. Many of the ideas outlined in this memorandum, and many others which are being developed around the region, are radical in nature and will

never be tried out successfully, if we go through the conventional channels the conventional local leadership, local agencies, and regular structure of the federal government. Above all else we should realize that to restore the rural areas of the region and to allow the people to remain in these areas under adequate circumstances will require truly radical changes, and anyone who brings forward a program that offers any opportunity of help in this regard should be encouraged and financed.

The Southern Regional Council has a strong interest in this whole problem. We would be happy to offer our resources in research and the information we are now gathering under our community organization project to any persons, either public or private, who might wish to take advantage of them.

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BC: Jim Gibson, Potomac Inst.
Ray and John Wheeler

March 14, 1967

Mr. George M. Stephens, Jr.
National Advisory Commission on Rural
Poverty
1634 Eye Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Mr. Stephens:

Enclosed is a statement for inclusion in the record of the National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty.

Thank you for this opportunity.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON RURAL POVERTY
1634 EYE STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

February 23, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We are sorry that you were unable to testify at our hearing in Memphis, Tennessee. We are still very much interested in your contribution and would be most grateful if you would consider sending us a written statement for inclusion in the record.

We hesitate to impose an added burden upon your already busy schedule, but hope you will contribute your expert knowledge to this very important study.

Sincerely yours,

George M. Stephens, Jr.

George M. Stephens, Jr.

GMS:ldh

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NOTES ON RURAL POVERTY IN THE SOUTHERN STATES

by: Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

The rural poor are being forced off the land by immense economic and technological pressures. This is particularly a problem in the South* -- which by accepted census and economic definitions is both the most rural and most impoverished region in the United States.

More than 41% of the South's population is classified as rural by the U. S. Bureau of the Census. Only 10.8% is rural-farm, however. In the 1960 Census, of the 22,797,630 southerners designated as rural, nearly 18 million were white and nearly five million non-white. (In the South, almost all non-whites are Negroes.) The "rural" designation can be divided into farm and non-farm categories. Among southern rural non-farm people, 13.5 million are white and 3.3 million are non-white. Among rural farm people, 4.4 million are white and nearly 1.5 million are non-white. There are only 1.6 million rural farm non-whites in all the U.S.; thus, most are concentrated in the South.

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*Unless otherwise indicated, the South in this paper refers to the eleven states of the Old Confederacy: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

The poverty of the South is reflected in a recent study in the Social Security Bulletin. According to the study by Mollie Orshansky, more than half of the nation's poor live in the South.

Whereas, the majority of the poor in other regions reside in urban areas, considerably more than half the South's poor reside in rural areas.

The extent of poverty in the rural South knows no racial bounds. (There are more white poor than black poor in the region.) Yet a much higher percentage of rural Negroes are poor. More than 80% of Negro rural people in the South had annual family incomes of less than $3,000 according to the 1960 Census. Forty per cent had family incomes below $1,000 annually. By contrast, the percentage of white rural non-farm families with less than $3,000 annually ranged from 39% in South Carolina to 47% in Alabama. The range of white farm families below $3,000 annually was from 49% in South Carolina to 60% in Alabama. Thus both races suffer. The degree of poverty is greater among rural Negroes but, because there are more rural whites, the total number of white poor is greater.

THE ONCE AND FUTURE INFLUX

In an April 8, 1966 memorandum the National Sharecroppers Fund estimated that mechanization and reduced acreage allotments

in the cotton belt will create from a narrow economic perspective, 300,000 "surplus" families in 16 southern states in the next 10 years.

Because King Cotton's semi-feudal socioeconomic order is no longer useful commercially, and because this order no longer requires an abundance of cheap, unskilled black labor, the abrupt changes fall most heavily on the "surplus" Negro poor. The result is the continued mass migration of untrained rural people against their will to join others in the dense and explosive city ghettos of the North and increasingly, the South.

Should rural people be afforded the dignity of choosing not to abandon the rural culture? Should they be forced into the pathologies of slum life solely because they have no way to survive if they remain on the land?

Is it not dynamite literally to dump "surplus rural labor" into bulging, impoverished urban slums? Is it not pragmatic and prudent, to say nothing of humane, to try to create new ways of rural life? At thelest, this might be attempted on an interim basis if for nothing more than to allow longer term efforts against existing urban poverty to take effect without being swamped by a sharp new influx of the rural poor to the cities.

THE NEGRO FARMER: ATTRITION, ABOLITION, OR ADVANCE?

The depth and the dimensions of rural poverty can be recognized when some facts about the Negro farmer are considered. Calvin Beale, writing in The American Negro Reference Books, is realistic:

"To be optimistic about the future of Negro farmers would be to disregard almost every facet of their past and present status and the factors that impinge upon them. But then, the odds have always been against them even in the period when they reached their greatest number."

At their peak in 1920, Negro farmers numbered 926,000, including all tenant farmers. In 1964, approximately 180,000 Negro farm operators were left. This was 3% of all Negro men. (Another 8% of all Negro men were employed as wage-earning farm laborers.)

The desperate problem of the Negro farmer has been a lack of land. This dilemma is becoming worse. In 1964, there were approximately 80,000 Negro farm owners or part-owners out of 180,000 Negro farm operators. This means that the majority of Negro farmers work another man's land.

The average size of the Negro farm was 52 acres in the 1959 census of agriculture, an increase of only eight acres since 1935. By contrast the average white farm had increased by 118 acres since 1935 to an average size of 249 acres. This lack of land on which to work and the consequent need to pay rent to or sharecrop with a landowner is reflected in the following statistic: Somewhat less than 24,000 non-white southern farmers produced and sold more than $5,000 of products in 1959 when U.S.D.A. estimated that a farmer must sell $10,000 of products to make $2,500. Of these 24,000 in 1959, only 7,000 owned their land, and some of the others who were tenants, according to Beale, have probably lost their lease or share arrangements since the 1959 census of agriculture.

Nevertheless, Beale estimates that this core of Negro farmers has the potential for commercial success in full-time farming, if the majority of those without land could be provided a homestead.

In addition, there were 3,000 owners with inadequate commercial production, but a fair amount of off-farm work, and 34,000 owners and renters who produced few goods for sale but had rather steady farm work, according to the census.

Beale's judgment is that this group, these 61,000 out of 180,000 Negro farm operators are the ones with "a tangible expectation of obtaining a minimum adequate income from farming or a combination of farm or non-farm work." The reader should note that even this "successful" group includes many whose income level is below current poverty lihes.

But what of the other Negro farm operators who are not "successful" or the other thousands who work as hired men in burgeoning "agribusiness" corporate farms and in neo-plantation servitude? In Beale's view, the crucial factor once again is land. "The possession of land is the key to the future participation by Negroes in American agriculture as operators." Once again, "the farmer who does not control the land he works does not control his own destiny in the far-reaching changes now affecting agriculture. This puts the typical Negro farmer with his limited capital and lack of ownership experience at a disadgantage."

Nevertheless, Beale proposes that many more than the 61,000 "successful" Negro farmers could be made really "successful" if land in the hands of small-scale owners could be "combined through lease or purchase into larger

units, or if federal programs of assistance in land purchase could be made effective on a widespread basis for low-income landless farmers, or if additional non-farm employment opportunities became available for rural Negroes." We should add immediately that present loan and credit programs are of virtually no help. Moreover, it can be asked, in view of the national commitment to end poverty, whether a new program of land grants should not be considered as a means of halting migration to urban areas?

Our basic purpose, however, is to show the extremity of the Negro farmer's predicament as part of our larger plea that the rural poor in the South be given options which will not force them into an alien urban environment and alienated urban existence. We should note, in addition, that most of the rural poor are not farm operators. The plight of the Negro hired farm worker is often more desperate than that of the farm operator in the South. Clearly, land reform alone will not suffice to transform their deprivation and dependence, but it might, if combined with agricultural training programs and effective minimum wages legislation or income subsidies, offer options to the virtual serfdom which now prevails.

AGRICULTURE AND SOCIAL POLICY

It is not the purpose of this study to describe and analyze the various approaches which treat the "farm problem" solely as an economic issue of efficiency, productivity, and resource allocation. Yet the narrowness of such approaches must be pointed out. To most such approaches the "ultimate solution" is to move people off the farms, to destroy the "myth" of the family farm, and to approach food and fiber production with every resource of modern management and technology available. Typical of this approach was the much publicized, corporation sponsored study, An Adaptive Program for Agriculture, prepared by the Research and Policy Committee of the Committee for Economic Development. Similar in approach but not in all details are Roots of the Farm Problem by Earl D. Heady and others of the Iowa State University Center for Agricultural and Economic Development and Farm Policy: New Directions, by Geoffrey S. Shepherd, an economist also of Iowa State University.

We question the social vision of these judgments. The center of our critique is that these proposals fail to take into account our central concern -- the lack of a

better alternative to living on the land for thousands of poor southern farmers.

When we consider these proposals for national policy from a regional standpoint, we are impressed by the extent to which they project as national goals solutions that seem mostly relevant to the Middle West. The Committee for Economic Development program barely alludes to the "farm problem" as seen in Appalachia. It ignores the nation's and the South's racism as it blithely suggests moving "surplus" farm labor to cities. Seen from the perspective of what is faced by the rural, southern Negro moving to Atlanta, New Orleans, or even Chicago, the C.E.D.'s easy optimism about finding employment "off the land" has at best a superficial quality.

BROADER CONSIDERATIONS IN AGRICULTURE

It is the heart of our position that rural poverty cannot be separated from urban poverty and that agricultural policy must be consistent with general economic and social policy. It is also central that the South's unique regional problems not be overlooked in national programs.

Edward Higbee clearly sets his analysis of agricultural policy in an urban context in his book, Farms and Farmers in an Urban Age. He recognizes the human as well as the social

disintegration that accompanies forced migration of rural people to urban areas. He argues that there could be only two acceptable justifications for federal funds being used to move "inefficient" farmers from the land. One is that a food shortage might require that land be put in hands capable of greater productivity. No such national shortage presently exists. There are indications the other justification might be that farming's "surplus" manpower was demanded by other fields with labor shortages. But since this manpower is untrained to fill shortages of technical labor and since there is already a high rate of urban unemployment among the unskilled, this labor is not needed elsewhere. Higbee concludes: "Until the nation needs their land and labor, inefficient farmers may be better off where they are than if they were to head for the city's slums and welfare rolls."

Leon H. Keyserling, economist and former presidential adviser, directs a strong and persuasive argument in Agriculture and the Public Interest, by the Conference on Economic Progress. In Keyserling's view, the attempt to justify the move from smaller family-type farms to corporate, "agribusinesses" on the basis of the efficiency of the latter fails on four counts. First, except for farms whose

land is sub-standard, there is no lack of efficiency or of increased productivity. Second, "there is no conclusive and perhaps no respectable evidence that the large giant-size farm is more efficient than the family-type farm, when the latter receives enough income to realize its full potential." Third, even if larger farms were more efficient, that economic benefit would be taken away by the rapid shrinkage in the number of farmers (who would presumably enter the depressed unskilled labor market of urban areas.) Fourth, productivity in agriculture and in the entire economy has become so great "that we need to become more deeply concerned about the quality of farm life, and not merely about the efficiency of farm production. This means that we should strive constantly for a more appropriate balance and distribution among farms of different sizes, with particular accent upon the family-type farm . . . The only hope for most of the sub-standard farmers is that they be accorded opportunity to operate family-type farms."

"Accorded opportunity." It is precisely this which present national agricultural, land, and credit policies fail to do in the cases of the South's rural poor, all Negro farmers, and marginal or sub-standard farmers of both races. What follows are some suggestions to accord opportunity in

the rural South. Much of the South's poverty is common to all the poor, i.e., a lack of money for minimum expenses. While this lack must be made up by some new form of income maintenance, guaranteed income, or the like, there are many measures which would further alleviate problems in the rural South.

TOWARD OPTIONS AND OPPORTUNITY IN THE RURAL SOUTH

(1) LAND AND CREDIT

(A) An obvious and basic problem in developing rural areas is the lack of land owned by Negroes and the unavailability of low interest, long-term financing to correct this. As cited previously, the average farm size for whites is 249 acres, and for Negroes only 52 acres. The average value for farms owned by whites is $25,370 and that for Negroes is $6,240. This in turn, of course, reflects the amount of products sold, the amount of income and all other aspects of Negro, white comparisons. There is need for an entirely new and different approach to making long-term, low interest

loans available to all persons in the region, but particularly to Negroes and poor whites for the ownership of land .

(B) Related to this is the poor use of land presently owned, poor management, poor marketing procedures, and the like. Present USDA programs need to be much more concerned with this, particularly for the small Negro farmer, and entirely new imaginative programs need to be developed. For instance, the Franklinton Center in Bricks, North Carolina, has concluded a very successful experiment in which a relatively large plot of land was acquired and six farm families were settled on it. These farmers had been tenant farmers. Over a period of several years, this center worked closely with these families in developing good agricultural and marketing techniques. A financial arrangement has not been made whereby each of these farmers are purchasing the land which they work. While small, the results of the project

are that six former tenant farmers have now been settled on land, will in time own it, and have been trained in good farm management. We need a great many more experiments of this kind.

(C) In regard to the above two problems and opportunities, we need promptly a far more detailed study than has heretofore been done on the opportunities for relatively small farm operations. We have been going on the assumption that there was need for less and less agricultural production and that there was every economic reason for larger and fewer farm units. Both of these assumptions no longer seem correct and need to be reviewed in light of our recognition of the need for food throughout the entire world and our new encouragement of crop increases. We need, particularly, to know far more than we do at this time about the opportunities for at least partial income from the small farm unit. As this study is conducted, it must take into account the

rapidly rising yields per acre and the possibilities that good farming techniques, expanding markets, and the new opportunities for truck farming produce to be sold to nearby cities may well make it possible for far feasible operation of farms heretofore considered too small for profitable operation.

(D) There is a need to change completely the base of our agriculture. The future role of southern rural people on land is to produce meat and food products for the anticipated 100 million increase in the population of the East, which will occur during the coming thirty years.

Alabama corn production averaging 20 bushels per acre twenty years ago increasing to 40 bushels per acre in 1966 is still an inadequate yield to compete with mid-West corn yields at 80 to 100 bushels per acre. The pork from both areas will be needed. Alabama and Mississippi food crops, vegetables and fruits, will also be needed. Their production

and processing may employ southern labor and help to stop excessive migration of southern families to northern cities. This beginning, plus all the investments of capital and housing, school rooms, hospitals, medical and school personnel and southern town building may create an adequate number of jobs -- and a tax recovery base -- to stablize the southern rural population.

(E) In all of this there is an assumption that efforts need to be made to devise ways for many relatively small farms to become adequate income producing units for the families which run them. This should not, however, preclude a strong interest in determining the extent to which a small farm can provide supplementary income to some other occupation away from the farm where the two together will provide total family unit with income beyond the minimum poverty level.

(F) Stanley Andrews in The Farmer's Dilemma, proposes "beneficial use" land grants to

younger men who want to farm for a living but <u>who lack land and/or capital</u>. This idea has merit.

(2) <u>HOUSING</u>

(A) A great need in the rural areas is adequate housing. This may be one of the simplest problems to meet if there is a national commitment to do so. Rural housing units of an adequate nature can be provided at a reasonable cost. Given an adequate structure under which low interest, long-term loans can be arranged it will be possible for homeowners to meet this kind of a financial demand. The construction of such houses has the added advantages of contributing substantially to the economy of these regions, to providing jobs and to providing training experiences. A small amount of work in this area is allowed for under Title III-B Funds.

(B) Any programs concerned with housing cannot be approached in a vacuum. No housing

programs should be undertaken without companion programs in economic development. It is also possibly a mistake to locate housing units close to present cities on the assumption owners may commute and thereby finance them. There are several projects, partly federally financed, now being discussed in Mississippi where new housing units would be placed within ten miles of medium sized cities on the assumption that the persons living in these new units would be able to find jobs in these towns. Given the present lack of job opportunities in the typical Deep South community, and the lack of training on the part of persons in need of housing, this may be an unsatisfactory idea.

(C) In developing programs for housing a minimum part of the funds, but considerable planning, should go into total community development. For instance, in practically every area where there is a serious need for more adequate housing there is a need

also for community centers, for buildings to house day nurseries, and the like. These facilities should be developed and financed along with individual housing unit development.

(3) INDUSTRY

(A) Quite obviously there is a need to get away from agriculture as the sole provided of income in rural areas even while we strengthen and support family farms for some. Much can be done in developing adequate housing, the small farm, and providing outside jobs.

(B) Programs must be encouraged that will assure that some industry goes to the rural areas where the people now are, although caution must be exercised so that non-exploitative, long-term commitments are made. Many variations of this have been suggested but there will likely be a need for public funds to encourage such moves. In recognition of the initial difference in productivity between an

untrained labor force and that which may be available in the larger cities, training programs for that labor must also be provided.

(C) It goes without saying, of course, that quality industry must be brought in. At the present time, a great deal of industrial development in the rural and small town areas is of the fly-by-night type which provides an inadequate wage for the workers and nothing for the community. It is a long tradition of the federal government to provide public funds for such items as farm mechanization. We see nothing inconsistent with these recommendations of public funds for industrial development.

(D) The idea of industry in the rural areas has certain dangers that must be guarded against. This is no magic formula as is frequently believed and there are limitations that should be imposed on any such program. For instance, making rural areas more livable

does not necessarily mean making them urban, i.e., industrialized. It makes sense to locate an industry large enough to provide incentives to local people to stay in rural areas and to inject additional capital into the community. But beyond the population stability motive, further industrialization could be self-defeating.

(E) There are other protections which should be guaranteed by new industry. These would include guaranteed protection for labor unions, guaranteed minimum wages, guaranteed working conditions on a par with those in the nation as a whole. We believe great care will have to be taken and much deliberate planning done to avoid establishing sweatshops.

(F) Groups and agencies engaged in attracting industry must, in some way, begin to develop the ideas of less competition and more concern with the welfare of a large area. For instance, Atlanta now seeks industry without any concern for any other part of the state of Georgia. On a state, and perhaps regional

basis, there is a need for planning where industry is most needed for the good of the whole economy and not on the basis of what particular locality can offer the most attractive package to new industry.

(4) RURAL RECLAMATION

(A) Much needs to be done in the way of making rural areas more livable and more attractive. This is consistent with the current national policy on beautification and has in it implications for federally funded programs to employ large numbers of people and in the opportunities for developing substantial tourist and recreation business. It has recently been announced that $1,500,000 in anti-poverty funds will be used in the project known as Green Thumb. This idea was developed by the outspokenly liberal National Farmers Union and that group has been chosen to run it. Many other such projects need to be developed. The Farmers Union hopes to realize from this program an expanded economy

which will employ 325 or more retrained farmers. (See the Wall Street Journal, February 9, 1966.)

(B) Any rural reclamation program should tie in directly with expansion of the recreation industry. There is now every reason to believe that this is one of our promising industries for employment for the future. Programs of reclamation and beautification should not be conducted in a vacuum but should be planned in relation to the availability of population, recreational areas that will attract tourist and the like.

(C) In this area, great care must be taken to see that poor rural people actually benefit on a reasonable basis. This is not necessarily happening in the present federal program in the Appalachian area. There, for instance, many small farmers (a large number of them poultry farmers) have been pushed from the land. Much of the land is going into speculation. In North Georgia, for instance, tens of thousands of acres are being bought for

speculation purposes by wealthy individuals in the surrounding cities. This has hurt the small farmer and has phoved out the very kind of people who should have benefitted as land values go up and new tourist possibilities open.

(D) Reclamation or beautification and recreation should not overlook the other substantial opportunities. These would include, for instance, preserving our timber supplies and greatly expanding them on a more planned and logical basis; giving needed attention to some of the natural resources in the region, particularly mineral deposits; developing the fishing industry and related industries along the coast. Attention, for instance, should be given to the oyster beds along the coast of South Carolina. SRC is now attempting to get federal assistance for this purpose for a group of persons in South Carolina who earn a seasonal income from the oyster beds.

(5) ARTS AND CRAFTS

(A) There is substantial employment and economic potential in this area for the first time. In the past, a limited amount of work has been done in improving the skills of persons engaged in arts and crafts and finding a market for their products. Much of this has been done in the Appalachian area, and in the Black Belt. This field offers a real potential if it is properly assisted and developed. Research is needed on what has been done and what is possible, and on the problems of quality control, marketing, and distribution.

(B) If there is real potential for substantial employment here it will require considerable assistance. One thing needed is training. We have found many instances where there are commendable basic skills but still need for some training, particularly on quality control. Marketing, of course, is the other important area. At present there are only very limited marketing outlets and too much of this depends on a sympathy market.

(6) **PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT**

(A) There is quite clearly a need for overall planning in attacking social and economic problems of the rural South; one cannot attack these problems in isolation. We must have state and regional planning in the coordination of a number of efforts if rural progress is to be achieved.

(B) Present reluctance to put funds into private agencies should be changed. Many groups are coming forward and asking for money to develop programs. This should be encouraged. Those who supply funds to such groups must be prepared for failures. We will have many failures if we embark on truly experimental programs. It should be realized too that some of these programs will be unorthodox, indeed radical. We should welcome this. Many of the ideas being developed around the region are radical in nature and will never be tried out successfully if we go through the conventional channels, the conventional local leadership, local agencies, and regular

structure of the federal government. Above all else, we should realize that to restore the rural areas of the region and to allow the people to remain in these areas under adequate circumstances will require truly radical changes, and anyone who brings forward a program that offers any opportunity of help in this regard should be encouraged and financed.

The Southern Regional Council has a strong interest in this whole problem. We would be happy to offer our resources in research, and the information we are now gathering under our community organization project to any persons, either public or private, who might wish to take advantage of them.

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NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON RURAL POVERTY
1634 EYE STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

June 8, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia
30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

This is to inform you that the Presidential report now in the process of being compiled is scheduled to be published in September, 1967. At that time you will receive a copy.

We very much appreciate the report you have done for this Commission and hope that the published findings and recommendations will be of interest to you.

Sincerely yours,

LaDeane Hester for

George M. Stephens, Jr.

GMS:ldh